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PUBLIC

OPINION AND RECORD

OF

EDUCATED, TITLED, AND TALENTED

PERPETRATORS OF

CRIME AND INJUSTICE.

DEDICATED TO THE CAUSE

OF

HUMANITY, PROGRESS, AND CIVILIZATION.

BY

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY,

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY OF UNITED PATRIOTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND HER DEPENDENCIES, A PROMOTER AND EX-DIRECTOR
OF THE AFRICAN STEAM SHIP COMPANY, VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE SOCIETY OF AFRICAN MERCHANTS, SECOND PARTNER IN
THE FIRM OF CHILBY, MOORE, GREGORY AND CO., AND FOR UPWARDS OF TWENTY-SIX YEARS UNCEASINGLY
ENGAGED IN PROMOTING NAVIGATION, COMMERCE, AND CIVILIZATION.

VOL. I.

"If I might give a short hint to an impartial writer, it would be to tell him his fate. If he resolved to venture upon the dangerous precipice of telling unbiassed truth, let him proclaim war with mankind—neither to give nor to take quarter. If he tells the crimes of great men, they fall upon him with the iron hands of the law; if he tells them of virtues, when they have any, then the mob attacks him with slander. But if he regards truth, let him expect martyrdom on both sides, and then he may go on fearless; and this is the course I take myself"—DE FOE.

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NOTICE TO PATRIOTS.

THE Second Volume is preparing for the press. Political communications to be forwarded as usual, and under no circumstances through the Post-office.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The assembly will not undertake to return manuscripts. It was found impossible to record many serious cases in this volume ; they will appear in the next. Anonymous communications are not read, but at once destroyed.



BASTILE OF THE COURT OF CHANCERY,
alias QUEEN'S PRISON,
Southwark, 18th June, 1856.

TO THE UNITED PATRIOTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND HER
DEPENDENCIES,

BRETHREN,

WE are commanded by your President and Assembly to place in your hands, this, our first volume, which will reveal to you startling facts of the wickedness and corruption of the rulers of the country and men in high places. It is hoped that you will take timely warning from the fate and ruin which has befallen other Nations, and more readily avoid the snares and dangers which daily surround you.

The effeminacy, incapacity, and despotism, under which the people are governed, is intended to be increased by the appointment of a Minister of Police, with a system of espionage, and your houses invaded by spies. The liberty and property of no man, widow, or orphan, is secure from the merciless and dishonest adjudication and persecution of the unholy *and corrupt* Ecclesiastical and Chancery

Courts. The country is filled with hatred of its rulers. The masses feel that they toil to feed the corruption of those above them. That the House of Commons does not represent them. That the Ministers and Parliament, instead of listening to their wrongs, treat their petitions and complaints with contempt. They see that the end and object of Government, in Church and State, are not the welfare and religion of the people, but the aggrandizement and maintenance of a few families and favourites. That crime, injustice, and oppression, committed by themselves, pass unpunished and unredressed. That neglect of duty and incapacity are not only overlooked, but ennobled and covered with reward, as a means of sheltering them from public indignation and disgrace. That the power, peace, and happiness of the people, and the safety of our armies, are imminently imperilled by maintaining the position of delinquent favourites.

The country is labouring under a dangerous position ; and you are required by your Assembly, to go forth into every town, parish, village and hamlet, and publicly, as well as privately, pronounce to the people these, the first requirements, for ameliorating the present existing evils, which have been adopted by your Assembly after long and serious deliberations, viz :—

The maintenance entire of Magna Charta. The Church to be separated from the State. Jesuits to be expelled the British dominions. The Ecclesiastical, Chancery, Insolvent, and all unconstitutional Courts of Adjudication, to be abolished ; substituting in lieu thereof, Tribunals of Justice and of Commerce. Nunneries, Private

Lunatic Asylums, Prisons for Debt, Penalty of Death, and Corporeal Punishment, to be suppressed. Plurality of offices to be discontinued. Merit, and not birth, to be the qualification for officering the Army and Navy. The Criminal and Civil Law to be revised, simplified, and divested of legal subtilty and craft. Church Rates to be abolished. The Elective Franchise to be extended to every British resident man, who has attained the age of twenty-one, can read and write, and has never been convicted of felony. Voting to be open. Bribery, corruption, and intimidation to be treated as felony. Members of Parliament to be increased from their present number of 654 to 1000. Atheists, Idol-worshippers, and those who bow down to the works of men's hands, to be ineligible. The Property Qualification not to be requisite. In lieu of the present ruinous and demoralizing system of paying Members by unlimited patronage, indirectly amounting to millions, let them be paid a stipulated sum of money. To insure ability and attention to the public welfare, they are to be elected annually. The services of Peers to be dispensed with.

The Sabbath having been ordained for man as a day of rest, to enable him to invigorate his body, and to elevate his mind, let not demagogues deny it the people.

You will hold yourselves prepared for coming and "necessary events," and continue praying,—

Almighty God, King of all kings, and Governor of all things, whose power no creature is able to resist, who alone workest great marvels, and hath in all ages shewed forth thy power and mercy in the miraculous and gracious de-

liverances of thy People, and in the protection of righteous and religious States from the evils and oppression of misgovernment, rescue and deliver us, thy faithful People, and this thy earthly kingdom, by thy right hand, from the tyranny and incapacity of ungodly and cruel Rulers, Bishops, Chancellors, Judges, and Magistrates. Let them be confounded and put to shame; and that we, being armed with thy defence, may ever serve thee, granting us by the light of thy Holy Spirit to have a right judgment in all things, and evermore to rejoice in His holy comfort, through the merits of Christ Jesus, our Saviour, who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the same Spirit, one God, world without end. Amen.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Charles M. Gregory". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal flourish extending from the end of the name.

VICE-PRESIDENT.

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“ Though your sins be as scarlet.”—*See page 37.*

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The Holy Commandments.

AND God spake all these words, saying, I am the LORD thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is, in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them : for I the LORD thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me ; and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.

The second
Book of
Moses,
called Exo-
dus, ch. xx.
ver. 1-18.

Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God in vain ; for the LORD will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work ; but the seventh day is the sabbath of the LORD thy God. In it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the

sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day : wherefore the LORD blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.

Honour thy father and thy mother ; that thy days may be long upon the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbour's.

LORD, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.

Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid ; cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy name ; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Gospel according to
St. Matt.
ch. vi. 9-14.

Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation ; but deliver us from evil : for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.

The Holy Text.

BLESSED LORD, who hast caused all holy Scriptures to be written for our learning ; grant that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort of thy holy Word, we may embrace and for ever hold fast the blessed hope of everlasting life, which thou hast given us in our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

BRETHREN,

This is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel ; And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh : and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams : And on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit ; and they shall prophesy : And I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath ; blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke : The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and notable day of the Lord come : And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.

Acts of the
Apostles ii.
16-21.

Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you, (but was let hitherto,) that I might have some fruit among you also, even as among other Gentiles. I am debtor both to the Greeks, and to the Barbarians ; both to the wise and to the unwise. So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also. For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ : for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth ; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. For therein is the

The Epistle
of Paul the
Apostle to
the Romans
chapters i.
ii. iii. begin-
ning at the
13th verse.
Gentiles.
Greeks.
Barbarian.
Rome.

righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith : as it is written, The just shall live by faith. For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness ; Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them ; for God hath shewed *it* unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, *even* his eternal power and Godhead ; so that they are without excuse : Because that, when they knew God, they glorified *him* not as God, neither were thankful : but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, And changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves : Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen. And even as they did not like to retain God in *their* knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient ; Being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness ; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity : whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, spiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful : Who, knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.

God's im-
partial
judgment.

Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest : for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself ; for thou that judgest doest the same things. But we are sure that the judgment of God is according to truth against them which commit such things. And thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest them which do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God ? or despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance and long-suffering ; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance ? But, after thy hardness and impenitent heart, treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God ; Who will render

to every man according to his deeds: To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life: But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile; But glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile: For there is no respect of persons with God. For as many as have sinned without law; shall also perish without law: and as many as have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law; (For not the hearers of the law *are* just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified. For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and *their* thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another;) In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my gospel. Behold, thou art called a Jew, and retest in the law, and makest thy boast of God, And knowest *his* will, and approvest the things that are more excellent, being instructed out of the law; And art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, An instructor of the foolish, a teacher of babes, which hast the form of knowledge and of the truth in the law. Thou therefore which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege? Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God? For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you, as it is written. For circumcision verily profiteth, if thou keep the law: but if thou be a breaker of the law, thy circumcision is made uncircumcision. Therefore if the uncircumcision keep the righteousness of the law, shall not his uncircumcision be counted for circumcision? And shall not uncircumcision which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who by the letter and circumcision dost transgress the law? For he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly; neither *is* that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh: But he *is* a Jew, which is one inwardly;

Jew.
Gentile.

and circumcision *is that* of the heart, in the spirit, *and* not in the letter ; whose praise *is* not of men, but of God.

The Jews' prerogative.

What advantage then hath the Jew ? or what profit *is there* of circumcision ? Much every way : chiefly, because that unto them were committed the oracles of God. For what if some did not believe ? shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect ? God forbid : yea, let God be true, but every man a liar ; as it is written, That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings and mightest overcome when thou art judged. But if our righteousness commend the righteousness of God, what shall we say ? *Is* God unrighteous who taketh vengeance ? (I speak as a man) God forbid : for then how shall God judge the world ? For if the truth of God hath more abounded through my lie unto his glory ; why yet am I also judged as a sinner ? And not *rather*, (as we be slanderously reported, and as some affirm that we say,) Let us do evil, that good may come ? whose damnation is just. What then ? are we better *than they* ? No, in nowise : for we have before proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin ; as it is written, There is none righteous, no, not one : There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable ; there is none that doeth good, no, not one. Their throat is an open sepulchre ; with their tongues they have used deceit ; the poison of asps *is* under their lips : whose mouth *is* full of cursing and bitterness : their feet *are* swift to shed blood : Destruction and misery *are* in their ways. And the way of peace have they not known : There is no fear of God before their eyes. Now we know that what things soever the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law : that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God. Therefore by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight : for by the law *is* the knowledge of sin. But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the Prophets ; Even the righteousness of God *which is* by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe : for there is no difference : For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God ; Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus : whom God hath set forth to *be* a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission

of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God ; To declare, I *say*, at this time his righteousness : that he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus. Where *is* boasting then ? It is excluded. By what law ? of works ? Nay : but by the law of faith. Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law. *Is he* the God of the Jews only ? *is he* not also of the Gentiles ? Yes, of the Gentiles also : Seeing *it is* one God which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and uncircumcision through faith. Do we then make void the law through faith ? God forbid : yea, we establish the law.

Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage. Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law. Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law ; ye are fallen from grace. For we through the Spirit, wait for the hope of righteousness by faith. For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision ; but faith which worketh by love. Ye did run well ; who did hinder you that ye should not obey the truth ? This persuasion *cometh* not of him that calleth you. A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. I have confidence in you through the Lord, that ye will be none otherwise minded : but he that troubleth you shall bear his judgment, whosoever he be. And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution ? then is the offence of the cross ceased. I would they were even cut off which trouble you. For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty ; only *use* not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, *even* in this : Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another. *This* I say then, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh : and these are contrary the one to the other : so that ye cannot do the things that ye would. But if ye be led of the Spirit, ye are not under the law. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are *these* ; Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness,

The Epistle
of Paul the
Apostle to
the Galatians,
chap. v.

revellings, and such like : of the which I tell you before, as I have also told *you* in times past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance : against such there is no law. And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts. If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit. Let us not be desirous of vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another.

Chap. vi.

Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness ; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted. Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ. For if a man think himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself. But let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another. For every man shall bear his own burden. Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things. Be not deceived ; God is not mocked : for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption ; but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting. And let us not be weary in well-doing : for in due season we shall reap if we faint not. As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all *men*, especially unto them who are of the household of faith. Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand. As many as desire to make a fair shew in the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised ; only lest they should suffer persecution for the cross of Christ. For neither they themselves who are circumcised keep the law ; but desire to have you circumcised, that they may glory in your flesh. But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world. For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. And as many as walk according to this rule, peace *be* on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God. From henceforth let no man trouble me : for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus. Brethren, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ *be* with your spirit. Amen.

Book of
Proverbs,
chap. xix.

Better *is* the poor that walketh in his integrity, than *he that* is perverse in his lips, and is a fool. Also, *that* the soul *be* without knowledge, *it is* not good ; and he that hasteth with *his* feet

sinneth. The foolishness of man perverteth his way : and his heart fretteth against the LORD. Wealth maketh many friends ; but the poor is separated from his neighbour. A false witness shall not be unpunished, and *he that* speaketh lies shall not escape. Many will entreat the favour of the prince : and every man *is* a friend to him that giveth gifts. All the brethren of the poor do hate him : how much more do his friends go far from him ? he pursueth *them with* words, *yet they are* wanting *to him*. He that getteth wisdom loveth his own soul : he that keepeth understanding shall find good. A false witness shall not be unpunished, and *he that* speaketh lies shall perish. Delight is not seemly for a fool ; much less for a servant to have rule over princes. The discretion of a man deferreth his anger ; and *it is* his glory to pass over a transgression. The king's wrath *is* as the roaring of a lion ; but his favour *is* as dew upon the grass. A foolish son *is* the calamity of his father : and the contentions of a wife are a continual dropping. Houses and riches *are* the inheritance of fathers : and a prudent wife *is* from the LORD. Slothfulness casteth into a deep sleep ; and an idle soul shall suffer hunger. He that keepeth the commandment keepeth his own soul ; *but* he that despiseth his ways shall die. He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the LORD ; and that which is given will he pay him again. Chasten thy son while there is hope, and let not thy soul spare for his crying. A man of great wrath shall suffer punishment ; for if thou deliver *him*, yet thou must do it again. Hear counsel, and receive instruction, that thou mayest be wise in thy latter end. *There are* many devices in a man's heart ; nevertheless the counsel of the LORD, that shall stand. The desire of a man *is* his kindness : and a poor man *is* better than a liar. The fear of the LORD *tendeth* to life : and *he that hath it* shall abide satisfied ; he shall not be visited with evil. A slothful *man* hideth his hand in *his* bosom, and will not so much as bring it to his mouth again. Smite a scorner, and the simple will beware : and reprove one that hath understanding, *and* he will understand knowledge. He that wasteth *his* father, *and* chaseth away *his* mother, *is* a son that causeth shame, and bringeth reproach. Cease, my son, to hear the instruction *that causeth* to err from the words of knowledge. An ungodly witness scorneth judgment : and the mouth of the wicked devoureth iniquity. Judgments are prepared for scorners, and stripes for the back of fools.

Proverbs
xxvi. 16, 28.

The sluggard *is* wiser in his own conceit than seven men that can render a reason. A lying tongue hateth *those* that are afflicted by it; and a flattering mouth worketh ruin.

xxvii. 6.

Faithful *are* the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy *are* deceitful.

The Gospel
according
to St.
Matthew v.
3.

Blessed *are* the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed *are* they that mourn: for they shall be comforted. Blessed *are* the meek: for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed *are* they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled. Blessed *are* the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed *are* the pure in heart: for they shall see God. Blessed *are* the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed *are* they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when *men* shall revile you, and persecute *you*, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men. Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled. Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach *them*, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven. For I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall exceed *the righteousness* of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.

Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment: But I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment:

and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council : but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire.

Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery : But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart. And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast *it* from thee : for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not *that* thy whole body should be cast into hell. It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement : But I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery : and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery.

St. Matt. v.
27—46.

Again, ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the LORD thine oaths : But I say unto you, Swear not at all ; neither by heaven ; for it is God's throne : Nor by the earth ; for it is his footstool : neither by Jerusalem ; for it is the city of the great king. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your communication be Yea, yea ; Nay, nay : for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.

Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you ; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven : for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye ? do not even the publicans the same ? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them : otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven. Therefore when thou doest *thine* alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward. But when thou doest alms,

vi. 1.

let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth: That thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret himself shall reward thee openly.

St. Matt. vi.
5-8,
16, 19-25,
27, 31-34.

And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites *are*: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly. But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen *do*: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him.

Moreover when ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward.

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also. The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!

No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment? Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature? Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, what shall we drink? or, wherewithal shall we be clothed? (For after all these things do the Gentiles seek): for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you. Take

therefore no thought for the morrow : for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

For every one that asketh receiveth ; and he that seeketh findeth ; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them : for this is the law and the prophets. St. Matt. vii.
8, 12-16,
21-29.

Enter ye in at the strait gate : for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat : Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.

Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits.

Not every one that saith unto me, LORD, LORD, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven ; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many will say to me in that day, LORD, LORD, have we not prophesied in thy name ? and in thy name have cast out devils ? and in thy name done many wonderful works ? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you : depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock : and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house ; and it fell not : for it was founded upon a rock. And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man which built his house upon the sand : and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house ; and it fell : and great was the fall of it.

And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine : For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes. x. 9, 11-15.

Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, enquire who in it is worthy ; and there abide till ye go thence. And when ye come into a house, salute it. And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it : but if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you. And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet. Verily I say unto you, it shall be more

tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgment, than for that city.

St. Matt. x.
16-24,
26-39.

Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves : be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. But beware of men : for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues ; and ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles. But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak ; for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you. And the brother shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child : and the children shall rise up against *their* parents, and cause them to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all *men* for my name's sake : but he that endureth to the end shall be saved ; But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another : for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come. The disciple is not above *his* master, nor the servant above his lord. Fear them not, therefore : for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed ; and hid, that shall not be known. What I tell you in darkness, *that* speak ye in light : and what ye hear in the ear, *that* preach ye upon the housetops. And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul ; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing ? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows. Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven. Think not that I am come to send peace on earth : I come not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man's foes *shall be* they of his own household. He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me : and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it : and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.

He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me. He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward. And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold *water* only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward.

St. Matt. x.
40-42.

He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad. Wherefore I say unto you, all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but the blasphemy *against the Holy Ghost* shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the *world* to come. Either make the tree good, and his fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt, and his fruit corrupt: for the tree is known by *his* fruit. O generation of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things? for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. A good man out of the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good things: and an evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth evil things. But I say unto you, That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment. For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.

xii. 30-37.

For this people's heart is waxed gross, and *their* ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; lest at any time they should see with *their eyes*, and hear with *their ears*, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them. But blessed *are* your eyes, for they see: and your ears, for they hear. For verily I say unto you, That many prophets and righteous *men* have desired to see *those things* which ye see, and have not seen *them*; and to hear *those things* which ye hear, and have not heard *them*.

xiii. 15-19.

Hear ye therefore the parable of the sower. When any one heareth the word of the kingdom, and understandeth it not; then cometh the wicked *one*, and catcheth away that which was sown in his heart. This is he which received seed by the way side.

And it came to pass, that he went through the corn-fields on the sabbath-day; and his disciples began, as they went, to pluck the ears of corn. And the Pharisees said unto him, Behold,

The Gospe
according
to St. Mark
ii. 23

St. Mark ii.
23-28.

why do they on the sabbath-day that which is not lawful? And he said unto them, Have ye never read what David did, when he had need, and was an hungered, he, and they that were with him? How he went into the House of God in the days of Abiathar the high priest, and did eat the shew-bread, which is not lawful to eat but for the priests, and gave also to them which were with him? And he said unto them, The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath: Therefore the Son of man is LORD also of the sabbath.

iii. 1-14.

And he entered again into the synagogue; and there was a man there which had a withered hand. And they watched him, whether he would heal him on the Sabbath-day, that they might accuse him. And he saith unto the man which had the withered hand, Stand forth. And he saith unto them, Is it lawful to do good on the sabbath-days, or to do evil? to save life or to kill? But they held their peace. And when he had looked round about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts, he saith unto the man, Stretch forth thine hand. And he stretched it out: and his hand was restored whole as the other. And the Pharisees went forth, and straightway took counsel with the Herodians against him, how they might destroy him. But Jesus withdrew himself with his disciples to the sea: and a great multitude from Galilee followed him, and from Judea, and from Jerusalem, and from Idumea, and from beyond Jordan; and they about Tyre and Sidon, a great multitude, when they had heard what great things he did, came unto him. And he spake to his disciples, that a small ship should wait on him because of the multitude, lest they should throng him. For he had healed many; insomuch that they pressed upon him for to touch him, as many as had plagues. And unclean spirits, when they saw him, fell down before him, and cried, saying, Thou art the Son of God. And he straitly charged them that they should not make him known.

And he goeth up into a mountain, and calleth unto him whom he would: and they came unto him. And he ordained twelve, that they should be with him, and that he might send him forth to preach.

viii. 3 -36.

And when he had called the people unto him, with his disciples also, he said unto them, whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it. For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose

Anno Domini
1856.



Charles William Gregory,

Third Son of the late Rich^d.
Gregory of the City of London, a
Member of Elogds & the
Honourable Artillery
Company in 1803, was
the 3rd Son of Richard
Gregory of Chesham
brother of John Gregory
of St. Margaret's, West
minster, Gentleman.
Descendant from the
Gregories of Eastingham
in Yorkshire from whence
the Predecessors of
the said John (about
the year 1525) removed
to East Stock in
Lincolnshire where
they continued until
thence expelled by
the Calamities of
the Wars, through
the loyalty of his
Father, Lieut. Col.
William Gregory
and his two elder
brethren William
and Gilbert.

his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation; of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

St. Mark
viii. 38.

All things are delivered to me of my Father: and no man knoweth who the Son is, but the Father; and who the Father is, but the Son, and *he* to whom the Son will reveal *him*.

The Gospel
according
to St. Luke
x. 22-37.

And he turned him unto his disciples, and said privately, Blessed *are* the eyes which see the things that ye see: For I tell you, that many prophets and kings have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen *them*; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard *them*.

And, behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted him, saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life? He said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest thou? And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself. And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live. But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour? And Jesus answering said, A certain *man* went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded *him*, and departed, leaving *him* half dead. And by chance there came down a certain priest that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked *on him*, and passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he had compassion *on him*, and went to *him*, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. And on the morrow when he departed, he took out two-pence, and gave *them* to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee. Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among thieves? And he said, He that shewed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go and do thou likewise.

A lawyer
tempts his
Divine
Master.

A cruel
Priest, and
a Levite.

He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal. If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall also

St. John
xiii. 25, 26.

my servant be: if any man serve me, him will *my* Father honour.

The Book of
Psalms ix.
3, 4. When mine enemies are turned back, they shall fall and perish at thy presence. For thou hast maintained my right and my cause; thou satest in the throne judging right.

xviii. 27-29,
32. For thou wilt save the afflicted people; but wilt bring down high looks. For thou wilt light my candle: the Lord my God will enlighten my darkness. For by thee I have run through a troop; and by my God have I leaped over a wall. It is God that girdeth me with strength, and maketh my way perfect.

xxii. 13,
22-24. They gaped upon me *with* their mouths, *as* a ravening and a roaring lion. I will declare thy name unto my brethren: in the midst of the congregation will I praise thee. Ye that fear the LORD, praise him; all ye the seed of Jacob, glorify him; and fear him, all ye the seed of Israel. For he hath not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted; neither hath he hid his face from him; but when he cried unto him, he heard.

xxiv. 4. He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully. He shall receive the blessing from the LORD, and righteousness from the God of his salvation.

xxv. 9, 10,
19, 21. The meek will he guide in judgment: and the meek will he teach his way. All the paths of the LORD are mercy and truth unto such as keep his covenant and his testimonies. Consider mine enemies; for they are many: and they hate me with cruel hatred. Let integrity and uprightness preserve me; for I wait on thee.

xxvi. 4, 9,
10. I have not sat with vain persons, neither will I go in with dissemblers. Gather not my soul with sinners, nor my life with bloody men: In whose hands is mischief, and their right hand is full of bribes.

xxvii. 2, 3,
12. When the wicked, even mine enemies and my foes, came upon me to eat up my flesh, they stumbled and fell. Though an host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear: though war should rise against me, in this will I be confident. Deliver me not over unto the will of mine enemies: for false witnesses are risen up against me, and such as breathe out cruelty.

xxviii. 3-5. Draw me not away with the wicked, and with the workers of iniquity, which speak peace to their neighbours, but mischief *is* in their hearts. Give them according to their deeds, and according to the wickedness of their endeavours: give them after the

work of their hands; render to them their desert. Because they regard not the works of the Lord, nor the operation of his hands, he shall destroy them, and not build them up.

I have hated them that regard lying vanities: but I trust in the LORD. For I have heard the slander of many: fear *was* on every side; while they took counsel together against me, they devised to take away my life. But I trusted in thee, O LORD: I said, Thou *art* my God. My times are in thy hand: deliver me from the hand of mine enemies, and from them that persecute me. Let the lying lips be put to silence; which speak grievous things proudly and contemptuously against the righteous. Psalm xxxi.
6, 13-18.

Many sorrows shall be to the wicked: but he that trusteth in the LORD, mercy shall compass him about. xxxii. 10.

For the word of the LORD is right; and all his works *are* *done* in truth. xxxiii. 4.

Blessed *is* the nation whose God *is* the LORD; *and* the people *whom* he hath chosen for his own inheritance. xxxiii. 12.

This poor man cried, and the LORD heard *him*, and saved him out of all his troubles. Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it. The face of the LORD is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth. Evil shall slay the wicked: and they that hate the righteous shall be desolate. xxxiv. 6, 13,
14, 16, 21.

PLEAD *my cause*, O LORD, with them that strive with me: fight against them that fight against me. Take hold of shield and buckler, and stand up for mine help. Draw out also the spear, and stop *the way* against them that persecute me: say unto my soul, I am thy salvation. Let them be confounded and put to shame that seek after my soul: let them be turned back and brought to confusion that devise my hurt. Let them be as chaff before the wind: and let the angel of the LORD chase *them*. Let their way be dark and slippery: and let the angel of the LORD persecute them. For without cause they have hid for me their net *in* a pit, *which* without cause they have digged for my soul. Let destruction come upon him at unawares; and let his net that he hath hid catch himself: into that very destruction let him fall. And my soul shall be joyful in the LORD: it shall rejoice in his salvation. All my bones shall say, LORD, who *is* like unto thee, which deliverest the poor from him that is too strong for him, yea, the poor and the needy from him that

Psalms
xxxv. 11-28.

spoileth him? False witnesses did rise up; they laid to my charge *things* that I knew not. They rewarded me evil for good to the spoiling of my soul. But as for me, when they were sick, my clothing *was* sackcloth: I humbled my soul with fasting; and my prayer returned into mine own bosom. I behaved myself as though *he had been* my friend or brother: I bowed down heavily, as one that mourneth for *his* mother. But in mine adversity they rejoiced, and gathered themselves together: *yea*, the abjects gathered themselves together against me, and I knew it not; they did tear *me*, and ceased not: With hypocritical mockers in feasts, they gnashed upon me with their teeth. LORD, how long wilt thou look on? rescue my soul from their destructions, my darling from the lions. I will give thee thanks in the great congregation: I will praise thee among much people. Let not them that are mine enemies wrongfully rejoice over me: *neither* let them wink with the eye that hate me without a cause. For they speak not peace: but they devise deceitful matters against *them that are* quiet in the land. Yea, they opened their mouth wide against me, *and* said, Aha, aha, our eye hath seen it. *This* thou hast seen, O LORD: keep not silence: O LORD, be not far from me. Stir up thyself, and awake to my judgment, even unto my cause, my God and my LORD. Judge me, O LORD my God, according to thy righteousness; and let them not rejoice over me. Let them not say in their hearts, Ah, so would we have it: let them not say, We have swallowed him up. Let them be ashamed and brought to confusion together that rejoice at mine hurt: let them be clothed with shame and dishonour that magnify *themselves* against me. Let them shout for joy, and be glad, that favour my righteous cause: yea, let them say continually, Let the LORD be magnified, which hath pleasure in the prosperity of his servant. And my tongue shall speak of thy righteousness *and* of thy praise all the day long.

xxxvi. 1-5,
11, 12.

The transgression of the wicked saith within my heart, *that there is* no fear of God before his eyes. For he flattereth himself in his own eyes, until his iniquity be found to be hateful. The words of his mouth *are* iniquity and deceit: he hath left off to be wise, *and* to do good. He deviseth mischief upon his bed; he setteth himself in a way *that is* not good; he abhorreth not evil. Thy mercy, O LORD, *is* in the heavens; *and* thy faithfulness *reacheth* unto the clouds. Let not the foot of pride come against me, and let not the hand of the wicked

remove me. There are the workers of iniquity fallen : they are cast down, and shall not be able to rise.

Fret not thyself because of evil-doers, neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity. For they shall soon be cut down like the grass, and wither as the green herb. Trust in the LORD, and do good ; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed. Delight thyself also in the LORD ; and he shall give thee the desires of thine heart. Commit thy way unto the LORD ; trust also in him ; and he shall bring *it* to pass. And he shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgment as the noon-day. Rest in the LORD, and wait patiently for him : fret not thyself because of him who prospereth in his way, because of the man who bringeth wicked devices to pass. Cease from anger, and forsake wrath : fret not thyself in anywise to do evil. For evil-doers shall be cut off : but those that wait upon the LORD, they shall inherit the earth. For yet a little while, and the wicked *shall* not be : yea, thou shalt diligently consider his place, and it *shall* not be. But the meek shall inherit the earth ; and shall delight themselves in the abundance of peace. The wicked plotteth against the just, and gnasheth upon him with his teeth. The LORD shall laugh at him : for he seeth that his day is coming. The wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow, to cast down the poor and needy, *and* to slay such as be of upright conversation. The sword shall enter into their own heart, and their bows shall be broken. A little that a righteous man hath *is* better than the riches of many wicked. For the arms of the wicked shall be broken : but the LORD upholdeth the righteous. The LORD knoweth the days of the upright : and their inheritance shall be for ever. They shall not be ashamed in the evil time : and in the days of famine they shall be satisfied. But the wicked shall perish, and the enemies of the LORD *shall be as* the fat of lambs : they shall consume ; into smoke shall they consume away. The wicked borroweth, and payeth not again : but the righteous sheweth mercy, and giveth. For *such as be blessed* of him shall inherit the earth ; and *they that be* cursed of him shall be cut off. The steps of a *good* man are ordered by the LORD : and he delighteth in his way. Though he fall, he shall not be utterly cast down : for the LORD upholdeth *him with* his hand. Depart from evil, and do good ; and dwell for evermore. For the LORD loveth judgment, and forsaketh not his saints ; The mouth of the righteous speaketh wisdom, and

Psalm
xxxvii. 1-28.

Psalm
xxxvii.
30-40.

his tongue talketh of judgment. The law of his God *is* in his heart ; none of his steps shall slide. The wicked watcheth the righteous, and seeketh to slay him. The LORD will not leave him in his hand, nor condemn him when he is judged. I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay tree. Yet he passed away, and, lo, he *was* not : yea, I sought him, but he could not be found. Mark the perfect *man*, and behold the upright : for the end of *that* man *is* peace. But the transgressors shall be destroyed together : the end of the wicked shall be cut off. But the salvation of the righteous *is* the LORD : *he is* their strength in the time of trouble. And the LORD shall help them, and deliver them : he shall deliver them from the wicked, and save them, because they trust in him.

xl. 4, 6, 10. Blessed *is* that man that maketh the LORD his trust, and respecteth not the proud, nor such *as* turn aside to lies. Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire ; mine ears hast thou opened : burnt-offering and sin-offering hast thou not required. I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart ; I have declared thy faithfulness and thy salvation : I have not concealed thy loving-kindness and thy truth from the great congregation.

xli. 1, 5, 7, 9, 11. Blessed is he that considereth the poor : the LORD will deliver him in time of trouble. Mine enemies speak evil of me, when shall he die, and his name perish ? All that hate me whisper together against me : against me do they devise my hurt. Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me. By this, I know that thou favourest me, because mine enemy doth not triumph over me.

xliv. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 13, 20, 21. We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, *what* work thou didst in their days, in the times of old. How thou didst drive out the heathen with thy hand, and routedst them ; how thou didst afflict the people, and cast them out. Through thee will we push down our enemies : through thy name will we tread them under that rise up against us. But thou hast saved us from our enemies, and hast put them to shame that hated us. In God we boast all the day long, and praise thy name forever. Selah. Thou makest us a reproach to our neighbours, a scorn and a derision to them that are round about us. If we have forgotten the name of our God, or stretched out our hands to a strange God ; shall not God search this out ? for he knoweth the secrets of the heart.

God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. Psal. xlii. 1-11.
 Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea; *Though* the waters thereof roar *and* be troubled, *though* the mountains shake with the swelling thereof. Selah. *There is* a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God, the holy *place* of the tabernacles of the most High. God *is* in the midst of her; she shall not be moved: God shall help her, *and that* right early. The heathen raged, the kingdoms were moved: he uttered his voice, the earth melted. The LORD of hosts *is* with us; the God of Jacob *is* our refuge. Selah. Come, behold the works of the LORD, what desolations he hath made in the earth. He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire. Be still, and know that I *am* God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth. The LORD of hosts *is* with us; the God of Jacob *is* our refuge. Selah.

For the LORD most High *is* terrible; *he is* a great King xlvii. 2, 3.
 over all the earth. He shall subdue the people under us, and the nations under our feet.

God is known in her palaces for a refuge. For, lo, the kings xlviii. 3-6, 14.
 were assembled, they passed by together. They saw *it*, *and* so they marvelled; they were troubled, *and* hasted away. Fear took hold upon them there, *and* pain, as of a woman in travail. For this God *is* our God for ever and ever: he will be our guide even unto death.

Hear this, all *ye* people; give ear, all *ye* inhabitants of the xlix. 1-4, 6-12
 world: Both low and high, rich and poor, together. My mouth shall speak of wisdom; and the meditation of my heart *shall be* of understanding. I will incline mine ear to a parable: They that trust in their wealth, and boast themselves in the multitude of their riches; None *of them* can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him: (For the redemption of their soul *is* precious, and it ceaseth for ever:) That he should still live for ever, *and* not see corruption. For he seeth *that* wise men die, likewise the fool and the brutish person perish, and leave their wealth to others. Their inward thought *is*, *that* their houses *shall continue* for ever, *and* their dwelling-places to all generations; they call *their* lands after their own names. Nevertheless man *being* in honour abideth not: he is like the beasts *that* perish. This their way *is* their folly: yet

Psalm xlix.
14-20.

their posterity approve their sayings. Selah. Like sheep they are laid in the grave; death shall feed on them; and the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning; and their beauty shall consume in the grave from their dwelling. But God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave: for he shall receive me. Selah. Be not thou afraid when one is made rich, when the glory of his house is increased; For when he dieth he shall carry nothing away: his glory shall not descend after him. Though while he lived he blessed his soul: and *men* will praise thee, when thou doest well to thyself. He shall go to the generation of his fathers; they shall never see light. Man that is in honour and understandeth not, is like the beasts *that* perish.

i. 3-6, 14-23.

Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence: a fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him. He shall call to the heavens from above, and to the earth, that he may judge his people. Gather my saints together unto me; those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice. And the heavens shall declare his righteousness: for God *is* judge himself. Selah. Offer unto God thanksgiving; and pay thy vows unto the most High: And call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me. But unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or *that* thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth? Seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest my words behind thee. When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers. Thou givest thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit. Thou sittest *and* speakest against thy brother; thou slanderest thine own mother's son. These *things* hast thou done, and I kept silence; thou thoughtest that I was altogether *such an one* as thyself: *but* I will reprove thee, and set *them* in order before thine eyes. Now consider this, ye that forget God, lest I tear you in pieces, and *there be* none to deliver. Whoso offereth praise glorifieth me: and to him that ordereth *his* conversation *aright* will I shew the salvation of God.

li. 17.

The sacrifices of God *are* a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

lii. 1-3.

Why boastest thou thyself in mischief, O mighty man? the goodness of God endureth continually. Thy tongue deviseth mischiefs; like a sharp razor, working deceitfully. Thou lovest evil more than good; *and* lying rather than to speak righteous-

ness. Selah. Thou lovest all devouring words, O *thou* deceitful tongue. God shall likewise destroy thee for ever, he shall take thee away, and pluck thee out of *thy* dwelling-place, and root thee out of the land of the living. Selah. The righteous also shall see, and fear, and shall laugh at him: Lo *this is* the man *that* made not God his strength; but trusted in the abundance of his riches, *and* strengthened himself in his wickedness. Psalm lii.
3-7.

The fool hath said in his heart, *There is* no God. Corrupt are they, and have done abominable iniquity: *there is* none that doeth good. God looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were *any* that did understand, that did seek God. Every one of them is gone back: they are altogether become filthy; *there is* none that doeth good, no, not one. Have the workers of iniquity no knowledge? who eat up my people *as* they eat bread: they have not called upon God. liii. 1-4.

Save me, O God, by thy name, and judge me by thy strength. Hear my prayer, O God; give ear to the words of my mouth. For strangers are risen up against me, and oppressors seek after my soul: they have not set God before them. Selah. Behold, God *is* mine helper: the LORD *is* with them that uphold my soul. He shall reward evil unto mine enemies: cut them off in thy truth. I will freely sacrifice unto thee: I will praise thy name, O LORD; for *it is* good. For he hath delivered me out of all trouble: and mine eye hath seen *his desire* upon mine enemies. liv. 1-7.

Evening, and morning, and at noon, will I pray, and cry aloud: and he shall hear my voice. But thou, O God, shalt bring them down into the pit of destruction: bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days. lv. 17, 23.

Their poison is like the poison of a serpent: *they are* like the deaf adder *that* stoppeth her ear; The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance: he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked. So that a man shall say, Verily *there is* a reward for the righteous: verily he is a God that judgeth in the earth. lviii. 4, 10,
11.

Slay them not, lest my people forget: scatter them by thy power; and bring them down, O LORD our shield. For the sin of their mouth *and* the words of their lips let them even be taken in their pride: and for cursing and lying *which* they speak. Consume *them* in wrath, consume *them* that they *may* not be: and let them know that God ruleth in Jacob unto the ends of the earth. Selah. lix. 11-

Thou hast made the earth to tremble; thou hast broken it: lx. 2.

Psalm lx.
3, 4, 10-12.

heal the breaches thereof; for it shaketh. Thou hast shewed thy people hard things: thou hast made us to drink the wine of astonishment. Thou hast given a banner to them that feared thee, that it may be displayed because of the truth. Selah. *Wilt* not thou, O God, which hadst cast us off? and *thou*, O God, which didst not go out with our armies? Give us help from trouble: for vain *is* the help of man. Through God we shall do valiantly: for he *it is that* shall tread down our enemies.

lxi. 1-3.

Hear my cry, O God; attend unto my prayer. From the end of the earth will I cry unto thee, when my heart is overwhelmed: lead me to the rock *that* is higher than I. For thou hast been a shelter for me *and* a strong tower from the enemy.

lxii. 3-12.

How long will ye imagine mischief against a man? Ye shall be slain all of you: as a bowing wall *shall ye be, and as* a tottering fence. They only consult to cast *him* down from his excellency: they delight in lies: they bless with their mouth, but they curse inwardly. Selah. My soul, wait thou only upon God; for my expectation *is* from him. He only *is* my rock and my salvation: he is my defence; I shall not be moved. In God *is* my salvation and my glory: the rock of my strength, *and* my refuge, *is* in God. Trust in him at all times; ye people, pour out your heart before him: God *is* a refuge for us. Selah.

Men of high
degree are
a lie.

Surely men of low degree *are* vanity, *and* men of high degree *are* a lie: to be laid in the balance, they *are* altogether *lighter* than vanity. Trust not in oppression, and become not vain in robbery: if riches increase, set not your heart *upon them*. God hath spoken once; twice have I heard this; that power *belongeth* unto God. Also unto thee, O LORD, *belongeth* mercy: for thou renderest to every man according to his work.

lxiv. 1-9.

Hear my voice, O God, in my prayer: preserve my life from fear of the enemy. Hide me from the secret counsel of the wicked; from the insurrection of the workers of iniquity: Who whet their tongue like a sword, *and* bend *their bows to shoot* their arrows, *even* bitter words: That they may shoot in secret at the perfect: suddenly do they shoot at him, and fear not. They encourage themselves *in* an evil matter: they commune of laying snares privily; they say, Who shall see them? They search out iniquities; they accomplish a diligent search: both the inward *thought* of every one *of them*, and the heart *is* deep. But God shall shoot at them *with* an arrow; suddenly shall they be wounded. So they shall make their own tongue to fall upon themselves: all that see them shall flee away. And all men

shall fear, and shall declare the work of God; for they shall wisely consider of his doing. The righteous shall be glad in the LORD, and shall trust in him; and all the upright in heart shall glory. Psalm lxiv.
10.

Say unto God, How terrible *art thou* in thy works! through the greatness of thy power shall thine enemies submit themselves unto thee. All the earth shall worship thee, and shall sing unto thee; they shall sing *to* thy name. Selah. Come and see the works of God: *he is* terrible in *his* doing towards the children of men. He turned the sea into dry *land*: they went through the flood on foot: there did we rejoice in him. He ruleth by his power for ever; his eyes behold the nations: let not the rebellious exalt themselves. Selah. O bless our God, ye people, and make the voice of his praise to be heard: which holdeth our soul in life, and suffereth not our feet to be moved. For thou, O God, hast proved us: thou hast tried us, as silver is tried. Thou broughtest us into the net; thou laidest affliction upon our loins. Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads; we went through fire and through water: but thou broughtest us out into a wealthy *place*. Come *and* hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he hath done for my soul. I cried unto him with my mouth, and he was extolled with my tongue. If I regard iniquity in my heart, the LORD will not hear *me*: But verily God hath heard me; he hath attended to the voice of my prayer. Blessed be God, which hath not turned away my prayer, nor his mercy from me. lxvi.
3-12, 16-20.

Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered: let them also that hate him flee before him. As smoke is driven away, so drive them away: as wax melteth before the fire, so let the wicked perish at the presence of God. A father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows, *is* God in his holy habitation. The LORD gave the word: great *was* the company of those that published *it*. But God shall wound the head of his enemies, and the hairy scalp of such an one as goeth on still in his trespasses. That thy foot may be dipped in the blood of *thine* enemies, and the tongue of thy dogs in the same. O God, *thou art* terrible out of thy holy places: the God of Israel *is* he that giveth strength and power unto *his* people. Blessed *be* God. lxviii. 1, 2,
5, 11, 21,
23, 35,

Let their table become a snare before them: and *that which should have been* for their welfare, let it become a trap. Let their eyes be darkened, that they see not; and make their loins continually to shake. Pour out thine indignation upon them, lxix. 22-24.

Psalm lxi.
25-28.

and let thy wrathful anger take hold of them. Let their habitation be desolate; *and* let none dwell in their tents. For they persecute *him* whom thou hast smitten; and they talk to the grief of those whom thou hast wounded. Add iniquity unto their iniquity: and let them not come into thy righteousness. Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous.

lxxi. 4, 5,
7, 10, 11,
17, 20.

Deliver me, O my God, out of the hand of the wicked, out of the hand of the unrighteous and cruel man. For thou *art* my hope, O LORD GOD: *thou art* my trust from my youth. I am as a wonder unto many; but thou *art* my strong refuge. For mine enemies speak against me; and they that lay wait for my soul take counsel together, saying, God hath forsaken him; for *there is* none to deliver *him*. O God, thou hast taught me from my youth: and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works. *Thou*, which hast shewed me great and sore troubles, shalt quicken me again, and shalt bring me up again from the depths of the earth.

lxxii 4,
11-14, 18,
19.

He shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor. Yea, all kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall serve him: For he shall deliver the needy when he crieth; the poor also, and *him* that hath no helper. He shall spare the poor and needy, and shall save the souls of the needy. He shall redeem their soul from deceit and violence: and precious shall their blood be in his sight. Blessed *be* the LORD GOD, the God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things. And blessed be his glorious name for ever: and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen, and Amen.

lxxiii. 8, 12.

They are corrupt, and speak wickedly concerning oppression: they speak loftily. Behold, these are the ungodly, who prosper in the world; they increase *in* riches.

lxxiv. 23.

Forget not the voice of thine enemies: the tumult of those that rise up against thee increaseth continually.

lxxvii 1, 2.

I cried unto God with my voice, *even* unto God with my voice; and he gave ear unto me. In the day of my trouble I sought the LORD.

lxxxii. 1-4.
8.

God standeth in the congregation of the mighty; he judgeth among the gods. How long will he judge unjustly, and accept the persons of the wicked? Selah. Defend the poor and fatherless: do justice to the afflicted and needy. Deliver the poor and needy: rid *them* out of the hand of the wicked. They

know not, neither will they understand: they walk on in darkness: all the foundations of the earth are out of course. Arise, O God, judge the earth: for thou shalt inherit all nations.

Psalms
lxxxii. 58.

Keep not thou silence, O God: hold not thy peace, and be not still, O God. For, lo, thine enemies make a tumult: and they that hate thee have lifted up the head. They have taken crafty counsel against thy people, and consulted against thy hidden ones. They have said, come, and let us cut them off from *being* a nation; that the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance. For they have consulted together with one consent: they are confederate against thee: Do unto them as *unto* the Midianites; as to Sisera, as *to* Jabin, at the brook of Kison: *Which* perished at En-dor: they became *as* dung for the earth. Make their nobles like Oreb, and like Zeeb: yea, all their princes as Zebah, and as Zalmunna: Who said, Let us take to ourselves the houses of God in possession. O my God, make them like a wheel; as the stubble before the wind. As the fire burneth a wood, and as the flame setteth the mountains on fire; so persecute them with thy tempest, and make them afraid with thy storm. Fill their faces with shame; that they may seek thy name, O Lord. Let them be confounded and troubled for ever; yea, let them be put to shame, and perish. That *men* may know that thou, whose name alone is JEHOVAH, art the most High over all the earth.

lxxxiii. 1-5,
9-18.

Israel
effaced as a
Nation by
the enemies
of the Di-
vine King.

O LORD God of hosts, hear my prayer: give ear, O God of Jacob. Selah. Behold, O God our shield, and look upon the face of thine anointed. For a day in thy courts *is* better than a thousand. I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness. For the LORD God *is* a sun and shield: the LORD will give grace and glory: no good *thing* will he withhold from them that walk uprightly. O LORD of hosts, blessed *is* the man that trusteth in thee.

lxxxiv. 8-12.

Bow down thine ear, O LORD, hear me: for I *am* poor and needy. Preserve my soul; for I *am* holy: O thou my God, save thy servant that trusteth in thee. Be merciful unto me, O LORD: for I cry unto thee daily. Rejoice the soul of thy servant: for unto thee, O LORD, do I lift up my soul. For thou, LORD, *art* good, and ready to forgive; and plenteous in mercy unto all them that call upon thee. Give ear, O LORD, unto my prayer; and attend to the voice of my supplications. In the day of my trouble I will call upon thee: for thou wilt

lxxxvi. 1-7.

Psalm
lxxxvi. 8-10,
14-17.

answer me. Among the gods *there is* none like unto thee, O LORD; neither *are there any works* like unto thy works. All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O LORD; and shalt glorify thy name. For thou *art* great, and doest wondrous things: thou *art* God alone. O God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent *men* have sought after my soul; and have not set thee before them. But thou, O LORD, *art* a God full of compassion, and gracious, long-suffering, and plenteous in mercy and truth. O turn unto me, and have mercy upon me; give thy strength unto thy servant, and save the son of thine handmaid. Shew me a token for good; that they which hate me may see *it*, and be ashamed: because thou, LORD, hast holpen me, and comforted me.

lxxxix. 6-28. For who in the heaven can be compared unto the LORD? *who* among the sons of the mighty can be likened unto the LORD? God is greatly to be feared in the assembly of the saints, and to be had in reverence of all *them that are* about him. O LORD God of hosts, *who is* a strong LORD like unto thee? or to thy faithfulness round about thee? Thou rulest the raging of the sea: when the waves thereof arise, thou stillest them. Thou hast broken Rahab in pieces, as one that is slain; thou hast scattered thine enemies with thy strong arm. The heavens *are* thine, the earth also *is* thine: *as for* the world and the fulness thereof, thou hast founded them. The north and the south thou hast created them: Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name. Thou hast a mighty arm: strong is thy hand, *and* high is thy right hand. Justice and judgment *are* the habitation of thy throne: mercy and truth shall go before thy face. Blessed *is* the people that know the joyful sound: they shall walk, O LORD, in the light of thy countenance. In thy name shall they rejoice all the day: and in thy righteousness shall they be exalted. For thou *art* the glory of their strength: and in thy favour our horn shall be exalted. For the Lord *is* our defence; and the Holy One of Israel *is* our King. Then thou spakest in vision to thy Holy One, and saidst, I have laid help upon *one* that is mighty: I have exalted *one chosen* out of the people. I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him: With whom my hand shall be established: mine arm also shall strengthen him. The enemy shall not exact upon him; nor the son of wickedness afflict him. And I will beat down his foes before his face, and

plague them that hate him. But my faithfulness and my mercy *shall be* with him : and in my name shall his horn be exalted. I will set his hand also in the sea, and his right hand in the rivers. He shall cry unto me, Thou *art* my father, my God, and the rock of my salvation. Also I will make him my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth. My mercy will I keep for him for evermore, and my covenant shall stand fast with him.

Psalm
lxxxix.
24-28.

A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand ; *but* it shall not come nigh thee. Only with thine eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the wicked. Because thou hast made the LORD, *which is* my refuge, *even* the most High, thy habitation ; There shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling. For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in *their* hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone. Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder : the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet. Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him : I will set him on high, because he hath known my name. He shall call upon me, and I will answer him : *I will be* with him in trouble ; I will deliver him, and honour him. With long life will I satisfy him, and show him my salvation.

xcii. 7-16.

For thou, LORD, hast made me glad through thy work : I will triumph in the works of thy hands. O LORD, how great are thy works ! *and* thy thoughts are very deep. A brutish man knoweth not ; neither doth a fool understand this. When the wicked spring as the grass, and when all the workers of iniquity do flourish ; *it is* that they shall be destroyed for ever : But thou, LORD, *art most* high for evermore. For, lo, thine enemies, O LORD, for, lo, thine enemies shall perish ; all the workers of iniquity shall be scattered. Mine eye also shall see *my desire* on mine enemies, *and* mine ears shall hear *my desire* of the wicked that rise up against me. The righteous shall flourish like the palm-tree : he shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon. Those that be planted in the house of the LORD shall flourish in the courts of our God. To shew that the LORD is upright : *he is* my rock, and *there is* no unrighteousness in him.

xciii. 4-9,
11-13, 15.

O LORD God, to whom vengeance belongeth : O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, shew thyself. Lift up thyself, thou Judge of the earth : render a reward to the proud. LORD, how long shall the wicked, how long shall the wicked triumph ?

xciv. 1-3.

Psalm xciv.
4-23.

How *long* shall they utter *and* speak hard things? *and* all the workers of iniquity boast themselves? They break in pieces thy people, O LORD, and afflict thine heritage. They slay the widow and the stranger, and murder the fatherless. Yet they say, The LORD shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard *it*. Understand, ye brutish among the people: and ye fools, when will ye be wise? He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? he that formed the eye, shall he not see? He that chastiseth the heathen, shall not he correct? he that teacheth man knowledge, *shall not he know*? The LORD knoweth the thoughts of man, that they *are* vanity. Blessed *is* the man whom thou chastenest, O LORD, and teachest him out of thy law; That thou mayest give him rest from the days of adversity, until the pit be digged for the wicked. For the LORD will not cast off his people, neither will he forsake his inheritance. But judgment shall return unto righteousness: and all the upright in heart shall follow it. Who will rise up for me against the evil-doers? *or* who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity? Unless the LORD *had been* my help, my soul had almost dwelt in silence. When I said, My foot slippeth; thy mercy, O LORD, held me up. In the multitude of my thoughts within me thy comforts delight my soul. Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a law? They gather themselves together against the soul of the righteous, and condemn the innocent blood. But the LORD is my defence; and my God *is* the rock of my refuge. And he shall bring upon them their own iniquity, and shall cut them off in their own wickedness; yea, the LORD our God shall cut them off.

xcvii. 1-7,
9, 10.

The LORD reigneth; let the earth rejoice: let the multitude of isles be glad *thereof*. Clouds and darkness *are* round about him: righteousness and judgment *are* the habitation of his throne. A fire goeth before him, and burneth up his enemies round about. His lightnings enlightened the world: the earth saw, and trembled. The hills melted like wax at the presence of the LORD, at the presence of the LORD of the whole earth. The heavens declare his righteousness, and all the people see his glory. Confounded be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols: worship him, all *ye* gods. For thou, LORD, *art* high above all the earth: thou art exalted far above all gods. Ye that love the LORD, hate evil: he preserveth the souls of his saints; he delivereth them out of the hand of the

Confusion
be upon
them who
bow down
to graven
images.

wicked. Light is sown for the righteous, and gladness for the upright in heart. Rejoice in the LORD, ye righteous; and give thanks at the remembrance of his holiness. Psalm xcvi. 11, 12.

Thou answeredest them, O LORD our God: thou wast a God that forgavest them, though thou tookest vengeance of their inventions. xcix. 8.

Wherefore should the heathen say, Where *is* now their God? But our God *is* in the heavens: he hath done whatsoever he hath pleased. Their idols *are* silver and gold, the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not: eyes have they, but they see not: they have ears, but they hear not: noses have they, but they smell not: they have hands, but they handle not: feet have they, but they walk not: neither speak they through their throat. They that make them are like unto them; *so is* every one that trusteth in them. Ye that fear the LORD, trust in the LORD: he *is* their help and their shield. The LORD hath been mindful of us: he will bless *us*; he will bless the house of Israel; he will bless the house of Aaron. He will bless them that fear the LORD, *both* small and great. The LORD shall increase you more and more, you and your children. Ye *are* blessed of the LORD which made heaven and earth. The heaven, *even* the heavens, *are* the LORD'S: but the earth hath he given to the children of men. The dead praise not the LORD, neither any that go down into silence. But we will bless the LORD from this time forth for evermore. Praise ye the LORD. cxv. 2-8, 11-17.
Papistical Idols.
The Great King will bless the Nation of Israel.

The LORD *is* on my side; I will not fear: what can man do unto me? The LORD taketh my part with them that help me: therefore shall I see *my desire* upon them that hate me. It *is* better to trust in the LORD than to put confidence in man. It *is* better to trust in the LORD than to put confidence in princes. All nations compassed me about: but in the name of the LORD will I destroy them. They compassed me about; yea, they compassed me about: but in the name of the LORD I will destroy them. They compassed me about like bees; they are quenched *as* the fire of thorns: for in the name of the LORD I will destroy them. cxviii. 6-12.
Better to trust in the Great and Mighty King than man or princes.

Thou hast rebuked the proud *that are* cursed, which do err from thy commandments. Remove from me reproach and contempt; for I have kept thy testimonies. Thy testimonies also *are* my delight *and* my counsellors. Before I was afflicted I went astray: but now have I kept thy word. The proud have forged a lie against me: *but* I will keep thy precepts with *my* whole heart. cxix. 21, 22, 24, 67, 69.

Psalm cxix.

71, 72,

74-76,

78, 79, 91,

92, 98-100,

102,

104-106,

115, 118,

119, 121,

126, 130,

133, 134,

137-142.

155, 157,

158.

It *is* good for me that I have been afflicted; that I might learn thy statutes. The law of thy mouth *is* better unto me than thousands of gold and silver. They that fear thee will be glad when they see me; because I have hoped in thy word. I know, O LORD, that thy judgments *are* right, and *that* thou in faithfulness hast afflicted me. Let, I pray thee, thy merciful kindness be for my comfort, according to thy word unto thy servant. Let the proud be ashamed; for they dealt perversely with me without a cause: *but* I will meditate in thy precepts. Let those that fear thee turn unto me, and those that have known thy testimonies. They continue this day according to thine ordinances: for all *are* thy servants. Unless thy law *had been* my delights, I should then have perished in mine affliction. Thou through thy commandments hast made me wiser than mine enemies: for they *are* ever with me. I have more understanding than all my teachers: for thy testimonies *are* my meditation. I understand more than the ancients, because I keep thy precepts. I have not departed from thy judgments: for thou hast taught me. Through thy precepts I get understanding: therefore I hate every false way. Thy word *is* a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path. I have sworn, and I will perform *it*, that I will keep thy righteous judgments. Depart from me, ye evil-doers: for I will keep the commandments of my God. Thou hast trodden down all them that err from thy statutes: for their deceit *is* falsehood. Thou puttest away all the wicked of the earth *like dross*: therefore I love thy testimonies. I have done judgment and justice: leave me not to mine oppressors. It *is* time for thee, LORD, to work: *for* they have made void thy law. The entrance of thy words giveth light; it giveth understanding unto the simple. Order my steps in thy word: and let not any iniquity have dominion over me. Deliver me from the oppression of man: so will I keep thy precepts. Righteous *art* thou, O LORD, and upright *are* thy judgments. Thy testimonies *that* thou hast commanded, *are* righteous and very faithful. My zeal has consumed me, because mine enemies have forgotten thy words. Thy word *is* very pure: therefore thy servant loveth it. I am small and despised: *yet* do not I forget thy precepts. Thy righteousness *is* an everlasting righteousness, and thy law *is* the truth. Salvation *is* far from the wicked: for they seek not thy statutes. Many *are* my persecutors and mine enemies; *yet* do I not decline from thy testimonies. I beheld the transgressors, and *was* grieved; because they kept not thy word.

I *am* for peace ; but when I speak they are for war.

My help *cometh* from the LORD, which made heaven and earth.

Psalm
cxx. 7.
cxxi. 2.

For I know that the LORD *is* great, and *that* our LORD *is* above all gods : Whatsoever the LORD pleased, *that* did he in heaven, and in earth, in the seas, and all deep places. He causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth ; he maketh lightnings for the rain ; he bringeth the wind out of his treasures. Who smote the first-born of Egypt, both of man and beast. Who sent tokens and wonders into the midst of thee, O Egypt, upon Pharoah, and upon all his servants. Who smote great nations, and slew mighty kings ; Sihon, king of the Amorites, and Og king of Bashan, and all the kingdoms of Canaan : and gave their land *for* an heritage, an heritage unto Israel his people. Thy name, O LORD, *endureth* for ever ; *and* thy memorial, O LORD, throughout all generations. For the LORD will judge his people, and he will repent himself concerning his servants. The idols of the heathen *are* silver and gold, the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not ; eyes have they, but they see not ; they have ears, but they hear not ; neither is there any breath in their mouths. They that make them are like unto them : so *is* every one that trusteth in them.

ccccv. 5-18.

Tractarian
and Pusey-
ite admirers
of graven
images.

Though I walk in the midst of trouble, thou wilt revive me : thou shalt stretch forth thine hand against the wrath of mine enemies, and thy right hand shall save me. The LORD will perfect *that* which concerneth me : thy mercy, O LORD, *endureth* for ever : forsake not the works of thine own hands.

ccccviii. 7,
8.

I will praise thee ; for I am fearfully *and* wonderfully made : marvellous *are* thy works ; and *that* my soul knoweth right well. My substance was not hid from thee, when I was made in secret, *and* curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth. Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being unperfect ; and in thy book all *my* members were written, *which* in continuance were fashioned, when *as yet there was* none of them. How precious also are thy thoughts unto me, O God ! how great is the sum of them ! If I should count them, they are more in number than the sand : when I awake, I am still with thee. Surely thou wilt slay the wicked, O God : depart from me therefore, ye bloody men. For they speak against thee wickedly, *and* thine enemies take *thy* name in vain. Do not I hate them, O LORD, that hate thee ? and am not I grieved with those that rise up

ccxxix.
14-21.

Psalm
cxxxix.
22-24.

against thee? I hate them with perfect hatred: I count them mine enemies. Search me, O God, and know my heart: try me, and know my thoughts: and see if *there be any* wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting.

cxl. 8-12.

Grant not, O LORD, the desires of the wicked: further not his wicked device; lest they exalt themselves. Selah. As for the head of those that compass me about, let the mischief of their own lips cover them. Let burning coals fall upon them: let them be cast into the fire; into deep pits, that they rise not up again. Let not an evil speaker be established in the earth: evil shall hunt the violent man to overthrow *him*. I know that the LORD will maintain the cause of the afflicted, *and* the right of the poor.

cxliii.
10, 12.

Teach me to do thy will; for thou art my God: thy spirit is good; lead me into the land of uprightness. And of thy mercy cut off mine enemies, and destroy all them that afflict my soul: for I *am* thy servant.

cxliv. 1-4,
15, 6.

Blessed *be* the LORD my strength, which teacheth my hands to war, *and* my fingers to fight: my goodness and my fortress; my high tower, and my deliverer; my shield, and *he* in whom I trust; who subdueth my people under me. LORD, what *is* man, that thou takest knowledge of him! or the son of man, that thou makest account of him! Man is like to vanity: his days *are* as a shadow that passeth away. Bow thy heavens, O LORD, and come down: touch the mountains, and they shall smoke. Cast forth lightning, and scatter them: shoot out thine arrows, and destroy them.

cxlv. 6, 11,
12.

And *men* shall speak of the might of thy terrible acts: and I will declare thy greatness. They shall speak of the glory of thy kingdom, and talk of thy power; To make known to the sons of men his mighty acts, and the glorious majesty of his kingdom.

cxlvi. 7-10.

Which executeth judgment for the oppressed: which giveth food to the hungry. The LORD looseth the prisoners: The LORD openeth *the eyes* of the blind: the LORD raiseth them that are bowed down: the LORD loveth the righteous: The LORD preserveth the strangers; he relieveth the fatherless and widow: but the way of the wicked he turneth upside down. The LORD shall reign for ever, *even* thy God, O Zion, unto all generations. Praise ye the LORD.

cl. 6

Let every thing that hath breath praise the LORD. Praise ye the LORD.

Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. Come now, and let us reason together, saith the LORD: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be made as wool. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land: But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

Isaiah i.
17-26, 28,
31,

How is the faithful city become an harlot! it was full of judgment; righteousness lodged in it; but now murderers. Thy silver is become dross, thy wine mixed with water: Thy princes *are* rebellious, and companions of thieves: every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards: they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them. Therefore saith the LORD, the LORD of hosts, the mighty One of Israel, Ah, I will ease me of mine adversaries, and avenge me of mine enemies: And I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin: And I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: afterwards thou shalt be called, The city of righteousness, the faithful city.

And the destruction of the transgressors and of the sinners *shall be* together, and they that forsake the LORD shall be consumed. And the strong shall be as tow, and the maker of it as a spark, and they shall both burn together, and none shall quench *them*.

ALMIGHTY God, who through thine only-begotten Son Jesus Christ hast overcome death, and opened unto us the gate of everlasting life; We humbly beseech thee, that, as by thy special grace preventing us, thou dost put into our minds good desires, so by thy continual help we may bring the same to good effect; through Jesus Christ our LORD, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

City, Easter Day, 1856.

AN EXPOSITION
OF
JUST AND DIVINE PESTILENCE

TAKEN FROM THE WRITINGS OF

DANIEL DE FOE,

A CITIZEN OF LONDON, MERCHANT ADVENTURER, AND SHIP-OWNER.

"The pestilence which walketh in darkness, and the destruction that wasteth at noon-day."—PSALM xci. 6.

Pestilence
brought
from
abroad.

It was about the beginning of September, 1664, that I, among the rest of my neighbours, heard, in ordinary discourse, that the plague was returned again in Holland; for it had been very violent there, and particularly at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, in the year 1663, whither they say it was brought, some said from Italy, others from the Levant, among some goods which were brought home by their Turkey fleet; others said it was brought from Candia; others from Cyprus. It mattered not from whence it came; but all agreed it was come into Holland again.

We had no such thing as printed newspapers in those days, to spread rumours and reports of things; and to improve them by the inventions of men, as I have lived to see practised since. But such things as those were gathered from the letters of merchants and others who corresponded abroad, and from them was handed about by word of mouth only; so that things did not spread instantly over the whole nation, as they do now. But it seems that the Government had a true account of it, and several councils were held about ways to prevent its coming over; but all was kept very private. Hence it was that this rumour died off again, and people began to forget it, as a thing we were very little concerned in, and that we hoped was not true; till the latter end of November, or the beginning of December, 1664, when two men, said to be Frenchmen, died of

the plague in Long-acre, or rather at the upper end of Drury-lane. The family they were in endeavoured to conceal it as much as possible; but as it had gotten some vent in the discourse of the neighbourhood, the Secretaries of State got knowledge of it. And concerning themselves to inquire about it, in order to be certain of the truth, two physicians and a surgeon were ordered to go to the house and make inspection. This they did; and finding evident tokens of the sickness upon both the bodies that were dead, they gave their opinions publicly, that they died of the plague; whereupon it was given in to the parish clerk, and he also returned them to the hall; and it was printed in the weekly bill of mortality in the usual manner, thus:—

Commences
in the city
of West-
minster.

Plague, 2.—Parishes infected, 1.

The people showed a great concern at this, and began to be alarmed all over the town, and the more, because in the last week in December, 1664, another man died in the same house, and of the same distemper; and then we were easy again for about six weeks, when none having died with any marks of infection, it was said the distemper was gone; but after that, I think it was about the 12th of February, another died in another house, but in the same parish, and in the same manner.

This turned the people's eyes pretty much towards that end of the town; and the weekly bills showing an increase of burials in St. Giles's parish more than usual, it began to be suspected that the plague was among the people at that end of the town; and that many had died of it, though they had taken care to keep it as much from the knowledge of the public as possible; this possessed the heads of the people very much, and few cared to go through Drury-lane, or the other streets suspected, unless they had extraordinary business that obliged them to it.

This increase of the bills stood thus; the usual number of burials in a week, in the parishes of St. Giles's in the Fields and St. Andrew's Holborn, were from 12 to 17 or 19 each, few more or less; but from the time that the plague first began in St. Giles's parish, it was observed that the ordinary burials increased in number considerably. For example:—

From December 27 to January 3.	St. Giles's . 16
	St. Andrew's 17
January 3 to January 10.	St. Giles's . 12
	St. Andrew's 25
January 10 to January 17.	St. Giles's . 18
	St. Andrew's 18

January 17 to January 24.	St. Giles's	23
	St. Andrew's	16
January 24 to January 31.	St. Giles's	24
	St. Andrew's	15
January 31 to February 7.	St. Giles's	21
	St. Andrew's	23
February 7 to February 14.	St. Giles's	24
	whereof 1 of the plague.	

The like increase of the bills was observed in the parish of St. Bride's, adjoining on one side of Holborn parish, and in the parish of St. James's, Clerkenwell, adjoining on the other side of Holborn; in both which parishes the usual numbers that died weekly, were from 4 to 6 or 8, whereas at that time they were increased, as follows:—

From December 20 to December 27.	St. Bride's	0
	St. James's	8
December 27 to January . 3.	St. Bride's	6
	St. James's	9
January . 3 to January . 10.	St. Bride's	11
	St. James's	7
January . 10 to January . 17.	St. Bride's	12
	St. James's	9
January . 17 to January . 24.	St. Bride's	9
	St. James's	15
January . 24 to January . 31.	St. Bride's	8
	St. James's	12
January . 31 to February . 7.	St. Bride's	13
	St. James's	5
February . 7 to February . 14.	St. Bride's	12
	St. James's	6

Besides this, it was observed with great uneasiness by the people, that the weekly bills in general increased very much during these weeks, although it was at a time of the year when usually the bills are very moderate.

The usual number of burials within the bills of mortality for a week, was from about 240, or thereabouts, to 300. The last was esteemed a pretty high bill; but after this we found the bills successively increasing, as follows:—

	Buried.	Increased.
From December 20 to December 27.	291	
December 27 to January . 3.	349	58
January . 3 to January . 10.	394	45

		Buried.	Increased.
From January	10 to January	17. . 415	21
January	17 to January	24. . 474	59

This last bill was really frightful, being a higher number than had been known to have been buried in one week, since the preceding visitation of 1656.

However, all this went off again, and the weather proving cold, and the frost, which began in December, still continuing very severe, even till near the end of February, attended with sharp though moderate winds, the bills decreased again, and the city grew healthy, and everybody began to look upon the danger as good as over: only that still the burials in St. Giles's continued high: from the beginning of April especially they stood at 25 each week, till the week from the 18th to the 25th, when there was buried in St. Giles's parish 30, whereof two of the plague, and eight of the spotted fever, which was looked upon as the same thing; likewise the number that died of the spotted fever in the whole increased, being eight the week before, and 12 the week above-named.

This alarmed us all again, and terrible apprehensions were among the people, especially the weather being now changed and growing warm, and the summer being at hand; however, the next week there seemed to be some hopes again, the bills were low, the number of the dead in all was but 388; there was none of the plague, and but four of the spotted fever.

But the following week it returned again, and the distemper was spread into two or three other parishes, *viz.*, St. Andrew's, Holborn; St. Clement's Danes, and, to the affliction of the city, one died within the walls in the parish of St. Mary, Woolchurch, that is to say, in Bearbinder-lane, near the Stock-market; in all there were nine of the plague, six of the spotted fever. It was, however, upon inquiry found that this Frenchman, who died in Bearbinder-lane, was one who, having lived in Long-acre, near the infected houses, had removed for fear of the distemper, not knowing that he was already infected.

This was the beginning of May, yet the weather was temperate, variable, and cool enough, and people had still some hopes. That which encouraged them was that the city was healthy—the whole 97 parishes buried but 54—and we began to hope, that as it was chiefly among the people at that end of the town, it might go no further; and the rather, because the next week, which was from the 9th of May to the 16th, there died but three, of

which not one within the whole city or liberties, and St. Andrew's buried but 15, which was very low. It is true St. Giles's buried 32, but still as there was but one of the plague, people began to be easy; the whole bill also was very low, for the week before the bill was but 347, and the week above-mentioned but 343. We continued in these hopes for a few days; but it was but for a few, for the people were no more to be deceived thus; they searched the houses, and found that the plague was really spread every way, and that many died of it every day; so that now all our extenuations abated, and it was no more to be concealed, nay it quickly appeared that the infection had spread itself beyond all hopes of abatement; that in the parish of St. Giles's it was gotten into several streets, and several families lay all sick together; and, accordingly, in the weekly bill for the next week, the thing began to show itself; there was indeed but 14 set down of the plague, but this was all knavery and collusion; for in St. Giles's parish they buried 40 in all, whereof it was certain most of them died of the plague, though they were set down of other distempers; and though the number of all the burials was not increased above 32, and the whole bill being but 385, yet there were 14 of the spotted fever, as well as 14 of the plague; and we took it for granted, upon the whole, that there were 50 died that week of the plague.

Spotted
Fever.

The next bill was from the 23rd of May to the 30th, when the number of the plague was 17; but the burials in St. Giles's were 53, a frightful number! of whom they set down but nine of the plague; but on an examination more strictly by the justices of the peace, and at the Lord Mayor's request, it was found there were 20 more, who were really dead of the plague in that parish, but had been set down of spotted fever or other distempers, besides others concealed.

But those were trifling things to what followed immediately after; for now the weather set in hot, and from the first week in June the infection spread in a dreadful manner, and the bills rose high, the articles of the fever, spotted fever, and teeth, began to swell; for all that could conceal their distempers did it to prevent their neighbours shunning and refusing to converse with them; and also to prevent authority shutting up their houses, which, though it was not practised, yet was threatened, and people were extremely terrified at the thoughts of it. The second week in June, the parish of St. Giles's, where still the weight of the infection lay, buried 120, whereof, though the

bills said but 68 of the plague, everybody said there had been 100 at least, calculating it from the usual number of funerals in that parish as above.

Till this week the city continued free, there having never any died except that one Frenchman, whom I mentioned before, within the whole 97 parishes. Now there died four within the city, one in Wood-street, one in Fenchurch-street, and two in Crooked-lane. Southwark was entirely free, having not one yet died on that side of the water.

Pestilence
reaches the
city of
London.

I lived without Aldgate, about mid-way between Aldgate church and Whitechapel-bars, on the left hand or north side of the street; and as the distemper had not reached to that side of the city, our neighbourhood continued very easy; but at the other end of the town their consternation was very great; and the richer sort of people, especially the nobility and gentry, from the west part of the city, thronged out of town, with their families and servants, in an unusual manner: and this was more particularly seen in Whitechapel; that is to say, the broad street where I lived; indeed nothing was to be seen but waggons and carts, with goods, women, servants, children, &c. coaches filled with people of the better sort, and horsemen attending them, all hurrying away; then empty waggons and carts appeared, and spare horses with servants, who it was apparent were returning or sent from the country to fetch more people; besides innumerable numbers of men on horseback, some alone, others with servants, and, generally speaking, all loaded with baggage and fitted out for travelling, as any one might perceive by their appearance.

This was a very terrible and melancholy thing to see, and as it was a sight which I could not but look on from morning to night, for indeed there was nothing else of moment to be seen: it filled me with very serious thoughts of the misery that was coming upon the city, and the unhappy condition of those that would be left in it.

I now began to consider seriously with myself, concerning my own case, and how I should dispose of myself; that is to say, whether I should resolve to stay in London, or shut up my house and flee, as many of my neighbours did. I have set this particular down so fully, because I know not but it may be of moment to those who come after me, if they come to be brought to the same distress, and to the same manner of making their choice, and, therefore, I desire this account may pass with them, rather

for a direction for themselves to act by than a history of my actings, seeing it may not be of one farthing value to them to note what became of me.

I had two important things before me : the one was the carrying on my business and shop, which was considerable, and in which was embarked all my effects in the world ; and the other was the preservation of my life in so dismal a calamity as I saw apparently was coming upon the city ; and which, however, great as it was, my fears, perhaps, as well as other people's, represented to be much greater than it could be.

The first consideration was of great moment to me ; my trade was a saddler, and as dealings were not chiefly by a shop or chance trade, but among the merchants trading to the English colonies in America, so my effects lay very much in the hands of such. I was a single man, it is true, but I had a family of servants, whom I kept at my business, had a house, shop, and warehouses filled with goods : and, in short, to leave them all as things in such a case must be left, that is to say, without any overseer or person fit to be trusted with them, had been to hazard the loss not only of my trade but of my goods, and indeed of all I had in the world.

I had an elder brother at the same time in London, and not many years before come over from Portugal ; and advising with him, his answer was in three words, the same that was given in another case quite different, viz., "Master save thyself." In a word, he was for my retiring into the country, as he resolved to do himself, with his family ; telling me what he had, it seems, heard abroad, that the best preparation for the plague was to run away from it. As to my argument of losing my trade, my goods, or debts, he quite confuted me ; he told me the same thing which I argued for my staying, viz., that I would trust God with my safety and health, was the strongest repulse to my pretensions of losing my trade and my goods ; "for," says he, "is it not as reasonable that you should trust God with the chance or risk of losing your trade, as that you should stay in so imminent a point of danger, and trust him with your life ?"

He pressed my going very earnestly, and I had once resolved to comply with his desires, but at that time could get no horse ; for though, it is true, all the city did not go out of the city of London, yet I may venture to say, that, in a manner, all the horses did ; for there was hardly a horse to be bought or hired in the whole city for some weeks. Once I resolved

to travel on foot with one servant, and, as many did, lie at no inn, but carry a soldier's tent with us, and so lie in the fields, the weather being very warm. But then my servant, whom I had intended to take down with me, deceived me; and being frightened at the increase of the distemper, and not knowing when I should go, he took other measures, and left me, so I was put off for that time; and one way or other, I always found, that to appoint to go away was always crossed by some accident or other, so as to disappoint and put it off again; and this brings in a story, which otherwise might be thought a needless digression, viz., about these disappointments being from heaven.

I mention this story also as the best method I can advise any person to take in such a case, especially if he be one that makes conscience of his duty, and would be directed what to do in it, namely, that he should keep his eye upon the particular providences which occur at that time, and look at them complexly, as they regard one another, and as altogether regard the question before him, and then I think he may safely take them for intimations from heaven of what is his unquestioned duty to do in such a case; I mean as to going away from, or staying in, the place where we dwell, when visited with an infectious distemper.

It came very warmly into my mind, one morning, as I was musing on this particular thing, that, as nothing attended us without the direction or permission of Divine power, so these disappointments must have something in them extraordinary; and I ought to consider whether it did not evidently point out or intimate to me, that it was the will of heaven I should not go. It immediately followed in my thoughts, that if it really was from God that I should stay, he was able effectually to preserve me in the midst of all the death and danger that would surround me; and that if I attempted to secure myself by fleeing from my habitation, and acted contrary to these intimations, which I believed to be divine, it was a kind of flying from God, and that he would cause his justice to overtake me when and where he thought fit.

Divine
Power.

These thoughts quite turned my resolutions again, and when I came to discourse with my brother again, I told him I was inclined to stay and take my lot in that station in which God had placed me: and that it seemed to be made more especially my duty on account of what I have said.

My brother, though a very religious man himself, laughed at all I had suggested about its being an intimation from heaven,

and told me several stories about such fool-hardy people, as he called them, as I was; that I ought to submit to it as a work of heaven, if I had been any way disabled by distempers or diseases, and that then not being able to go, I ought to acquiesce in the direction of him, who having been my Maker, had an undisputed right of sovereignty in disposing of me; and that then there had been no difficulty to determine which was the call of his providence, and which was not; but that I should take it as an intimation from heaven, that I should not go out of town, only because I could not hire a horse to go, or my fellow was run away that was to attend me, was ridiculous; since, at the same time, I had my health and limbs, and other servants, and might with ease travel a day or two on foot, and having a good certificate of being in perfect health, might either hire a horse or take post on the road, as I thought fit.

Presump-
tion of
Turks and
Mahomet-
ans.

Then he proceeded to tell me of the mischievous consequences which attended the presumption of the Turks and Mahometans in Asia and other places where he had been (for my brother being a merchant, was, a few years before, as I have already observed, returned from abroad, coming last from Lisbon), and how, presuming upon their professed predestinating notions, and of every man's end being predetermined and unalterably before-hand decreed, they would go unconcerned into infected places, and converse with infected persons, by which means they died at the rate of ten or fifteen thousand a week, whereas the Europeans or Christian merchants, who kept themselves retired and reserved, generally escaped the contagion.

Upon these arguments my brother changed my resolutions again, and I began to resolve to go, and accordingly made all things ready; for, in short, the infection increased round me, and the bills were risen to almost 700 a week, and my brother told me he would venture to stay no longer. I desired him to let me consider of it but till the next day, and I would resolve; and, as I had already prepared everything as well as I could, as to my business, and whom to intrust my affairs with, I had little to do but to resolve.

I went home that evening greatly oppressed in my mind, irresolute, and not knowing what to do. I had set the evening wholly apart to consider seriously about it, and was all alone; for already people had, as it were, by a general consent, taken up the custom of not going out of doors after sunset, the reasons I shall have occasion to say more of by and by.

In the retirement of this evening I endeavoured to resolve first what was my duty to do, and I stated the arguments with which my brother had pressed me to go into the country, and I set against them the strong impression which I had on my mind for staying ; the visible call I seemed to have from the particular circumstance of my calling, and the care due from me for the preservation of my effects, which were, as I may say, my estate; also the intimations which I thought I had from heaven, that to me signified a kind of direction to venture ; and it occurred to me, that if I had what I might call a direction to stay, I ought to suppose it contained a promise of being preserved if I obeyed.

This lay close to me, and my mind seemed more and more encouraged to stay than ever, and supported with a secret satisfaction that I should be kept ; add to this, that turning over the Bible which lay before me, and while my thoughts were more than ordinarily serious upon the question, I cried out, "Well, I know not what to do ; Lord, direct me !" and the like ; and, at that juncture, I happened to stop turning over the book at the ninety-first Psalm, and casting my eyes on the second verse, I read on to the seventh verse inclusive ; and after that included the tenth, as follows : "I will say of the Lord, he is my refuge and my fortress, my God, in him will I trust. Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence. He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust ; his truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day ; nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness ; nor for the destruction that wasteth at noon-day. A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand ; but it shall not come nigh thee. Only with thine eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the wicked. Because thou hast made the Lord, which is my refuge, even the most High, thy habitation, there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling," &c.

Holy Bible.

Psalm xci.
2-10.
Divine
Mercy.

I scarce need tell the reader, that from that moment I resolved that I would stay in the town, and casting myself entirely upon the goodness and protection of the Almighty, would not seek any other shelter whatever ; and that as my times were in his hands, he was able to keep me in a time of infection as in a time of health ; and if he did not think fit to deliver me, still I was in his hands, and it was meet he should do with me as should seem good to him.

De Foe becomes very ill.

With this resolution I went to bed ; and I was further confirmed in it the next day, by the woman being taken ill with whom I had intended to intrust my house and all my affairs ; but I had a farther obligation laid on me on the same side, for the next day I found myself very much out of order also, so that if I would have gone away I could not, and I continued ill three or four days, and this entirely determined my stay ; so I took my leave of my brother, who went away to Dorking, in Surrey, and afterwards fetched a round further into Buckinghamshire, or Bedfordshire, to a retreat he had found out there for his family.

It was a very ill time to be sick in, for if any one complained, it was immediately said he had the plague ; and though I had, indeed, no symptoms of that distemper, yet, being very ill, both in my head and in my stomach, I was not without apprehension that I really was affected ; but in about three days I grew better. The third night I rested well, sweated a little, and was much refreshed ; the apprehensions of its being the infection went also quite away with my illness, and I went about my business as usual.

These things, however, put off all my thoughts of going into the country ; and my brother also being gone, I had no more debate, either with him or with myself, on that subject.

Pestilence reaches Southwark.

It was now mid-July, and the plague, which had chiefly raged at the other end of the town, and as I said before, in the parishes of St. Giles's, St. Andrew's (Holborn), and towards Westminster, began now to come eastward, towards the part where I lived. It was to be observed, indeed, that it did not come straight on towards us ; for the city, that is to say within the walls, was indifferently healthy still ; nor was it got then very much over the water into Southwark ; for though there died that week 1268, of all distempers, whereof it might be supposed above 900 died of the plague, yet there was but 28 in the whole city, within the walls, and but 19 in Southwark, Lambeth parish included ; whereas, in the parishes of St. Giles's and St. Martin's in the Fields alone, there died 421.

But we perceived the infection kept chiefly in the out-parishes, which being very populous, and fuller also of poor, the distemper found more to prey upon than in the city, as I shall observe afterward : we perceived, I say, the distemper to draw our way, viz., by the parishes of Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, Shoreditch, and Bishopsgate, which last two parishes joining to Aldgate, Whitechapel, and Stepney, the infection came at length to spread its

utmost rage and violence in those parts, even when it abated at the western parishes where it began.

It was very strange to observe, that in this particular week, from the 4th to the 11th of July, when, as I observed, there died near 400 of the plague in the two parishes of St. Martin's and St. Giles's in the Fields only, there died in the parish of Aldgate but four, in the parish of Whitechapel three, and in the parish of Stepney but one.

Judgment less severe upon the middle and working classes than with the aristocracy.

Likewise, in the next week, from the 11th of July to the 18th, when the week's bill was 1761, yet there died no more of the plague on the whole Southwark side of the river than 16.

But this face of things soon changed, and it began to thicken in Cripplegate parish especially, and in Clerkenwell; so that by the second week in August, Cripplegate parish alone buried 886, and Clerkenwell 155; of the first, 850 might well be reckoned to die of the plague; and of the last, the bill itself said 145 were of the plague.

During the month of July, and while, as I have observed, our part of the town seemed to be spared in comparison of the west part, I went ordinarily about the streets, as my business required, and particularly went, generally once in a day, or in two days, into the city, to my brother's house, which he had given me charge of, and to see if it was safe; and, having the key in my pocket, I used to go over the house, and over most of the rooms, to see that all was well; for though it be something wonderful to tell, that any should have hearts so hardened, in the midst of such a calamity, as to rob and steal, yet certain it is, that all sorts of villanies, and even levities and debaucheries, were then practised in the town as openly as ever. I will not say quite as frequently, because the numbers of people were many ways lessened.

But the city itself began now to be visited too, I mean within the walls; but the number of people there were indeed extremely lessened by so great a multitude having been gone into the country; and even all this month of July they continued to flee, although not in such multitudes as formerly. In August, indeed, they fled in such a manner that I began to think there would be really none but magistrates and servants left in the city.

As they fled now out of the city, so I should observe that the court removed early, viz., in the month of June, and went to Oxford, where it pleased God to preserve them; and the distemper did not, as I heard of, so much as touch them; for which

The Court underdread of the pestilence removes to Oxford.

E

Terrible
vices of the
Court.

I cannot say that I ever saw they showed any great token of thankfulness, and hardly anything of reformation, though they did not want being told that their crying vices might, without breach of charity, be said to have gone far in bringing that terrible judgment upon the whole nation.

Sorrow and
sadness of
the people.

The face of London was now, indeed, strangely altered—I mean the whole mass of buildings, city, liberties, suburbs, Westminster, Southwark, and altogether; for as to the particular part called the city, or within the walls, that was not yet much infected; but, in the whole, the face of things, I say, was much altered: sorrow and sadness sat upon every face; and though some parts were not yet overwhelmed, yet all looked deeply concerned; and as we saw it apparently coming on, so every one looked on himself and his family as in the utmost danger; were it possible to represent those times exactly to those that did not see them, and give the reader due ideas of the horror that everywhere presented itself, it must make just impressions upon their minds, and fill them with surprise. London might well be said to be all in tears; the mourners did not go about the streets, indeed, for nobody put on black, or made a formal dress of mourning for their nearest friends; but the voice of mourning was truly heard in the streets; the shrieks of women and children at the windows and doors of their houses where their dearest relations were perhaps dying, or just dead, were so frequent to be heard as we passed the streets, that it was enough to pierce the stoutest heart in the world to hear them. Tears and lamentations were seen in almost every house, especially in the first part of the visitation; for towards the latter end men's hearts were hardened, and death was so always before their eyes, that they did not so much concern themselves for the loss of their friends, expecting that themselves should be summoned the next hour.

Tears and
lamentations
of
people in al-
most every
house.

Business led me out sometimes to the other end of the town, even when the sickness was chiefly there; and as the thing was new to me, as well as to everybody else, it was a most surprising thing to see those streets, which were usually so thronged, now grown desolate, and so few people to be seen in them, that if I had been a stranger, and at a loss for my way, I might sometimes have gone the length of a whole street, I mean of the by-streets, and seen nobody to direct me, except watchmen, set at the doors of such houses as were shut up; of which I shall speak presently.

One day, being at that part of the town, on some special busi-

ness, curiosity led me to observe things more than usually, and, indeed, I walked a great way where I had no business; I went up Holborn, and there the street was full of people; but they walked in the middle of the great street, neither on one side nor the other, because, as I suppose, they would not mingle with anybody that came out of houses, or meet with smells and scents from houses that might be infected.

The inns of court were all shut up; nor were very many of the lawyers in the Temple, or Lincoln's Inn, or Gray's Inn, to be seen there. Everybody was at peace; there was no occasion for lawyers; besides, it being in the time of the vacation too, they were generally gone into the country. Whole rows of houses in some places were shut close up, the inhabitants all fled, and only a watchman or two left.

When I speak of rows of houses being shut up, I do not mean shut up by the magistrates, but that great numbers of persons followed the court, by the necessity of their employments, and other dependencies; and as others retired, really frightened with the distemper, it was a mere desolating of some of the streets; but the fright was not yet near so great in the city, abstractedly so called; and particularly because, though they were at first in a most inexpressible consternation, yet, as I have observed, that the distemper intermitted often at first, so they were as it were alarmed, and unalarmed again, and this several times, till it began to be familiar to them; and that even when it appeared violent, yet seeing it did not presently spread into the city, or the east and south parts, the people began to take courage, and to be, as I may say, a little hardened; it is true a vast many people fled, as I have observed, yet they were chiefly from the west end of the town; and from that we call the heart of the city, that is to say, among the wealthiest of the people, and such people as were unincumbered with trades and business: but of the rest, the generality stayed, and seemed to abide the worst; so that in the place we call the liberties, and in the suburbs, in Southwark, and in the east part, such as Wapping, Ratchiff, Stepney, Rotherhithe, and the like, the people generally stayed, except here and there a few wealthy families who, as above, did not depend upon their business.

It must not be forgotten here, that the city and suburbs were prodigiously full of people at the time of this visitation, I mean at the time that it began; for though I have lived to see a farther increase, and mighty throngs of people settling in London,

The furnaces of the High Court of Chancery, Ecclesiastical, and other unconstitutional Courts, put out by the pestilence. The legal tormentors flee therefrom.

The people of the City, &c. do not take warning from the violence of the pestilence upon the people of Westminster.

more than ever, yet we had always a notion that the numbers of people which, the wars being over, the armies disbanded, and the royal family and the monarchy being restored, had flocked to London to settle in business, or to depend upon and attend the court for rewards of services, preferments, and the like, was such, that the town was computed to have in it above a hundred thousand people more than ever it held before; nay, some took upon them to say it had twice as many, because all the ruined families of the royal party flocked hither; all the old soldiers set up trades here, and abundance of families settled here; again, the court brought with them a great flux of pride and new fashions; all people were grown gay and luxurious; and the joy of the restoration had brought a vast many families to London.

Jerusalem.
Romans
and Jews

I often thought that, as Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans, when the Jews were assembled together to celebrate the passover, by which means an incredible number of people were surprised there, who would otherwise have been in other countries: so the plague entered London when an incredible increase of people had happened occasionally by the particular circumstances above-named. As this conflux of the people to a youthful and gay court made a great trade in the city, especially in everything that belonged to fashion and finery; so it drew by consequence a great number of workmen, manufacturers, and the like, being mostly poor people, who depended upon their labour; and I remember, in particular, that in a representation to my Lord Mayor of the condition of the poor, it was estimated that there were no less than a hundred thousand riband-weavers in and about the city; the chiefest number of whom lived then in the parishes of Shoreditch, Stepney, White-chapel, and Bishopsgate; that, namely, about Spitalfields; that is to say, as Spitalfields was then, for it was not so large as now by one-fifth part.

By this, however, the number of people in the whole may be judged of; and, indeed, I often wondered, that after the prodigious numbers of people that went away at first, there was yet so great a multitude left as it appeared there was.

But I must go back again to the beginning of this surprising time. While the fears of the people were young, they were increased strangely by several odd accidents, which, put altogether, it was really a wonder the whole body of the people did not rise as one man, and abandon their dwellings, leaving the

place as a space of ground designed by heaven for an Aceldama, doomed to be destroyed from the face of the earth; and that all that would be found in it would perish with it. I shall name but a few of these things; but sure they were so many, and so many wizards and cunning people propagating them, that I have often wondered there was any (women especially) left behind.

Wizards
and cunning
people
spring up.

In the first place, a blazing star or comet appeared for several months before the plague, as there did the year after another, a little before the fire; the old women, and the phlegmatic hypochondriac part of the other sex, whom I could almost call old women too, remarked (especially afterward, though not till both those judgments were over), that those two comets passed directly over the city, and that so very near the houses, that it was plain they imported something peculiar to the city alone; that the comet before the pestilence was of a faint, dull, languid colour, and its motion very heavy, solemn, and slow: but that the comet before the fire was bright and sparkling, or, as others said, flaming, and its motion swift and furious; and that, accordingly, one foretold a heavy judgment, slow, but severe, terrible, and frightful, as was the plague; but the other foretold a stroke, sudden, swift, and fiery, as the conflagration; nay, so particular some people were, that as they looked upon that comet preceding the fire, they fancied that they not only saw it pass swiftly and fiercely, and could perceive the motion with their eye, but even they heard it: that it made a rushing mighty noise, fierce and terrible, though at a distance, and but just perceivable.

Signs and
forebodings
of the
Divinity.

I saw both these stars, and, I must confess, had so much of the common notion of such things in my head, that I was apt to look upon them as the forerunners and warnings of God's judgments; and especially when, after the plague had followed the first, I yet saw another of the like kind, I could not but say, God had not yet sufficiently scourged the city.

But I could not at the same time carry these things to the height that others did, knowing too, that natural causes are assigned by the astronomers for such things; and that their motions, and even their revolutions, are calculated or pretended to be calculated; so that they cannot be so perfectly called the forerunners or foretellers, much less the procurers, of such events as pestilence, war, fire, and the like.

But let my thoughts, and the thoughts of the philosophers, be or have been what they will, these things had a more than

The comet
alarms the
citizens.

ordinary influence upon the minds of the common people, and they had almost universal melancholy apprehensions of some dreadful calamity and judgment coming upon the city : and this principally from the sight of this comet, and the little alarm that was given in December by two people dying at St. Giles's, as above.

Destruction
of Nineveh.

The apprehensions of the people were likewise strangely increased by the error of the times ; in which, I think, the people, from what principles I cannot imagine, were more addicted to prophecies and astrological conjurations, dreams and old wives' tales, than ever they were before or since. Whether this unhappy temper was originally raised by the follies of some people who got money by it, that is to say, by printing predictions and prognostications, I know not ; but certain it is, books frightened them terribly ; such as "Lilly's Almanack," "Gadbury's Allogical Predictions," "Poor Robin's Almanack," and the like ; also several pretended religious books ; one entitled—"Come out of her, my People, lest you be Partaker of her Plagues ;"—another called, "Fair Warning ;"—another, "Britain's Remembrancer ;" and many such ; all, or most part of which, foretold, directly or covertly, the ruin of the city : nay, some were so enthusiastically bold as to run about the streets with their oral predictions, pretending they were sent to preach to the city ; and one in particular, who, like Jonah to Nineveh, cried in the streets, "Yet forty days, and London shall be destroyed." I will not be positive whether he said yet forty days, or yet a few days. Another ran about naked, except a pair of drawers about his waist, crying day and night, like a man that Josephus mentions, who cried, "Woe to Jerusalem !" a little before the destruction of that city ; so this poor naked creature cried, "O the great and the dreadful God !" and said no more, but repeated these words continually, with a voice and countenance full of horror, a swift pace, and nobody could ever find him to stop, or rest, or take any sustenance, at least, that ever I could hear of. I met this poor creature several times in the streets, and would have spoken to him, but he would not enter into speech with me, or any one else, but held on his dismal cries continually.

People
terrified.

These things terrified the people to the last degree ; and especially when two or three times, as I have mentioned already, they found one or two in the bills dead of the plague in St. Giles's.

Next to these public things were the dreams of old women, or, I should say, the interpretation of old women upon other people's dreams; and these put abundance of people even out of their wits; some heard voices warning them to be gone, for that there would be such a plague in London so that the living would not be able to bury the dead: others saw apparitions in the air; and I must be allowed to say of both, I hope without breach of charity, that they heard voices that never spake, and saw sights that never appeared; but the imagination of the people was really turned wayward and possessed: and no wonder if they who were poring continually at the clouds saw shapes and figures, representations and appearances, which had nothing in them but air and vapour. Here they told us they saw a flaming sword held in a hand, coming out of a cloud, with a point hanging directly over the city. There they saw hearses and coffins in the air, carrying to be buried. And there again, heaps of dead bodies lying unburied, and the like, just as the imagination of the poor terrified people furnished them with matter to work upon.

Old women
dream;
warning
voices, &c.

Flaming
sword, &c.

So hypochondriac fancies represent
Ships, armies, battles, in the firmament;
Till steady eyes the exhalations solve,
And all to its first matter, cloud, resolve.

I could fill this account with the strange relations such people gave every day of what they had seen; and every one was so positive of their having seen what they pretended to see, that there was no contradicting them without breach of friendship, or being accounted rude or unmannerly on the one hand, and profane and impenetrable on the other. One time, before the plague was begun (otherwise than, as I have said, in St. Giles's). I think it was in March, seeing a crowd of people in the street, I joined them to satisfy my curiosity, and found them all staring up into the air, to see what a woman told them appeared plain to her, which was an angel clothed in white, with a fiery sword in his hand, waving it or brandishing it over his head: she described every part of the figure to the life; showed them the motion and the form; and the poor people came into it so eagerly, and with so much readiness. "Yes, I see it all plainly," says one, "there is the sword as plain as can be." Another saw the angel. One saw his very face, and cried out, "What a glorious creature he was!" One saw one thing, and one another. I looked as earnestly as the rest, but, perhaps, not with so much

Signs and
wonders.

Dreadful
judgment
of the High
and Mighty
King fore-
told.

Defoe, an
unbeliever
and in
danger of
being
mobbed.

willingness to be imposed upon ; and I said, indeed, that I could see nothing but a white cloud, bright on one side, by the shining of the sun upon the other part. The woman endeavoured to show it me, but could not make me confess that I saw it, which, indeed, if I had, I must have lied ; but the woman turning upon me, looked in my face, and fancied I laughed ; in which her imagination deceived her too ; for I really did not laugh, but was very seriously reflecting how the poor people were terrified by the force of their own imagination. However she turned from me, called me a profane fellow and a scoffer ; told me that it was a time of God's anger, and dreadful judgments were approaching ; and that despisers, such as I, should wonder and perish.

The people about her seemed disgusted as well as she ; and I found there was no persuading them that I did not laugh at them ; and that I should be rather mobbed by them than be able to undeceive them : so I left them ; and this appearance passed for as real as the blazing star itself.

Another encounter I had in the open day also : and this was in going through a narrow passage from Petty-France into Bishopsgate church-yard, by a row of alms-houses ; there are two church-yards to Bishopsgate church or parish ; one we go over to pass from the place called Petty-France into Bishopsgate-street, coming out just by the church-door ; the other is on the side of the narrow passage where the alms-houses are on the left ; and a dwarf-wall with a palisade on it, on the right hand ; and the city wall on the other side, more to the right.

In this narrow passage stands a man looking through between the palisades into the burying-place, and as many people as the narrowness of the passage would admit to stop, without hindering the passage of others ; and he was talking mighty eagerly to them, and pointing now to one place, and then to another, and affirming that he saw a ghost walking upon such a grave-stone there ; he described the shape, the posture, and the movement of it so exactly, that it was the greatest matter of amazement to him in the world that everybody did not see it as well as he. On a sudden he would cry, "There it is—now it comes this way : " then, "'tis turned back : " till at length he persuaded the people into so firm a belief of it, that one fancied he saw it, and another fancied he saw it ; and thus he came every day, making a strange hubbub, considering it was in so narrow a passage, till Bishopsgate clock struck eleven ; and then the

ghost would seem to start, and, as if he were called away, disappeared on a sudden.

I looked earnestly every way, and at the very moment that this man directed, but could not see the least appearance of anything; but so positive was this poor man, that he gave people the vapours in abundance, and sent them away trembling and frightened: till, at length, few people that knew of it cared to go through that passage, and hardly anybody by night on any account whatever.

This ghost, as the poor man affirmed, made signs to the houses, and to the ground, and to the people; plainly intimating, or else they so understanding it, that abundance of the people should come to be buried in the church-yard, as, indeed, happened: but that he saw such aspects, I must acknowledge, I never believed; nor could I see anything of it myself, though I looked most earnestly to see it, if possible.

Prognostications of a ghost.

These things serve to show how far the people were really overcome with delusions; and as they had a notion of the approach of a visitation, all their predictions ran upon a most dreadful plague, which should lay the whole city, and even the kingdom, waste; and should destroy almost all the nation, both man and beast.

People are overcome with delusions.

To this, as I said before, the astrologers added stories of the conjunctions of planets in a malignant manner, and with a mischievous influence; one of which conjunctions was to happen, and did happen, in October, and the other in November; and they filled the people's heads with predictions on these signs of the heavens, intimating that those conjunctions foretold drought, famine, and pestilence; in the two first of them, however, they were entirely mistaken, for we had no drougthy season, but in the beginning of the year a hard frost, which lasted from December almost to March; and after that, moderate weather, rather warm than hot, with refreshing winds, and, in short, very seasonable weather; and also several very great rains.

Stories of astrologers.

Some endeavours were used to suppress the printing of such books as terrified the people, and to frighten the dispensers of them, some of whom were taken up, but nothing was done in it, as I am informed, the government being unwilling to exasperate the people, who were, as I may say, all out of their wits already.

Government unwilling to exasperate the people.

Neither can I acquit those ministers that, in their sermons, rather sunk than lifted up the hearts of their hearers; many of them, no doubt, did it for the strengthening the resolution of

Misconduct
of the
clergy.

the people, and especially for quickening them to repentance ; but it certainly answered not their end, at least not in proportion to the injury it did another way ; and indeed, as God himself, through the whole Scriptures, rather draws to him by invitations, and calls to turn to him to live, than drives us by terror and amazement ; so, I must confess, I thought the ministers should have done also, imitating our blessed LORD and Master in this, that his whole gospel is full of declarations from heaven of God's mercy, and his readiness to receive penitents, and

John v. 40.

forgive them ; complaining, "Ye will not come unto me that ye might have life ;" and that, therefore, his gospel is called the gospel of peace and the gospel of grace.

But we had some good men, and that of all persuasions and opinions, whose discourses were full of terror ; who spoke nothing but dismal things ; and as they brought the people together with a kind of horror, sent them away in tears, prophesying nothing but evil things ; terrifying the people with the apprehensions of being utterly destroyed, not guiding them, at least not enough, to cry to heaven for mercy,

Religious
breaches
in the
churches.

It was, indeed, a time of very unhappy breaches among us in matters of religion : innumerable sects, and divisions, and separate opinions prevailed among the people ; the Church of England was restored, indeed, with the restoration of the monarchy, about four years before ; but the ministers and preachers of the Presbyterians, and Independents, and of all the other sorts of professions, had begun to gather separate societies, and erect altar against altar, and all those had their meetings for worship apart, as they have now, but not so many then, the dissenters being not thoroughly formed into a body as they are since ; and those congregations which were thus gathered together were yet but few ; and even those that were, the government did not allow, but endeavoured to suppress them, and shut up their meetings.

But the visitation reconciled them again, at least for a time, and many of the best and most valuable ministers and preachers of the dissenters were suffered to go into the churches where the incumbents were fled away, as many were, not being able to stand it ; and the people flocked without distinction to hear them preach, not much inquiring who, or what opinion they were of ; but after the sickness was over, that spirit of charity abated, and every church being again supplied with their own ministers, or others presented, where the minister was dead, things returned to their old channel again.

One mischief always introduces another : these terrors and apprehensions of the people led them into a thousand weak, foolish, and wicked things, which they wanted not a sort of people really wicked to encourage them to ; and this was running about to fortune-tellers, cunning men, and astrologers, to know their fortune, or, as it is vulgarly expressed, to have their fortunes told them, their nativities calculated, and the like ; and this folly presently made the town swarm with a wicked generation of pretenders to magic, to the black art, as they call it, and I know not what ; nay, to a thousand worse dealings with the devil than they were really guilty of ; and this trade grew so open, and so generally practised, that it became common to have signs and inscriptions set up at doors :—" Here lives a fortune-teller,"—" Here lives an astrologer,"—" Here you may have your nativity calculated,"—and the like ; and Friar Bacon's brazen head, which was the usual sign of these people's dwellings, was to be seen almost in every street, or else the sign of Mother Shipton, or of Merlin's head, and the like.

Fortune-tellers and cunning men.

With what blind, absurd, and ridiculous stuff, these oracles of the devil pleased and satisfied the people I really know not ; but certain it is, that innumerable attendants crowded about their doors every day ; and if but a grave fellow, in a velvet jacket, a band, and a black cloak, which was the habit those quack-conjurors generally went in, was but seen in the streets, the people would follow them in crowds, and ask them questions as they went along.

Oracles of the devil and quack conjurors.

I need not mention what a horrid delusion this was, or what it tended to ; but there was no remedy for it, till the plague itself put an end to it all, and I supposed cleared the town of most of those calculators themselves. One mischief was, that if the poor people asked these mock astrologers whether there would be a plague, or no, they all agreed in the general to answer, yes ; for that kept up their trade : and had the people not been kept in a fright about that, the wizards would presently have been rendered useless, and their craft had been at an end ; but they always talked to them of such and such influences of the stars, of the conjunctions of such and such planets, which must necessarily bring sickness and distempers, and consequently the plague ; and some had the assurance to tell them the plague was begun already, which was too true, though they that said so knew nothing of the matter.

Mock astrologers.

The ministers, to do them justice, and preachers of most sorts,

Clergy
preach
against the
satellites of
the devil
and wicked
practices of
the igno-
rant.

that were serious and understanding persons, thundered against these, and other wicked practices, and exposed the folly as well the wickedness of them together ; and the most sober and judicious people despised and abhorred them ; but it was impossible to make any impression upon the middling people, and the working labouring poor ; their fears were predominant over all their passions, and they threw away their money in a most distracted manner upon those whimsies. Maid-servants especially, and men-servants, were the chief of their customers ; and their question generally was, after the first demand of " Will there be a plague ? " I say the next question was, " O, sir ! for the Lord's sake, what will become of me ? will my mistress keep me, or will she turn me off ? will she stay here, or will she go into the country ? and if she goes into the country, will she take me with her, or leave me here to be starved and undone ? " and the like of men-servants.

Terrible
distress be-
fel domestic
servants.

The truth is, the case of poor servants was very dismal, as I shall have occasion to mention again by-and-by ; for it was apparent a prodigious number of them would be turned away ; and it was so ; and of them abundance perished ; and particularly of those that these false prophets had flattered with hopes that they should be continued in their services, and carried with their masters and mistresses into the country ; and had not public charity provided for these poor creatures, whose number was exceeding great, and in all cases of this nature must be so, they would have been in the worst condition of any people in the city.

People ap-
peal to the
mercy of
God.

These things agitated the minds of the common people for many months while the first apprehensions were upon them, and while the plague was not, as I may say, yet broken out : but I must also not forget that the most serious part of the inhabitants behaved after another manner ; the government encouraged their devotion, and appointed public prayers, and days of fasting and humiliation, to make public confession of sin, and implore the mercy of God to avert the dreadful judgment which hung over their heads ; and it is not to be expressed with what alacrity the people of all persuasions embraced the occasion ; how they flocked to the churches and meetings, and they were all so thronged that there was often no coming near, no, not to the very doors of the largest churches ; also, there were daily prayers appointed morning and evening at several churches, and days of private praying at other places ; at all

which the people attended, I say, with an uncommon devotion : several private families, also, as well of one opinion as another, kept family fasts, to which they admitted their near relations only ; so that, in a word, those people who were really serious and religious applied themselves in a truly Christian manner to the proper work of repentance and humiliation, as a Christian people ought to do.

Again, the public showed that they would bear their share in these things. The very Court, which was then gay and luxurious, put on a face of just concern for the public danger. All the plays and interludes which, after the manner of the French Court, had been set up, and began to increase among us, were forbid to act : the gaming tables, public dancing rooms, and music houses, which multiplied, and began to debauch the manners of the people, were shut up and suppressed ; and the jack-puddings, merry-andrews, puppet-shows, rope-dancers, and such like doings, which had bewitched the poor common people, shut up their shops, finding, indeed, no trade, for the minds of the people were agitated with other things ; and a kind of sadness and horror at these things sat upon the countenances even of the common people ; death was before their eyes, and everybody began to think of their graves, not of mirth and diversions.

The Court
put on a
face of just
concern.

But even those wholesome reflections, which, rightly managed, would have most happily led the people to fall upon their knees, make confession of their sins, and look up to their merciful Saviour for pardon, imploring his compassion on them in such a time of their distress, by which we might have become as a second Nineveh, had a quite contrary extreme in the common people, who, ignorant and stupid in their reflections, as they were brutishly wicked and thoughtless before, were now led by their fright to extremes of folly ; and, as I have said before, that they ran to conjurers, and witches, and all sorts of deceivers, to know what should become of them ; who fed their fears, and kept them always alarmed and awake, on purpose to delude them, and pick their pockets : so they were as mad upon their running after quacks, and mountebanks, and every practising old woman for medicines and remedies, storing themselves with such multitudes of pills, potions, and preservatives, as they were called ; that they not only spent their money, but even poisoned themselves before hand, for fear of the poison of the infection, and prepared their bodics for the plague, instead of preserving them against it. On the other hand, it is incredible, and scarce

Nineveh
saved by
repentance.
See Book of
Jonah,
chap. iii.

Medical
poisoners.

to be imagined, how the posts of houses and corners of streets were plastered over with doctor's bills and papers of ignorant fellows quacking and tampering in physick, and inviting the people to come to them for remedies, which was generally set off with such flourishes as these, viz.—**INFALLIBLE** preventive pills against the plague,—**NEVER-FAILING** preservatives against the infection,—**SOVEREIGN** cordials against the corruption of the air,—**EXACT** regulations for the conduct of the body in case of an infection,—**Anti-pestilential** pills,—**INCOMPARABLE** drink against the plague, never found out before,—**An UNIVERSAL** remedy for the plague,—**The ONLY TRUE** plague water,—**The ROYAL ANTI-DOTE** against all kinds of infection; and such a number more that I cannot reckon up, and if I could, would fill a book of themselves to set them down.

Others set up bills to summon people to their lodgings, for directions and advice in the case of infection: these had specious titles also, such as these:—

An eminent high Dutch Physician, newly come over from Holland, where he resided during all the time of the great Plague last year in Amsterdam, and cured multitudes of people that actually had the Plague upon them.

An Italian gentlewoman, just arrived from Naples, having a choice secret to prevent infection, which she found out by her great experience, and did wonderful cures with it in the late Plague there, wherein there died 20,000 in one day.

An ancient gentlewoman, having practised with great success in the late Plague in this city, Anno. 1636, gives her advice only to the female sex. To be spoke with, &c.

An experienced physician, who has so long studied the doctrine of antidotes against all sorts of poison and infection, has, after forty years' practice, arrived to such skill as may, with God's blessing, direct persons how to prevent their being touched by any contagious distemper whatsoever. He directs the poor gratis.

I take notice of these by way of specimen; I could give you two or three dozen of the like, and yet have abundance left behind. It is sufficient from these to apprise any one of the humour of those times; and how a set of thieves and pickpockets not only robbed and cheated the poor people of their money, but poisoned their bodies with odious and fatal preparations; some with mercury, and some with other things as bad, perfectly

remote from the thing pretended to; and rather hurtful than serviceable to the body in case an infection followed.

I cannot omit a subtlety of one of those quack operators, with which he gulled the poor people to crowd about him, but did nothing for them without money. He had, it seems, added to his bills, which he gave about the street, this advertisement in capital letters, viz.—He gives advice to the poor for nothing.

Abundance of poor people came to him accordingly, to whom he made a great many fine speeches, examined them of the state of their health, and of the constitution of their bodies, and told them many good things for them to do, which were of no great moment: but the issue and conclusion of all was, that he had a preparation which if they took such a quantity of every morning, he would pawn his life they never should have the plague,—no, though they lived in the house with people that were infected. This made the people all resolve to have it; but then the price of that was so much, I think it was half-a-crown: “But, sir,” says one poor woman, “I am a poor alms-woman, and am kept by the parish, and your bills say, you give the poor your help for nothing.”—“Ay, good woman,” says the doctor, “so I do, as I published there: I give my advice to the poor for nothing, but not my physic!”—“Alas! sir,” says she, “that is a snare laid for the poor then; for you give them your advice for nothing, that is to say, you advise them gratis to buy your physic for their money; so does every shopkeeper with his wares.” Here the woman began to give him ill words, and stood at his door all that day, telling her tale to all the people that came, till the doctor, finding she turned away his customers, was obliged to call her up-stairs again, and give her his box of physic for nothing, which, perhaps too, was good for nothing when she had it.

Medical
snare for
the poor.

But to return to the people, whose confusions fitted them to be imposed upon by all sorts of pretenders, and by every mountebank. There is no doubt but these quacking sort of fellows raised great gains out of the miserable people; for we daily found the crowds that ran after them were infinitely greater, and their doors were more thronged, than those of Dr. Brooks, Dr. Upton, Dr. Hodges, Dr. Berwick, or any, though the most famous men of the time; and I was told that some of them got five pounds a day by their physic.

Profitable
sale of
physic, by
quack
Doctors.

But there was still another madness beyond all this, which may serve to give an idea of the distracted humour of the poor

people at that time; and this was their following a worse sort of deceivers than any of these; for these petty thieves only deluded them to pick their pockets and get their money, in which their wickedness, whatever it was, lay chiefly on the side of the deceivers deceiving, not upon the deceived: but in this part I am going to mention, it lay chiefly in the people deceived, or equally in both; and this was in wearing charms, philters, exorcisms, amulets, and I know not what preparations, to fortify the body with them against the plague; as if the plague was not the hand of God, but a kind of a possession of an evil spirit; and that it was to be kept off with crossings, signs of the zodiac, papers tied up with so many knots, and certain words or figures written on them, as particularly the word Abracadabra, formed in triangle or pyramid, thus:—

Specimens
of Jesuit-
ism.

ABRACADABRA
ABRACADABR
ABRACADAB
ABRACADA
ABRACAD
ABRACA
ABRAC
ABRA
ABR
AB
A

Others had the Jesuits'
Mark in a Cross:
I H
S

Others nothing but this
Mark thus:
✕

I might spend a great deal of time in my exclamations against the follies, and indeed wickedness of those things, in a time of such danger, in a matter of such consequence as this, of a national infection. But my memorandums of these things relate rather to take notice of the fact, and mention only that it was so; how the poor people found the insufficiency of those things, and how many of them were afterwards carried away in the dead carts, and thrown into the common graves of every parish, with these hellish charms and trumpery hanging about their necks, remains to be spoken of as we go along.

All this was the effect of the hurry the people were in, after the first notion of the plague being at hand was among them, and which may be said to be from about Michaelmas 1664, but more particularly after the two men died in St Giles's, in the beginning of December; and again, after another alarm in February: for when the plague evidently spread itself, they

soon began to see the folly of trusting to those unperforming creatures, who had gulled them of their money; and then their fears worked another way, namely, to amazement and stupidity, not knowing what course to take, or what to do, either to help or relieve themselves; but they ran about from one neighbour's house to another, and even in the streets from one door to another, with repeated cries of, "Lord have mercy upon us! what shall we do?"

Indeed, the poor people were to be pitied in one particular thing, in which they had little or no relief, and which I desire to mention with a serious awe and reflection, which, perhaps, every one that reads this may not relish: namely, that whereas death now began not, as we may say, to hover over every one's head only, but to look into their houses and chambers, and stare in their faces: though there might be some stupidity and dullness of the mind, and there was so a great deal; yet there was a great deal of just alarm sounded in the very inmost soul, if I may say so, of others. Many consciences were awakened; many hard hearts melted into tears; many a penitent confession was made of crimes long concealed. It would have wounded the soul of any Christian to have heard the dying groans of many a despairing creature; and none durst come near to comfort them: many a robbery, many a murder, was then confessed aloud, and nobody surviving to record the accounts of it. People might be heard even in the streets as we passed along, calling upon God for mercy, through Jesus Christ, and saying, I have been a thief, I have been an adulterer, I have been a murderer, and the like; and none durst stop to make the least inquiry into such things, or to administer comfort to the poor creatures, that in the anguish both of soul and body thus cried out. Some of the ministers did visit the sick at first, and for a little while, but it was not to be done; it would have been present death to have gone into some houses: the very buryers of the dead, who were the most hardened creatures in town, were sometimes beaten back, and so terrified, that they durst not go into houses where the whole families were swept away together, and where the circumstances were more particularly horrible, as some were; but this was indeed at the first heat of the distemper.

People appeal, as they pass through the streets, to God for mercy.

Time inured them to it all; and they ventured everywhere afterwards without hesitation, as I shall have occasion to mention at large hereafter.

I am supposing now the plague to be begun, as I have said,

The Lord
Mayor
sober and
religious.

and that the magistrates began to take the condition of the people into their serious consideration : what they did as to the regulation of inhabitants, and of infected families, I shall speak to by itself : but as to the affair of health, it is proper to mention it here, that having seen the foolish humour of the people in running after quacks, and mountebanks, wizards, and fortune-tellers, which they did as above, even to madness ; the Lord Mayor, a very sober and religious gentleman, appointed physicians and surgeons for the relief of the poor ; I mean the diseased poor ; and in particular, ordered the College of Physicians to publish directions for cheap remedies for the poor, in all the circumstances of the distemper. This, indeed, was one of the most charitable and judicious things that could be done at that time ; for this drove the people from haunting the doors of every dispenser of bills, and from taking down blindly, and without consideration, poison for physic, and death instead of life.

This direction of the physicians was done by a consultation of the whole college ; and, as it was particularly calculated for the use of the poor, and for cheap medicines, it was made public, so that everybody might see it ; and copies were given gratis to all that desired it ; but as it is public, and to be seen on all occasions, I need not give the reader of this the trouble of it.

The violence of the
distemper
carries off
physicians.

I shall not be supposed to lessen the authority or capacity of the physicians when I say, that the violence of the distemper, when it came to its extremity, was like the fire the next year ; the fire, which consumed what the plague could not touch, defied all the application of remedies ; the fire-engines were broken, the buckets were thrown away, and the power of man was baffled and brought to an end ; so the plague defied all medicines, and the very physicians were seized with it, with their preservatives in their mouths, and men went about prescribing to others, and telling them what to do, till the tokens were upon them, and they dropped down dead : destroyed by that very enemy they directed others to oppose. This was the case of several physicians, even some of them of the most eminent, and of several of the most skilful surgeons ; abundance of quacks too died, who had the folly to trust to their own medicines, which they must needs be conscious to themselves, were good for nothing ; and who rather ought, like other sorts of thieves, to have run away, sensible of their guilt, from the justice that they could not but expect should punish them, as they knew they had deserved.

Not that it is any derogation from the labour or application

of the physicians to say, they fell in the common calamity: nor is it so intended by me; it rather is to their praise, that they ventured their lives so far as even to lose them in the service of mankind; they endeavoured to do good, and to save the lives of others. But we were not to expect that the physicians could stop God's judgments, or prevent a distemper, eminently armed from heaven, from executing the errand it was sent about.

Physicians
unable to
stop God's
judgments.

Doubtless, the physicians assisted many by their skill, and by their prudence and application, to the saving of their lives, and restoring their health: but it is not lessening their character, or their skill, to say, they could not cure those that had the tokens upon them, or those who were mortally infected before the physicians were sent for, as was frequently the case.

It remains to mention now what public measures were taken by the magistrates for the general safety, and to prevent the spreading of the distemper when it first broke out; I shall have frequent occasion to speak of the prudence of the magistrates, their charity, their vigilance for the poor, and for preserving good order, furnishing provisions, and the like, when the plague was increased, as it afterwards was. But I am now upon the order and regulations they published for the government of infected families.

Magistrates
take
measures
for the
public
safety.

I mentioned above shutting of houses up, and it is needful to say something particularly to that, for this part of the history of the plague is very melancholy, but the most grievous story must be told.

About June the Lord Mayor of London, and the court of aldermen, as I have said, began more particularly to concern themselves for the regulation of the city.

The justices of peace for Middlesex, by direction of the Secretary of State, had begun to shut up houses in the parishes of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, St. Martin's, St. Clement Danes, &c. and it was with good success, for in several streets where the plague broke out, upon strict guarding the houses that were infected, and taking care to bury those that died immediately after they were known to be dead, the plague ceased in those streets. It was also observed, that the plague decreased sooner in those parishes after they had been visited to the full, than it did in the parishes of Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, Aldgate, Whitechapel, Stepney, and others; the early care taken in that manner being a great means to the putting a check to it.

This shutting up of houses was a method first taken, as I

Plague of
1603, in the
reign of
King James
the First.

understand, in the plague which happened in 1603, at the coming of King James the First to the crown, and the power of shutting people up in their own houses was granted by act of parliament, entitled "An act for the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with the plague." On which act of parliament the Lord Mayor and aldermen of the city of London founded the order they made at this time, and which took place the 1st of July, 1665, when the numbers infected within the city were but few, the last bill for the ninety-two parishes being but four, and some houses having been shut up in the city, and some people being removed to the pest-house beyond Bunhill-fields, in the way to Islington; I say, by these means, when there died near one thousand a week in the whole, the number in the city was but twenty-eight; and the city was preserved more healthy in proportion than any other place all the time of the infection.

These orders of my Lord Mayor's were published, as I have said, the latter end of June, and took place from the 1st of July, and were as follows, viz. :—

Lord
Mayor's
orders pub-
lished.

ORDERS conceived and published by the Lord Mayor and aldermen of the City of London concerning the infection of the Plague, 1665.

"Whereas, in the reign of our late sovereign, King James, of happy memory, an act was made for the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with the plague; whereby authority was given to justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs, and other head officers to appoint, within their several limits, examiners, searchers, watchmen, keepers, and buriers for the persons and places infected, and to minister unto them oaths for the performance of their offices. And the same statute did also authorise the giving of other directions, as unto them for the present necessity should seem good in their discretions. It is now upon special consideration thought very expedient for preventing and avoiding of infection of sickness (if it shall so please Almighty God) that the following orders be hereafter duly observed."

FEASTING PROHIBITED.

Public
feasting
prohibited.

"That all public feasting, and particularly by the companies of this city, and dinners at taverns, alehouses, and other places of common entertainment, be forborne till further order and allowance; and that the money thereby spared be preserved and employed for the benefit and relief of the poor visited with the infection.

TIPPLING-HOUSES.

"That disorderly tippling in taverns, alehouses, coffee-houses, and cellars, be severely looked unto, as the common sin of this time, and greatest occasion of dispersing the plague; and that no company or person be suffered to remain or come into any tavern, alehouse, or coffee-house, to drink, after nine of the clock in the evening, according to the ancient law and custom of this city, upon the penalties ordained in that behalf.

"And for the better execution of these orders, and such other rules and directions as upon further consideration shall be found needful, it is ordered and enjoined, that the aldermen, deputies, and common council-men, shall meet together weekly, once, twice, thrice, or oftener (as cause shall require), at some one general place accustomed in their respective wards (being clear from infection of the plague), to consult how the said orders may be duly put in execution; not intending that any, dwelling in or near places infected, shall come to the said meeting, while their coming may be doubtful. And the said aldermen, and deputies, and common council-men, in their several wards, may put in execution any other good orders that by them, at their said meetings, shall be conceived and devised, for the preservation of his Majesty's subjects from the infection."

Causes of
crime
looked
after.

Sir JOHN LAWRENCE . . . *Lord Mayor.*

Sir GEORGE WATERMAN }
Sir CHARLES DOE . . . } *Sheriffs.*

I need not say that these orders extended only to such places as were within the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction; so it is requisite to observe, that the justices of the peace within those parishes and places as were called the hamlets and out-parts, took the same method: as I remember, the orders for shutting up of houses did not take place so soon on our side, because, as I said before, the plague did not reach to these eastern parts of the town, at least not begin to be very violent, till the beginning of August. For example, the whole bill, from the 11th to the 18th of July, was 1,761, yet there died but seventy-one of the plague in all those parishes we call the Tower Hamlets, and they were as follows:—

The Lord
Mayor's
jurisdic-
tion.

Aldgate . . . 14	34	65
Stepney . . . 33	the next 58	and to the 76
Whitechapel . . . 21	week was 48	1st of August 79
St. Kath. Tower 2	thus : 4	thus : 4
Trin. Minorics . 1	1	4
71	145	228

It was, indeed, coming on amain; for the burials that same week were in the next adjoining parishes thus:—

St. Len., Shoreditch	64	the next week	84	to the 1st	110
St. Bot., Bishopsgate	65	prodigiously	105	of August	116
St. Giles's, Crippleg.	213	increased, as	421	thus:	554

342

610

780

This shutting up of houses was at first counted a very cruel and un-Christian method, and the poor people so confined made bitter lamentations. Complaints of the severity of it were also daily brought to my Lord Mayor, of houses causelessly (and some maliciously) shut up. I cannot say, but upon inquiry, many that complained so loudly were found in a condition to be continued; and others again, inspection being made upon the sick person, and the sickness not appearing infectious, or if uncertain, yet, on his being content to be carried to the pest-house, were released.

It is true that the locking up the doors of people's houses, and setting a watchman there night and day to prevent their stirring out, or any coming to them, when, perhaps, the sound people of the family might have escaped if they had been removed from the sick, looked very hard and cruel; and many people perished in these miserable confinements, which it is reasonable to believe they would not have been distempered if they had had liberty, though the plague was in the house; at which the people were very clamorous and uneasy at first, and several violences were committed, and injuries offered to the men who were set to watch the houses so shut up; also, several people broke out by force in many places, as I shall observe by-and-by; but it was a public good that justified the private mischief; and there was no obtaining the least mitigation by any application to magistrates or government, at that time at least, not that I heard of. This put the people upon all manner of stratagem, in order, if possible, to get out; and it would fill a little volume to set down the arts used by the people of such houses to shut the eyes of the watchmen who were employed, to deceive them, and to escape or break out from them, in which frequent scuffles and some mischief happened; of which, by itself.

As I went along Houndsditch one morning, about eight o'clock, there was a great noise; it is true, indeed, there was not much crowd, because people were not very free to gather together, or to stay long together when they were there, nor did I stay long there; but the outcry was loud enough to prompt my curiosity,

and I called to one who looked out of a window, and asked what was the matter.

A watchman, it seems, had been employed to keep his post at the door of a house which was infected, or said to be infected, and was shut up; he had been there all night for two nights together, as he told his story, and the day watchman had been there one day, and was now come to relieve him. All this while no noise had been heard in the house, no light had been seen; they called for nothing, sent him of no errands, which used to be the chief business of the watchmen; neither had they given him any disturbance, as he said, from the Monday afternoon, when he heard great crying and screaming in the house, which, as he supposed, was occasioned by some of the family dying just at that time. It seems the night before, the dead cart, as it was called, had been stopped there, and a servant maid had been brought down to the door dead, and the buriers, or bearers, as they were called, put her into the cart, wrapped only in a green rug, and carried her away.

The watchman had knocked at the door, it seems, when he heard that noise and crying, as above, and nobody answered a great while; but at last one looked out, and said, with an angry quick tone, and yet a kind of crying voice, or a voice of one that was crying, "What do ye want, that ye make such a knocking?" He answered, "I am the watchman; how do you do? what is the matter?" The person answered, "What is that to you? Stop the dead cart." This, it seems, was about one o'clock. Soon after, as the fellow said, he stopped the dead cart, and then knocked again, but nobody answered. He continued knocking, and the bellman called out several times—"Bring out your dead!" but nobody answered, till the man that drove the cart, being called to other houses, would stay no longer and drove away.

The watchman knew not what to make of all this, so he let them alone till the morning-man or day-watchman, as they called him, came to relieve him, giving him an account of the particulars; they knocked at the door a great while, but nobody answered; and they observed that the window or casement at which the person had looked out who had answered before continued open, being up two pair of stairs.

Upon this the two men, to satisfy their curiosity, got a long ladder, and one of them went up to the window and looked into the room, where he saw a woman lying dead upon the floor in a

dismal manner, having no clothes on her but her shift ; but though he called aloud, and, putting in his long staff, knocked hard on the floor, yet nobody stirred or answered ; neither could he hear any noise in the house.

Magistrate
ordered a
house to be
broken
open.

He came down again upon this and acquainted his fellow, who went up also, and finding it just so, they resolved to acquaint either the Lord Mayor or some other magistrate of it, but did not offer to go in at the window. The magistrate, it seems, upon the information of the two men, ordered the house to be broken open, a constable and other persons being appointed to be present that nothing might be plundered ; and according it was so done, when nobody was found in the house but that young woman, who, having been infected and past recovery, the rest had left her to die by herself, and were every one gone, having found some way to delude the watchman and to get open the door, or get out at some back door, or over the tops of the houses, so that he knew nothing of it ; and as to those cries and shrieks which he heard, it was supposed they were the passionate cries of the family at the bitter parting, which to be sure it was to them all, this being the sister to the mistress of the family. The man of the house, his wife, several children and servants, being all gone and fled ; whether sick or sound, that I could never learn, nor indeed did I make much inquiry after it.

I could give a great many such stories as these, diverting enough, which in the long course of that dismal year I met with, that is, heard of, and which are very certain to be true, or very near the truth ; that is to say, true in the general, for no man could at such a time learn all the particulars. There was, likewise, violence used with the watchmen, as was reported, in abundance of places ; and I believe that from the beginning of the visitation to the end there was not less than eighteen or twenty of them killed, or so wounded as to be taken up for dead ; which was supposed to be done by the people in the infected houses which were shut up, and where they attempted to come out, and were opposed.

Nor indeed could less be expected, for here were as many prisons in the town as there were houses shut up ; and as the people shut up or imprisoned were guilty of no crime, only shut up because miserable, it was really the more intolerable to them.

It had also this difference, that every prison, as we call it, had but one gaoler, and as he had the whole house to guard, and that many houses were so situated as that they had several ways

out, some more, some less, and some into several streets, it was impossible for one man so to guard all the passages as to prevent the escape of people made desperate by the fright of their circumstances, by the resentment of their usage, or by the raging of the distemper itself; so that they would talk to the watchman on one side of the house while the family made their escape at another.

For example, in Coleman-street there are abundance of alleys, as appears still. A house was shut up in that they call White's-alley, and this house had a back window, not a door, into a court, which had a passage into Bell-alley: a watchman was set by the constable at the door of this house, and there he stood, or his comrade, night and day, while the family went all away in the evening, out of that window into the court, and left the poor fellows warding and watching for near a fortnight.

Not far from the same place they blew up a watchman with gunpowder, and burnt the poor fellow dreadfully; and while he made hideous cries, and nobody would venture to come near to help him, the whole family that were able to stir got out at the windows one story high, two that were left sick calling out for help; care was taken to give them nurses to look after them, but the persons fled were never found till, after the plague was abated, they returned; but as nothing could be proved, so nothing could be done to them.

A constable
blown up
with gun-
powder.

It is to be considered too, that as these were prisons without bars or bolts, which our common prisons are furnished with, so the people let themselves down out of their windows, even in the face of the watchman, bringing swords or pistols in their hands, and threatening the poor wretch to shoot him if he stirred or called for help.

And that which was still worse, those that did thus break out spread the infection farther by their wandering about with the distemper upon them in their desperate circumstances than they would otherwise have done; for whoever considers all the particulars in such cases must acknowledge, and we cannot doubt but the severity of those confinements made many people desperate, and made them run out of their houses at all hazards, and with the plague visibly upon them, not knowing either whither to go, or what to do, or indeed what they did; and many that did so were driven to dreadful exigencies and extremities, and perished in the streets or fields for mere want, or dropped down by the raging violence of the fever upon them. Others wandered into

the country, and went forward any way as their desperation guided them, not knowing whither they went or would go ; till, faint and tired, and not getting any relief, the houses and villages on the road refusing to admit them to lodge, whether infected or no, they have perished by the road-side, or gotten into barns and died there, none daring to come to them, or relieve them, though perhaps not infected, for nobody would believe them.

And this was, in part, the reason of the general notion, or scandal rather, which went about of the temper of people infected ; namely, that they did not take the least care, or make any scruple of infecting others ; though I cannot say but there might be some truth in it too, but not so general as was reported. What natural reason could be given for so wicked a thing, at a time when they might conclude themselves just going to appear at the bar of Divine justice, I know not. I am very well satisfied that it cannot be reconciled to religion and principle, any more than it can be to generosity and humanity ; but I may speak of that again.

I am speaking now of people made desperate by the apprehensions of their being shut up, and their breaking out by stratagem or force, either before or after they were shut up, whose misery was not lessened when they were out, but sadly increased : on the other hand, many that thus got away had retreats to go to, and other houses, where they locked themselves up, and kept hid till the plague was over ; and many families, foreseeing the approach of the distemper, laid up stores of provisions sufficient for their whole families, and shut themselves up, and that so entirely, that they were neither seen nor heard of till the infection was quite ceased, and then came abroad sound and well. I might recollect several such as these, and give you the particulars of their management ; for, doubtless, it was the most effectual secure step that could be taken for such whose circumstances would not admit them to remove, or who had not retreats abroad proper for the case ; for, in being thus shut up, they were as if they had been a hundred miles off : nor do I remember that any one of those families miscarried. Among these, several Dutch merchants were particularly remarkable, who kept their houses like little garrisons besieged, suffering none to go in or out, or come near them ; particularly one in a court in Throgmorton-street, whose house looked into Draper's-garden.

But I come back to the case of families infected, and shut up

by the magistrates; the misery of those families is not to be expressed, and it was generally in such houses that we heard the most dismal shrieks and outcries of the poor people, terrified and even frightened to death by the sight of the condition of their dearest relations, and by the terror of being imprisoned as they were.

I remember—and while I am writing this story I think I hear the very sound of it—a certain lady had an only daughter, a young maiden about nineteen years old, and who was possessed of a very considerable fortune; they were only lodgers in the house where they were: the young woman, her mother, and the maid, had been abroad on some occasion, I do not remember what, for the house was not shut up; but about two hours after they came home the young lady complained she was not well; in a quarter of an hour more she vomited, and had a violent pain in her head. “Pray God,” says her mother, in a terrible fright, “my child has not the distemper!” The pain in her head increasing, her mother ordered the bed to be warmed, and resolved to put her to bed, and prepared to give her things to sweat, which was the ordinary remedy to be taken when the first apprehensions of the distemper began.

While the bed was airing the mother undressed the young woman, and just as she was laid down in bed, she looking upon her body with a candle, and immediately discovered the fatal tokens on the inside of her thighs. Her mother, not being able to contain herself, threw down her candle and screeched out in such a frightful manner, that it was enough to place horror upon the stoutest heart in the world; nor was it one scream or one cry, but the fright having seized her spirits she fainted first, then recovered, then ran all over the house, up the stairs and down the stairs, like one distracted, and indeed really was distracted, and continued screeching and crying out for several hours, void of all sense, or, at least, government of her senses, and as I was told never came thoroughly to herself again: as to the young maiden, she was a dead corpse from that moment; for the gangrene which occasions the spots had spread over her whole body, and she died in less than two hours; but still the mother continued crying out, not knowing anything more of her child several hours after she was dead. It is so long ago that I am not certain, but I think the mother never recovered, but died in two or three weeks after.

This was an extraordinary case, and I am therefore the more

particular in it because I came so much to the knowledge of it ; but there were innumerable such like cases ; and it was seldom that the weekly bill came in but there were two or three put in frightened, that is, that may well be called frightened to death : but, besides those who were so frightened as to die upon the spot, there were great numbers frightened to other extremes, some frightened out of their senses, some out of their memory, and some out of their understanding : but I return to the shutting up of houses.

I have by me a story of two brothers and their kinsman, who, being single men, but that had stayed in the city too long to get away, and, indeed, not knowing where to go to have any retreat, nor having wherewith to travel far, took a course for their own preservation, which, though in itself at first desperate, yet was so natural that it may be wondered that no more did so at that time. They were but of mean condition, and yet not so very poor as that they could not furnish themselves with some little conveniences, such as might serve to keep life and soul together ; and, finding the distemper increasing in a terrible manner, they resolved to shift as well as they could, and to be gone.

One of them had been a soldier in the late wars, and before that in the Low Countries, and having been bred to no particular employment but his arms, and besides being wounded and not able to work very hard, had for some time been employed at a baker's of sea-biscuit in Wapping.

The brother of this man was a seaman, too, but somehow or other had been hurt of one leg that he could not go to sea, but had worked for his living at a sailmaker's in Wapping, or thereabouts ; and being a good husband had laid up some money, and was the richest of the three.

The third man was a joiner or carpenter by trade, a handy fellow ; and he had no wealth but his basket of tools, with the help of which he could at any time get his living, such a time as this excepted, wherever he went ; and he lived near Shadwell.

They all lived in Stepney parish, which, as I have said, being the last that was infected, or at least violently, they stayed there till they evidently saw the plague was abating at the west part of the town, and coming towards the east, where they lived.

The story of those three men, if the reader will be content to have me give it in their own persons, without taking upon me either to vouch the particulars, or answer for any mistakes, I

shall give as distinctly as I can, believing the history will be a very good pattern for any poor man to follow, in case the like public desolation should happen here : and if there may be no such occasion, which God of his infinite mercy grant us, still the story may have its uses so many ways as that it will, I hope, never be said that the relating has been unprofitable.

I say all this previous to the history, having yet, for the present, much more to say before I quit my own part.

I went all the first part of the time freely about the streets, though not so freely as to run myself into apparent danger, except when they dug the great pit in the church-yard of our parish of Aldgate ; a terrible pit it was, and I could not resist my curiosity to go and see it. As near as I may judge, it was about forty feet in length, and about fifteen or sixteen feet broad ; and at the time I first looked at it, about nine feet deep ; but it was said they dug it near twenty feet deep afterwards in one part of it, till they could go no deeper for the water ; for they had, it seems, dug several large pits before this ; for though the plague was long a coming to our parish, yet when it did come, there was no parish in or about London where it raged with such violence as in the two parishes of Aldgate and White-chapel.

They had dug several pits in another ground, when the distemper began to spread in our parish, and especially when the dead-carts began to go about, which was not in our parish till the beginning of August. Into these pits they had put perhaps fifty or sixty bodies each, then they made larger holes, wherein they buried all that the cart brought in a week, which, by the middle to the end of August, came to from 200 to 400 a week, and they could not well dig them larger, because of the order of the magistrates, confining them to leave no bodies within six feet of the surface, and the water coming on at about seventeen or eighteen feet, they could not well, I say, put more in one pit ; but now, at the beginning of September, the plague raging in a dreadful manner, and the number of burials in our parish increasing to more than was ever buried in any parish about London of no larger extent, they ordered this dreadful gulf to be dug ; for such it was, rather than a pit.

They had supposed this pit would have supplied them for a month or more when they dug it, and some blamed the church-wardens for suffering such a frightful thing, telling them they were making preparations to bury the whole parish, and the

Church-wardens
blamed.

like; but time made it appear the churchwardens knew the condition of the parish better than they did; for the pit being finished the 4th of September, I think they began to bury in it the 6th, and by the 20th, which was just two weeks, they had thrown into it 1,114 bodies, when they were obliged to fill it up, the bodies being then come to lie within six feet of the surface. I doubt not but there may be some ancient persons alive in the parish who can justify the fact of this, and are able to show even in what place of the church-yard the pit lay better than I can; the mark of it also was many years to be seen in the church-yard, on the surface lying in length, parallel with the passage which goes by the west wall of the church-yard out of Houndsditch, and turns east again into Whitechapel, coming out near the Three Nuns Inn.

It was about the 10th of September that my curiosity led, or rather drove me to go and see this pit again, when there had been near 400 people buried in it; and I was not content to see it in the day time, as I had done before, for then there would have been nothing to have been seen but the loose earth, for all the bodies that were thrown in were immediately covered with earth by those they called the buriers, which at other times were called bearers; but I resolved to go in the night, and see some of them thrown in.

There was a strict order to prevent people coming to those pits, and that was only to prevent infection; but after some time that order was more necessary, for people that were infected and near their end, and delirious also, would run to those pits, wrapped in blankets or rugs, and throw themselves in, and, as they said, bury themselves. I cannot say that the officers suffered any willingly to lie there; but I have heard that in a great pit in Finsbury, in the parish of Cripplegate, it lying open then to the fields, for it was not then walled about, they came and threw themselves in, and expired there before they threw any earth upon them; and that when they came to bury others, and found them there, they were quite dead, though not cold.

This may serve a little to describe the dreadful condition of that day, though it is impossible to say anything that is able to give a true idea of it to those who did not see it other than this, that it was indeed very, very, very dreadful, and such as no tongue can express.

I got admittance into the church-yard by being acquainted with the sexton who attended, who, though he did not refuse

me at all, yet earnestly persuaded me not to go, telling me very seriously—for he was a good, religious, and sensible man—that it was, indeed, their business and duty to venture and run all hazards, and that in it they might hope to be preserved; but that I had no apparent call to it but my own curiosity, which he said he believed I would not pretend was sufficient to justify my running that hazard. I told him I had been pressed in my mind to go, and that perhaps it might be an instructing sight, that might not be without its uses. “Nay,” says the good man, “if you will venture upon that score, in the name of God, go in; for depend upon it, it will be a sermon to you, it may be the best that ever you heard in your life. It is a speaking sight,” says he, “and has a voice with it, and a loud one, to call us to repentance.”—And with that he opened the door, and said “Go, if you will.”

His discourse had shocked my resolution a little, and I stood wavering for a good while; but just at that interval I saw two links come over from the end of the Minories and heard the bellman, and then appeared a dead-cart, as they called it, coming over the streets, so I could no longer resist my desire of seeing it and went in; there was nobody, as I could perceive at first, in the church-yard or going into it, but the buriers and the fellow that drove the cart, or rather led the horse and cart; but when they came up to the pit they saw a man go to and again, muffled up in a brown cloak and making motions with his hands under his cloak, as if he was in great agony, and the buriers immediately gathered about him, supposing he was one of those poor delirious or desperate creatures that used to pretend, as I have said, to bury themselves. He said nothing as he walked about, but two or three times groaned very deeply and loud, and sighed as if he would break his heart.

When the buriers came up to him they soon found he was neither a person infected and desperate, as I have observed above, or a person distempered in mind, but one oppressed with a dreadful weight of grief indeed, having his wife and several of his children, all in the cart that was just come in with him, and he followed in an agony and excess of sorrow. He mourned heartily, as it was easy to see, but with a kind of masculine grief, that could not give itself vent by tears, and calmly desiring the buriers to let him alone, said he would only see the bodies thrown in and go away; so they left importuning him; but no sooner was the cart turned round, and the bodies shot into

the pit promiscuously, which was a surprise to him, for he at least expected they would have been decently laid in, though, indeed, he was afterwards convinced that was impracticable ; I say, no sooner did he see the sight, but he cried out aloud, unable to contain himself ; I could not hear what he said, but he went backward two or three times, and fell down in a swoon. The buriers ran to him, and took him up, and in a little while he came to himself, and they led him away to the Pye Tavern, over against the end of Houndsditch, where, it seems, the man was known, and where they took care of him. He looked into the pit again as he went away, but the buriers had covered the bodies so immediately with throwing in the earth, that though there was light enough, for there were lanterns and candles in them, placed all night round the sides of the pit upon the heaps of earth, seven or eight, or perhaps more, yet nothing could be seen.

This was a mournful scene indeed, and affected me almost as much as the rest, but the other was awful and full of terror. The cart had in it sixteen or seventeen bodies ; some were wrapped up in linen sheets, some in rugs, some little other than naked, or so loose that what covering they had fell from them in the shooting out of the cart, and they fell quite naked among the rest ; but the matter was not much to them, or the indecency much to any one else, seeing they were all dead, and were to be huddled together into the common grave of mankind, as we may call it, for here was no difference made, but poor and rich went together ; there was no other way of burials, neither was it possible there should, for coffins were not to be had for the prodigious numbers that fell in such a calamity as this.

I was indeed shocked with this sight ; it almost overwhelmed me, and I went away with my heart most afflicted and full of the most afflicting thoughts, such as I cannot describe. Just at my going out of the church, and turning up the street towards my own house, I saw another cart with links and a bellman going before, coming out of Harrow-alley, in the Butcher-row, on the other side of the way, and being as I perceived, very full of dead bodies, it went directly over the street also towards the church ; I stood awhile, but I had no stomach to go back again to see the same dismal scene over again ; so I went directly home, where I could not but consider, with thankfulness, the risk I had run, believing I had gotten no injury, as, indeed, I had not.

Here the poor unhappy gentleman's grief came into my head again, and indeed I could not but shed tears in the reflection upon it, perhaps more than he did himself; but his case lay so heavy upon my mind, that I could not prevail with myself, but that I must go out again into the street, and go to the Pye Tavern, resolving to inquire what became of him.

It was by this time one o'clock in the morning, and yet the poor gentleman was there. The truth was, the people of the house knowing him, had entertained him, and kept him there all the night, notwithstanding the danger of being infected by him, though it appeared the man was perfectly sound himself.

It is with regret that I take notice of this tavern; the people were civil, mannerly, and an obliging sort of folks enough, and had till this time kept their house open, and their trade going on, though not so very publicly as formerly; but there was a dreadful set of fellows that used their house, and who, in the middle of all this horror, met there every night, behaved with all the revelling and roaring extravagances, as is usual for such people to do at other times, and indeed, to such an offensive degree, that the very master and mistress of the house grew first ashamed, and then terrified at them.

They sat generally in a room next the street; and as they always kept late hours, so when the dead-cart came across the street end to go into Houndsditch, which was in view of the tavern windows, they would frequently open the windows as soon as they heard the bell and look out at them; and as they might often hear sad lamentations of people in the streets, or at their windows, as the carts went along, they would make their impudent mocks and jeers at them, especially if they heard the poor people call upon God to have mercy upon them, as many would do at those times in their ordinary passing along the streets.

These gentlemen being something disturbed with the clatter of bringing the poor gentleman into the house, as above, were first angry, and very high with the master of the house, for suffering such a fellow, as they called him, to be brought out of the grave into their house; but being answered that the man was a neighbour, and that he was sound, but overwhelmed with the calamity of his family, and the like, they turned their anger into ridiculing the man, and his sorrow for his wife and children; taunting him with want of courage to leap into the great pit, and go to Heaven, as they jeeringly expressed it, along with

them ; adding some very profane, and even blasphemous expressions.

They were at this vile work when I came back to the house, as far as I could see, though the man sat still, mute and disconsolate, and their affronts could not divert his sorrow, yet he was both grieved and offended at their discourse : upon this, I gently reprov'd them, being well enough acquainted with their characters, and not unknown in person to two of them.

They immediately fell upon me with ill language and oaths : asked me what I did out of my grave at such a time, when so many honest men were carried into the churchyard ? and why I was not at home, saying my prayers, against the dead cart came for me ? and the like.

I was indeed astonished at the impudence of the men, though not at all discomposed at their treatment of me : however, I kept my temper. I told them, that though I defied them, or any man in the world, to tax me with any dishonesty, yet I acknowledged that, in this terrible judgment of God, many better than I were swept away, and carried to their grave : but to answer their question directly, the case was, that I was mercifully preserved by that great God, whose name they had blasphemed and taken in vain, by cursing and swearing in a dreadful manner ; and that I believed I was preserved in particular, among other ends of his goodness, that I might reprove them for their audacious boldness, in behaving in such a manner, and in such an awful time as this, especially for their jeering and mocking at an honest gentleman, and a neighbour, for some of them knew him, who they saw was overwhelmed with sorrow, for the breaches which it had pleased God to make upon his family.

I cannot call exactly to mind the hellish abominable raillery which was the return they made to that talk of mine, being provoked, it seems, that I was not at all afraid to be free with them ; nor, if I could remember, would I fill my account with any of the words, the horrid oaths, curses, and vile expressions, such as, at that time of the day, even the worst and ordinarist people in the street would not use ; for except such hardened creatures as these, the most wicked wretches that could be found had at that time some terror upon their minds of the hand of that power which could thus, in a moment, destroy them.

But that which was the worst in all their devilish language

was, that they were not afraid to blaspheme God, and talk atheistically; making a jest at my calling the Plague the hand of God, mocking, and even laughing at the word judgment, as if the providence of God had no concern in the inflicting such a desolating stroke; and that the people calling upon God, as they saw the carts carrying away the dead bodies, was all enthusiastic, absurd, and impertinent.

I made them some reply, such as I thought proper, but which I found was so far from putting a check to their horrid way of speaking, that it made them rail the more; so that I confess it filled me with horror and a kind of rage, and I came away, as I told them, lest the hand of that judgment which had visited the whole city should glorify his vengeance upon them, and all that were near them.

They received all reproof with the utmost contempt, and made the greatest mockery that was possible for them to do at me, giving me all the opprobrious insolent scoffs that they could think of, for preaching to them, as they called it, which indeed grieved me, rather than angered me; and I went away blessing God, however, in my mind, that I had not spared them, though they had insulted me so much.

They continued this wretched course three or four days after this, continually mocking and jeering at all that showed themselves religious or serious, or that were any way touched with the sense of the terrible judgment of God upon us; and I was informed they flouted in the same manner at the good people who, notwithstanding the contagion, met at the church, fasted, and prayed to God to remove his hand from them.

I say, they continued this dreadful course three or four days, I think it was no more, when one of them, particularly he who asked the poor gentleman what he did out of his grave, was struck from heaven with the plague, and died in a most deplorable manner; and, in a word, they were every one of them carried into the great pit, which I have mentioned above, before it was quite filled up, which was not above a fortnight or thereabout.

These men were guilty of many extravagances, such as one would think human nature should have trembled at the thoughts of, at such a time of general terror as was then upon us; and particularly scoffing and mocking at everything which they happened to see that was religious among the people, especially at their thronging zealously to the place of public worship, to implore mercy from heaven in such a time of distress; and this

tavern, where they held their club, being within view of the church door, they had the more particular occasion for their atheistical profane mirth.

But this began to abate a little with them before the accident which I have related happened ; for the infection increased so violently at this part of the town now, that people began to be afraid to come to the church, at least, such numbers did not resort thither as was usual. Many of the clergymen likewise were dead, and others gone into the country ; for it really required a steady courage and a strong faith for a man, not only to venture being in town at such a time as this, but likewise to venture to come to church and perform the office of minister to a congregation, of whom he had reason to believe many were actually infected with the plague, and to do this every day, or twice a day, as in some places was done.

It is true the people showed an extraordinary zeal in these religious exercises, and, as the church doors were always open, people would go in single at all times, whether the minister was officiating or not, and, locking themselves into separate pews, would be praying to God with great fervency and devotion.

Others assembled at meeting houses, every one as their different opinions in such things guided, but all were promiscuously the subject of these men's drollery, especially at the beginning of the visitation.

It seems they had been checked for their openly insulting religion in this manner by several good people of every persuasion, and that and the violent raging of the infection I suppose was the occasion that they had abated much of their rudeness for some time before, and were only roused by the spirit of ribaldry and atheism at the clamour which was made when the gentleman was first brought in there, and perhaps were agitated by the same devil when I took upon me to reprove them, though I did it at first with all the calmness, temper, and good manners that I could, which, for awhile, they insulted me the more for, thinking it had been in fear of their resentment, though afterwards they found the contrary.

I went home, indeed, grieved and afflicted in my mind at the abominable wickedness of those men, not doubting, however, that they would be made dreadful examples of God's justice ; for I looked upon this dismal time to be a particular season of divine vengeance, and that God would on this occasion single out the proper objects of his displeasure, in a more especial and

remarkable manner than at another time ; and that, though I did believe that many good people would, and did, fall in the common calamity, and that it was no certain rule to judge of the eternal state of any one by their being distinguished in such a time of general destruction, neither one way or other ; yet, I say, it could not but seem reasonable to believe, that God would not think fit to spare by his mercy such open declared enemies, that should insult his name and being, defy his vengeance, and mock at his worship and worshippers, at such a time ; no, not though his mercy had thought fit to bear with and spare them at other times : that this was a day of visitation, a day of God's anger ; and those words came into my thoughts,—Jer. v. 9, “ Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord, and shall not my soul be avenged of such a nation as this ? ”

These things, I say, lay upon my mind ; and I went home very much grieved and oppressed with the horror of these men's wickedness, and to think that anything could be so vile, so hardened, and so notoriously wicked, as to insult God and his servants, and his worship, in such a manner, and at such a time as this was ; when he had, as it were, his sword drawn in his hand, on purpose to take vengeance, not on them only, but on the whole nation.

I had, indeed, been in some passion at first with them, though it was really raised, not by any affront they had offered me personally, but by the horror their blaspheming tongues filled me with ; however, I was doubtful in my thoughts whether the resentment I retained was not all upon my own private account, for they had given me a great deal of ill language, too, I mean personally ; but, after some pause, and having a weight of grief upon my mind, I retired myself as soon as I came home, for I slept not that night ; and, giving God most humble thanks for my preservation in the imminent danger I had been in, I set my mind seriously, and with the utmost earnestness, to pray for those desperate wretches that God would pardon them, open their eyes, and effectually humble them.

By this I not only did my duty, namely, to pray for those who despitefully used me, but I fully tried my own heart to my full satisfaction, that it was not filled with any spirit of resentment, as they had offended me in particular ; and I humbly recommend the method to all those that would know, or be certain, how to distinguish between their real zeal for the honour of God, and the effects of their private passions and resentment.

During the shutting up of houses, as I have said, some violence was offered to the watchmen. As to soldiers, there were none to be found; the few guards which the king then had, which were nothing like the number entertained since, were dispersed, either at Oxford with the court, or in quarters in the remoter parts of the country, small detachments excepted, who did duty at the Tower and at Whitehall, and these but very few; neither am I positive that there was any other guard at the Tower than the warders, as they called them, who stand at the gate with gowns and caps, the same as the yeomen of the guard, except the ordinary gunners, who were twenty-four, and the officers appointed to look after the magazine, who were called armourers; as to trained bands, there was no possibility of raising any, neither if the Lieutenancy, either of London or Middlesex, had ordered the drums to beat for the militia, would any of the companies, I believe, have drawn together, whatever risk they had run.

Scarcity of
soldiers

Trained
bands could
not have
been raised.

And I know it so well and in so many several cases, that I could give several relations of good, pious, and religious people, who, when they have had the distemper, have been so far from being forward to infect others, that they have forbid their own family to come near them in hopes of their being preserved, and have even died without seeing their nearest relations, lest they should be instrumental to give them the distemper, and infect or endanger them: if then there were cases wherein the infected people were careless of the injury they did to others, this was certainly one of them, if not the chief, namely, when people who had the distemper, had broken out from houses which were shut up, and having been driven to extremities for provision, or for entertainment, had endeavoured to conceal their condition, and have been thereby instrumental involuntarily to infect others who have been ignorant and unwary.

This is one of the reasons why I believed then, and do believe still, that the shutting up houses thus by force, and the restraining or rather imprisoning people in their own houses, as is said above, was of little or no service in the whole; nay, I am of opinion, it was rather hurtful, having forced those desperate people to wander abroad with the plague upon them, who would otherwise have died quietly in their beds.

I remember one citizen, who, having thus broken out of his house in Aldersgate-street, or thereabout, went along the road to Islington; he attempted to have gone in at the Angel Inn, and after that at the White Horse, two inns known still by the

same signs, but was refused; after which he came to the Pied Bull, an inn also still continuing the same sign; he asked them for lodging for one night only, pretending to be going into Lincolnshire, and assuring them of his being very sound and free from the infection, which also, at that time, had not reached much that way.

They told him they had no lodging that they could spare but one bed, up in the garret, and that they could spare that bed but for one night, some drovers being expected the next day with cattle; so, if he would accept of that lodging he might have it, which he did; so a servant was sent up with a candle with him to show him the room. He was very well dressed, and looked like a person not used to lie in a garret; and when he came to the room he fetched a deep sigh, and said to the servant, "I have seldom lain in such a lodging as this;" however, the servant assured him again that they had no better. "Well," says he, "I must make shift; this is a dreadful time, but it is but for one night." So he sat down upon the bedside and bade the maid, I think it was, fetch him up a pint of warm ale; accordingly the servant went for the ale, but some hurry in the house, which perhaps employed her otherwise, put it out of her head, and she went up no more to him.

The next morning, seeing no appearance of the gentleman, somebody in the house asked the servant that had showed him up-stairs what was become of him. She started. "Alas!" says she, "I never thought more of him; he bade me carry him some warm ale, but I forgot." Upon which, not the maid, but some other person, was sent up to see after him, who coming into the room, found him stark dead and almost cold, stretched out across the bed; his clothes were pulled off, his jaw fallen, his eyes open in a most frightful posture, the rug of the bed being grasped hard in one of his hands; so that it was plain he died soon after the maid left him, and it is probable had she gone up with the ale, she had found him dead in a few minutes after he sat down upon the bed. The alarm was great in the house, as any one may suppose, they having been free from the distemper till that disaster, which, bringing the infection to the house, spread it immediately to other houses round about it. I do not remember how many died in the house itself, but I think the maid-servant who went up first to him fell presently ill by the fright, and several others; for whereas there died but two in Islington of the plague the week before, there died seventeen

the week after, whereof fourteen were of the plague ; this was in the week from the 11th of July to the 18th.

It was thought that there were not less than 10,000 houses forsaken of the inhabitants in the city and suburbs, including what was in the out-parishes and in Surrey, on the side of the water they called Southwark. This was besides the number of lodgers, and of particular persons who were fled out of other families ; so that in all it was computed that about 200,000 were fled and gone in all. But of this I shall speak again : but I mention it here on this account, namely,—that it was a rule with those who had thus two houses in their keeping or care, that if anybody was taken sick in a family, before the master of the family let the examiners or any other officer know of it, he immediately would send all the rest of his family, whether children or servants, as it fell out to be, to such other house which he had so in charge, and then giving notice of the sick person to the examiner, have a nurse or nurses appointed ; and have another person to be shut up in the house with them (which many for money would do) so to take charge of the house, in case the person should die.

This was in many cases the saving a whole family, who, if they had been shut up with the sick person, would inevitably have perished ; but, on the other hand, this was another of the inconveniences of shutting up houses ; for the apprehensions and terror of being shut up made many run away with the rest of the family, who, though it was not publicly known and they were not quite sick, had yet the distemper upon them ; and who, by having an uninterrupted liberty to go about, but being obliged to conceal their circumstances, or perhaps not knowing it themselves, gave the distemper to others and spread the infection in a dreadful manner, as I shall explain farther hereafter.

And here I may be able to make an observation or two of my own, which may be of use hereafter to those into whose hands these may come, if they should ever see the like dreadful visitation. First, the infection generally came into the houses of the citizens by the means of their servants, whom they were obliged to send up and down the streets for necessaries, that is to say, for food or physic ; to bakehouses, brewhouses, shops, &c., and who, going necessarily through the streets into shops, markets, and the like, it was impossible but that they should, one way or other, meet with distempered people, who conveyed the fatal

breath into them, and they brought it home to the families to which they belonged. Secondly, it was a great mistake, that such a great city as this had but one pest-house; for, had there been, instead of one pest-house, *viz.*, beyond Bunhill-fields, where at most they could receive perhaps 200 or 300 people; I say, had there, instead of that one, been several pest-houses, every one able to contain a thousand people without lying two in a bed, or two beds in a room; and had every master of a family, as soon as any servant (especially) had been taken sick in his house, been obliged to send them to the next pest-house, if they were willing, as many were, and had the examiners done the like among the poor people, when any had been stricken with the infection—I say, had this been done where the people were willing (not otherwise), and the houses not been shut, I am persuaded, and was all the while of that opinion, that not so many, by several thousands, had died; for it was observed, and I could give several instances within the compass of my own knowledge, where a servant had been taken sick, and the family had either time to send him out or retire from the house and leave the sick person, as I have said above, they had all been preserved; whereas, when upon one or more sickening in a family, the house has been shut up, the whole family have perished, and the bearers have been obliged to go in to fetch out the dead bodies, not being able to bring them to the door; and at last none were left to do it.

Secondly, this put it out of question to me that the calamity was spread by infection, that is to say, by some certain steams or fumes, which the physicians call effluvia, by the breath, or by the sweat, or by the stench of the sores of the sick persons, or some other way, perhaps, beyond even the reach of the physicians themselves, which effluvia affected the sound who came within certain distances of the sick, immediately penetrating the vital parts of the said sound persons, putting their blood into an immediate ferment, and agitating their spirits to that degree which it was found they were agitated; and so those newly infected persons communicated it in the same manner to others; and this I shall give some instances of, that cannot but convince those who seriously consider it; and I cannot but with some wonder find some people, now the contagion is over, talk of its being an immediate stroke from heaven, without the agency of means, having commision to strike this and that particular person, and none other; which I look upon with contempt, as the

effect of manifest ignorance and enthusiasm; likewise the opinion of others, who talk of infection being carried on by the air only, by carrying with it vast numbers of insects and invisible creatures, who enter into the body with the breath, or even at the pores with the air, and there generate or emit most acute poisons, or poisonous ovæ, or eggs, which mingle themselves with the blood, and so infect the body; a discourse full of learned simplicity, and manifested to be so by universal experience; but I shall say more to this case in its order.

I must here take further notice that nothing was more fatal to the inhabitants of this city than the supine negligence of the people themselves, who, during the long notice or warning they had of the visitation, made no provision for it, by laying in store of provisions or of other necessaries, by which they might have lived retired, and within their own houses, as I have observed others did, and who were in a great measure preserved by that caution; nor were they, after they were a little hardened to it, so shy of conversing with one another, when actually infected, as they were at first, though they knew it.

I acknowledge I was one of those thoughtless ones that had made so little provision, that my servants were obliged to go out of doors to buy every trifle by penny and halfpenny, just as before it began, even till my experience showing me the folly, I began to be wiser so late, that I had scarce time to store myself sufficient for our common subsistence for a month.

I had in family only an ancient woman, who managed the house, a maid-servant, two apprentices, and myself; and the plague beginning to increase about us, I had many sad thoughts about what course I should take, and how I should act. The many dismal objects which happened everywhere as I went about the streets had filled my mind with a great deal of horror for fear of the distemper itself, which was indeed very horrible in itself, and in some more than others; the swellings, which were generally in the neck or groin, when they grew hard and would not break, grew so painful that it was equal to the most exquisite torture; and some, not able to bear the torment, threw themselves out at windows, or shot themselves, or otherwise made themselves away, and I saw several dismal objects of that kind; others, unable to contain themselves, vented their pain by incessant roarings, and such loud and lamentable cries were to be heard as we walked along the streets, that would pierce the very heart to think of, especially when it was to be considered

Terrible
suicides.

that the same dreadful scourge might be expected every moment to seize upon ourselves.

I cannot say but that now I began to faint in my resolutions; my heart failed me very much, and sorely I repented of my rashness. When I had been out, and met with such terrible things as these I have talked of—I say, I repented my rashness in venturing to abide in town: I wished often that I had not taken upon me to stay, but had gone away with my brother and his family.

Terrified by those frightful objects, I would retire home sometimes, and resolve to go out no more, and perhaps I would keep those resolutions for three or four days, which time I spent in the most serious thankfulness for my preservation, and the preservation of my family, and the constant confession of my sins, giving myself up to God every day, and applying to him with fasting, humiliation, and meditation. Such intervals as I had I employed in reading books, and in writing down my memorandums of what occurred to me every day, and out of which, afterwards, I took most of this work, as it relates to my observations without doors; what I wrote of my private meditations I reserve for private use, and desire it may not be made public on any account whatever.

I also wrote other meditations upon divine subjects, such as occurred to me at that time, and were profitable to myself, but not fit for any other view, and therefore I say no more of that.

I had a very good friend, a physician, whose name was Heath, whom I frequently visited during this dismal time, and to whose advice I was very much obliged for many things which he directed me to take, by way of preventing the infection when I went out, as he found I frequently did, and to hold in my mouth when I was in the streets; he also came very often to see me, and, as he was a very good Christian as well as a good physician, his agreeable conversation was a very great support to me in the worst of this terrible time.

It was now the beginning of August, and the plague grew very violent and terrible in the place where I lived; and Dr. Heath coming to visit me, and finding that I ventured so often out in the streets, earnestly persuaded me to lock myself up and my family, and not to suffer any of us to go out of doors; to keep all our windows fast, shutters and curtains close, and never to open them; but first, to make a very strong smoke in the room, where the window or door was to be opened, with resin

and pitch, brimstone, or gunpowder, and the like; and we did this for some time; but as I had not laid in a store of provision for such a retreat, it was impossible that we could keep within doors entirely; however, I attempted, though it was so very late, to do something towards it: and first, as I had convenience both for brewing and baking, I went and bought two sacks of meal, and for several weeks, having an oven, we baked all our own bread; also I bought malt, and brewed as much beer as all the casks I had would hold, and which seemed enough to serve my house for five or six weeks: also I laid in a quantity of salt butter and Cheshire cheese; but I had no flesh meat, and the plague raged so violently among the butchers and slaughter-houses on the other side of our street, where they are known to dwell in great numbers, that it was not advisable so much as to go over the street among them.

And here I must observe again, that this necessity of going out of our houses, to buy provisions, was in a great measure the ruin of the whole city; for the people caught the distemper on these occasions, one of another, and even the provisions themselves were often tainted, at least I have great reason to believe so, and therefore I cannot say with satisfaction what I know is repeated with great assurance, that the market people, and such as brought provisions to town, were never infected. I am certain the butchers of Whitechapel, where the greatest part of the flesh-meat was killed, were dreadfully visited, and that at last to such a degree that few of their shops were kept open; and those that remained of them killed their meat at Mile-end and that way, and brought it to market upon horses:

However, the poor people could not lay up provisions, and there was a necessity that they must go to market to buy, and others to send servants or their children; and as this was a necessity which renewed itself daily, it brought abundance of unsound people to the markets, and a great many that went thither sound brought death home with them.

It is true people used all possible precaution. When any one bought a joint of meat in the market, they would not take it of the butcher's hand, but take it off the hooks themselves, On the other hand, the butcher would not touch the money, but have it put into a pot full of vinegar, which he kept for that purpose. The buyer carried always small money to make up any odd sum, that they might take no change. They carried bottles for scents and perfumes in their hands, and all the means

that could be used were used ; but then the poor could not do even these things, and they went at all hazards.

Innumerable dismal stories we heard every day on this very account. Sometimes a man or woman dropped down dead in the very markets, for many people that had the plague upon them knew nothing of it till the inward gangrene had affected their vitals, and they died in a few moments ; this caused that many died frequently in that manner, in the streets, suddenly, without any warning ; others, perhaps, had time to go to the next bulk or stall, or to any door, or porch, and just sit down and die, as I have said before.

These objects were so frequent in the streets, that when the plague came to be very raging on one side, there was scarce any passing by the streets, but that several dead bodies would be lying here and there upon the ground. On the other hand, it is observable, that though at first the people would stop as they went along, and call to the neighbours to come out on such an occasion, yet, afterward, no notice was taken of them ; but that, if at any time we found a corpse lying, go across the way and not come near it ; or if in a narrow lane or passage, go back again and seek some other way to go on the business we were upon : and in those cases the corpse was always left till the officers had notice to come and take them away, or till night, when the bearers attending the dead-cart would take them up and carry them away. Nor did those undaunted creatures who performed these offices fail to search their pockets, and sometimes strip off their clothes, if they were well dressed, as sometimes they were, and carry off what they could get.

But to return to the markets : the butchers took that care, that if any person died in the market, they had the officers always at hand to take them upon hand-barrows and carry them to the next church-yard ; and this was so frequent that such were not entered in the weekly bill found dead in the streets or fields, as is the case now, but they went into the general articles of the great distemper.

But now the fury of the distemper increased to such a degree, that even the markets were but very thinly furnished with provisions, or frequented with buyers, compared to what they were before ; and the Lord Mayor caused the country people who brought provisions to be stopped in the streets leading into the town, and to sit down there with their goods, where they sold what they brought, and went immediately away ; and this

encouraged the country people greatly to do so, for they sold their provisions at the very entrances into the town, and even in the fields, as particularly in the fields beyond Whitechapel, in Spitalfields. Note.—Those streets, now called Spitalfields, were then indeed open fields: also in St. George's fields in Southwark, in Bunhill fields, and in a great field called Wood's close, near Islington. Thither the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and magistrates, sent their officers and servants to buy for their families, themselves keeping within doors as much as possible, and the like did many other people: and after this method was taken, the country people came with great cheerfulness and brought provisions of all sorts, and very seldom got any harm, which, I suppose, added also to that report of their being miraculously preserved.

As for my little family, having thus, as I have said, laid in a store of bread, butter, cheese, and beer, I took my friend and physician's advice, and locked myself up and my family, and resolved to suffer the hardship of living a few months without flesh-meat, rather than to purchase it at the hazard of our lives.

But though I confined my family, I could not prevail upon my unsatisfied curiosity to stay within entirely myself; and though I generally came frightened and terrified home, yet I could not restrain, only that indeed I did not do it so frequently as at first.

I had some little obligations indeed upon me to go to my brother's house, which was in Coleman-street parish, and which he had left to my care, and I went at first every day, but afterwards only once or twice a week.

In these walks I had many dismal scenes before my eyes, as particularly of persons falling dead in the streets, terrible shrieks and screechings of women, who in their agonies would throw open their chamber windows, and cry out in a dismal, surprising manner; it is impossible to describe the variety of postures in which the passions of the poor people would express themselves.

Passing through Tokenhouse-yard, in Lothbury, of a sudden a casement violently opened just over my head, and a woman gave three frightful screeches, and then cried, Oh! death, death, death! in a most inimitable tone, and which struck me with horror and a chilliness in my very blood. There was nobody to be seen in the whole street, neither did any other window open, for people had no curiosity now in any case, nor

could anybody help one another ; so I went on to pass into Bell-alley.

Just in Bell-alley, on the right-hand of the passage, there was a more terrible cry than that, though it was not so directed out at the window, but the whole family was in a terrible fright, and I could hear women and children run screaming about the rooms like distracted, when a garret window opened, and somebody from a window on the other side of the alley called and asked, "What is the matter?" upon which, from the first window, it was answered, "O Lord, my old master has hanged himself!" The other asked again, "Is he quite dead?" and the first answered, "Ay, ay, quite dead; quite dead and cold!" This person was a merchant, and a deputy alderman, and very rich. I care not to mention the name, though I knew his name too, but that would be a hardship to the family, which is now flourishing again.

But this is but one ; it is scarce credible what dreadful cases happened in particular families every day ; people in the rage of the distemper, or in the torment of their swellings, which was indeed intolerable, running out of their own government, raving and distracted, and oftentimes laying violent hands upon themselves, throwing themselves out at their windows, shooting themselves, &c. Mothers murdering their own children in their lunacy, some dying of mere grief, as a passion, some of mere fright and surprise, without any infection at all ; others frightened into idiotism and foolish distractions, some into despair and lunacy ; others into melancholy madness.

The pain of the swelling was in particular very violent, and to some intolerable. The physicians and surgeons may be said to have tortured many poor creatures, even to death. The swellings in some grew hard, and they applied violent drawing plasters or poultices to break them ; and if these did not do, they cut and scarified them in a terrible manner. In some, those swellings were made hard, partly by the force of the distemper, and partly by their being too violently drawn, and were so hard that no instrument could cut them, and then they burnt them with caustics, so that many died raving mad with the torment, and some in the very operation. In these distresses, some for want of help to hold them down in their beds, or to look to them, laid hands upon themselves as above. Some broke out into the streets, perhaps naked, and would run directly down to the river, if they were not stopped by the watchmen, or other

officers, and plunge themselves into the water, wherever they found it.

It often pierced my very soul to hear the groans and cries of those who were thus tormented ; but of the two this was counted the most promising particular in the whole infection ; for if these swellings could be brought to a head, and to break and run, or as the surgeons call it, to digest, the patient generally recovered ; whereas those, who, like the gentlewoman's daughter, were struck with death at the beginning, and had the tokens come out upon them, often went about indifferent easy, till a little before they died, and some till the moment they dropped down, as in apoplexies and epilepsies is often the case ; such would be taken suddenly very sick, and would run to a bench or bulk, or any convenient place that offered itself, or to their own houses, if possible, as I mentioned before, and there sit down, grow faint, and die. This kind of dying was much the same as it was with those who die of common mortifications, who die swooning, and, as it were, go away in a dream. Such as died thus had very little notice of their being infected at all, till the gangrene was spread through their whole body ; nor could physicians themselves know certainly how it was with them, till they opened their breasts, or other parts of their body, and saw the tokens.

We had at this time a great many frightful stories told us of nurses and watchmen, who looked after the dying people, that is to say, hired nurses, who attended infected people, using them barbarously, starving them, smothering them, or by other wicked means hastening their end, that is to say, murdering of them ; and watchmen being set to guard houses that were shut up, when there has been but one person left, and perhaps that one lying sick, that they have broke in and murdered that body, and immediately thrown them out into the dead-cart, and so they have gone scarce cold to the grave.

I cannot say but that some such murders were committed, and I think two were sent to prison for it, but died before they could be tried ; and I have heard that three others, at several times, were accused for murders of that kind ; but I must say, I believe nothing of its being so common a crime as some have since been pleased to say, nor did it seem to be so rational, where the people were brought so low as not to be able to help themselves ; for such seldom recovered, and there was no temptation to commit a murder, at least, none equal to the fact, where

they were sure persons would die in so short a time, and could not live.

That there were a great many robberies and wicked practices committed even in this dreadful time I do not deny ; the power of avarice was so strong in some, that they would run any hazard to steal and to plunder, and particularly in houses where all the families or inhabitants have been dead and carried out, they would break in at all hazards, and without regard to the danger of infection, take even the clothes off the dead bodies, and even bed-clothes from others where they lay dead.

This, I suppose, must be the case of a family in Houndsditch, where a man and his daughter (the rest of the family being, as I suppose, carried away before by the dead-cart), were found stark naked, one in one chamber, and one in another, lying dead on the floor ; and the clothes off the beds, from whence, it is supposed, they were rolled off by thieves, stolen, and carried quite away.

It is indeed to be observed, that the women were, in all this calamity, the most rash, fearless, and desperate creatures ; and as there were vast numbers that went about as nurses to tend those that were sick, they committed a great many petty thieveries in the houses where they were employed ; and some of them were publicly whipped for it, when perhaps they ought rather to have been hanged for examples ; for numbers of houses were robbed on these occasions, till at length the parish officers were sent to recommend nurses to the sick, and always took an account who it was they sent, so as that they might call them to account, if the house had been abused where they were placed.

But these robberies extended chiefly to wearing clothes, linen, and what rings or money they could come at, when the person died who was under their care, but not to a general plunder of the houses ; and I could give you an account of one of these nurses who, several years after, being on her death-bed, confessed with the utmost horror, the robberies she had committed at the time of her being a nurse, and by which she had enriched herself to a great degree ; but as for murders, I do not find that there was ever any proof of the facts, in the manner as it has been reported, except as above.

A neighbour and acquaintance of mine, having some money owing to him from a shopkeeper in Whitecross-street, or thereabouts, sent his apprentice, a youth about eighteen years of age,

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to endeavour to get the money : he came to the door, and, finding it shut, knocked pretty hard, and, as he thought, heard somebody answer within, but was not sure ; so he waited, and after some stay knocked again, and then a third time, when he heard somebody coming down stairs.

At length the man of the house came to the door ; he had on his breeches or drawers, and a yellow flannel waistcoat ; no stockings, a pair of slipt-shoes, a white cap on his head, and, as the young man said, death in his face.

When he opened the door, says he, "What do you disturb me thus for?" The boy, though a little surprised, replied, "I come from such a one, and my master sent me for the money which he says you know of." "Very well, child," returns the living ghost ; "call, as you go by, at Cripplegate church, and bid them ring the bell;" and with these words shut the door and went up again, and died the same day, nay, perhaps, the same hour. This the young man told me himself, and I have reason to believe it. This was while the plague was not come to a height ; I think it was in June, towards the latter end of the month ; it must be before the dead-carts came about, and while they used the ceremony of ringing the bell for the dead, which was over for certain, in that parish at least, before the month of July ; for, by the 25th of July, there died 550 and upwards in a week, and then they could no more bury in form, rich or poor.

I have mentioned above, that, notwithstanding this dreadful calamity, yet that numbers of thieves were abroad upon all occasions where they had found any prey, and that these were generally women. It was one morning, about eleven o'clock, I had walked out to my brother's house, in Coleman-street parish, as I often did, to see that all was safe.

My brother's house had a little court before it, and a brick wall and a gate in it, and, within that, several warehouses, where his goods of several sorts lay ; it happened that in one of these warehouses were several packs of women's high-crowned hats which came out of the country, and were, as I suppose, for exportation, whither I knew not.

I was surprised that when I came near my brother's door, which was in a place they called Swan-alley, I met three or four women with high-crowned hats on their heads ; and, as I remembered afterwards, one, if not more, had some hats likewise in their hands ; but, as I did not see them come out at my brother's door, and not knowing that my brother had any such

goods in his warehouse, I did not offer to say anything to them, but went across the way to shun meeting them, as was usual to do at that time, for fear of the plague. But when I came near to the gate I met another woman with more hats come out of the gate. "What business, mistress," said I, "have you had there?" "There are more people there," said she: "I have no more business there than they." I was hasty to get to the gate then, and said no more to her, by which means she got away. But just as I came to the gate I saw two more coming across the yard to come out, with hats also on their heads and under their arms, at which I threw the gate to behind me, which, having a spring lock, fastened itself; and, turning to the women—"Forsooth," said I, "what are you doing here?" and seized upon the hats, and took them from them. One of them, who, I confess, did not look like a thief,—“Indeed,” says she, “we are wrong; but we were told they were goods that had no owner; be pleased to take them again, and look yonder, there are more such customers as we.” She cried and looked pitifully, so I took the hats from her, and opened the gate and bade them begone, for I pitied the women indeed; but when I looked towards the warehouse, as she directed, there were six or seven more, all women, fitting themselves with hats, as unconcerned and quiet as if they had been in a hatter’s shop buying for their money.

I was surprised, not at the sight of so many thieves only, but at the circumstances I was in; being now to thrust myself in among so many people, who for some weeks had been so shy of myself, that if I met anybody in the street I would cross the way from them.

They were equally surprised, though on another account. They all told me they were neighbours, that they had heard any one might take them, that they were nobody’s goods, and the like. I talked big to them at first; went back to the gate, and took out the key, so that they were all my prisoners; threatened to lock them all in the warehouse, and go and fetch my Lord Mayor’s officers for them.

They begged heartily, protested they found the gate open, and the warehouse door open, and that it had no doubt been broken open by some who expected to find goods of greater value, which, indeed, was reasonable to believe, because the lock was broken, and a padlock that hung to the door on the outside also loose, and not abundance of the hats carried away.

At length I considered that this was not a time to be cruel and rigorous, and, besides that, it would necessarily oblige me to go much about, to have several people come to me, and I go to several, whose circumstances of health I knew nothing of, and that, even at this time, the plague was so high as that there died 4,000 a week; so that, in showing my resentment, or even in seeking justice for my brother's goods, I might lose my own life; so I contented myself in taking the names and places where some of them lived, who were really inhabitants in the neighbourhood; and threatening that my brother should call them to an account for it when he returned to his habitation.

Then I talked a little upon another foot with them, and asked them how they could do such things as these in a time of such general calamity, and, as it were, in the face of God's most dreadful judgments, when the plague was at their very doors, and it may be, in their very houses; and they did not know but that the dead-cart might stop at their doors in a few hours to carry them to their graves.

I could not perceive that my discourse made much impression upon them all that while, till it happened that there came two men of the neighbourhood, hearing of the disturbance, and knowing my brother, for they had both been dependants upon his family, and they came to my assistance; these being, as I said, neighbours, presently knew three of the women, and told me who they were and where they lived; and it seems they had given me a true account of themselves before.

This brings these two men to a further remembrance: the name of one was John Hayward, who was at that time undersexton of the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman-street; by undersexton was understood at that time gravedigger, and bearer of the dead. This man carried, or assisted to carry, all the dead to their graves, which were buried in that large parish, and who were carried in form; and after that form of burying was stopped, went with the dead-cart and the bell to fetch the dead bodies from the houses where they lay, and fetched many of them out of the chambers and houses; for the parish was, and is still, remarkable, particularly, above all the parishes in London, for a great number of alleys and thoroughfares, very long, into which no carts could come, and where they were obliged to go and fetch the bodies a very long way; which alleys now remain to witness; such as White's-alley, Cross-key-court, Swan-alley, Bell-alley, White Horse-alley, and many

more: here they went with a kind of hand-barrow, and laid the dead bodies on it, and carried them out to the carts; which work he performed and never had the distemper at all, but lived about twenty years after it, and was sexton of the parish to the time of his death. His wife, at the same time, was a nurse to infected people, and attended many that died in the parish, being, for her honesty, recommended by the parish officers, yet she never was infected neither.

He never used any preservative against the infection, other than holding garlic and rue in his mouth, and smoking tobacco; this I also had from his own mouth; and his wife's remedy was washing her head in vinegar, and sprinkling her head-clothes so with vinegar as to keep them always moist; and if the smell of any of those she waited on was more than ordinary offensive she snuffed vinegar up her nose, and sprinkled vinegar upon her head-clothes, and held a handkerchief wetted with vinegar to her mouth.

It must be confessed, that, though the plague was chiefly among the poor, yet were the poor the most venturous and fearless of it, and went about their employment with a sort of brutal courage; I must call it so, for it was founded neither on religion or prudence. Scarce did they use any caution, but ran into any business which they could get employment in, though it was the most hazardous; such was that of attending the sick, watching houses shut up, carrying infected persons to the pest-house, and, which was still worse, carrying the dead away to their graves.

It was under this John Hayward's care, and within his bounds, that the story of the piper, with which people have made themselves so merry, happened, and he assured me that it was true. It is said that he was a blind piper; but, as John told me, the fellow was not blind, but an ignorant weak poor man, and usually walked his rounds about ten o'clock at night, and went piping along from door to door, and the people usually took him in at public-houses where they knew him, and would give him drink and victuals, and sometimes farthings; and he, in return, would pipe and sing, and talk simply, which diverted the people; and thus he lived: it was but a very bad time for this diversion, while things were as I have told; yet the poor fellow went about as usual, but was almost starved; and when anybody asked how he did, he would answer, the dead-cart had not taken him yet, but that they had promised to call for him next week.

It happened one night that this poor fellow—whether somebody had given him too much drink or no, John Hayward said he had not drink in his house, but that that they had given him a little more victuals than ordinary, at a public-house in Coleman-street, and the poor fellow having not usually had a bellyful, or, perhaps, not a good while,—was laid all along upon the top of a bulk or stall, and fast asleep at a door in the street, near London Wall, towards Cripplegate; and that upon the same bulk or stall, the people of some house in the alley, of which the house was a corner, hearing a bell, which they always rung before the cart came, had laid a body really dead of the plague just by him, thinking, too, that this poor fellow had been a dead body, as the other was, and laid there by some of the neighbours.

Accordingly, when John Hayward, with his bell and the cart, came along, finding two dead bodies lie upon the stall, they took them up with the instrument they used and threw them into the cart, and all this while the piper slept soundly.

From hence they passed along and took in other dead bodies, till, as honest John Hayward told me, they almost buried him alive in the cart; yet all this while he slept soundly; at length, the cart came to the place where the bodies were to be thrown into the ground, which, as I do remember, was at Mountmill; and as the cart usually stopped some time before they were ready to shoot out the melancholy load they had in it, as soon as the cart stopped the fellow awaked, and struggled a little to get his head out from among the dead bodies, when raising himself up in the cart he called out, "Hey! where am I!" This frightened the fellow that attended about the work, but after some pause, John Hayward recovering himself said, "Lord bless us! there is somebody in the cart not quite dead!" so another called to him and said, "Who are you?" The fellow answered, "I am the poor piper; where am I?"—"Where are you," says Hayward, "why you are in the dead-cart, and we are going to bury you."—"But I an't dead, though, am I?" says the piper, which made them laugh a little, though, as John said, they were heartily frightened at first; so helped the poor fellow down, and he went about his business.

I know the story goes, he set up his pipes in the cart, and frightened the bearers and others so that they ran away; but John Hayward did not tell the story so, nor say anything of his piping at all; but that he was a poor piper, and that he was carried away as above I am fully satisfied of the truth of.

It is to be noted here, that the dead-carts in the city were not confined to particular parishes, but one cart went through several parishes, according as the number of dead presented; nor were they tied to carry the dead to their respective parishes, but many of the dead taken up in the city were carried to the burying-ground in the out-parts for want of room.

I have already mentioned the surprise that this judgment was at first among the people. I must be allowed to give some of my observations on the more serious and religious part. Surely never city, at least of this bulk and magnitude, was taken in a condition so perfectly unprepared for such a dreadful visitation, whether I am to speak of the civil preparations or religious; they were, indeed, as if they had had no warning, no expectation, no apprehensions, and, consequently, the least provision imaginable was made for it in a public way; for example:—

London un-
prepared
for judg-
ment.

The Lord Mayor and sheriffs had made no provision as magistrates, for the regulations which were to be observed; they had gone into no measures for the relief of the poor.

Lord Mayor
and the
Sheriffs un-
prepared
for the
pestilence.

The citizens had no public magazines, or storehouses for corn, or meal for the subsistence of the poor; which, if they had provided themselves, as in such cases is done abroad, many miserable families, who were now reduced to the utmost distress, would have been relieved, and that in a better manner than now could be done.

The stock of the city's money I can say but little to; the Chamber of London was said to be exceeding rich; and it may be concluded that they were so, by the vast sums of money issued from thence in the rebuilding the public edifices after the fire of London, and in building new works, such as, for the first part, the Guildhall, Blackwell-hall, part of Leadenhall, half the Exchange, the Session House, the Compter, the prisons of Ludgate, Newgate, &c.; several of the wharfs, and stairs, and landing-places on the river; all which were either burnt down or damaged by the great fire of London, the next year after the plague; and of the second sort, the Monument, Fleet-ditch, with its bridges, and the Hospital of Bethlem, or Bedlam, &c. But possibly the managers of the city's credit at that time made more conscience of breaking in upon the orphan's money, to show charity to the distressed citizens, than the managers in the following years did, to beautify the city and re-edify the buildings, though in the first case, the losers would have thought their fortunes better bestowed, and the public faith of the city have been less subjected to scandal and reproach.

Great fire
of London.

It must be acknowledged, that the absent citizens, who, though they were fled for safety into the country, were yet greatly interested in the welfare of those whom they left behind, forgot not to contribute liberally to the relief of the poor, and large sums were also collected among trading towns in the remotest parts of England; and as I have heard also, the nobility and gentry, in all parts of England, took the deplorable condition of the city into their consideration, and sent up large sums of money in charity to the Lord Mayor and magistrates for the relief of the poor; the King also, as I was told, ordered a thousand pounds a week to be distributed in four parts; one quarter to the city and liberty of Westminster; one quarter, or part, among the inhabitants of the Southwark-side of the water; one quarter to the liberty and parts within of the city, exclusive of the city within the walls; and one fourth part to the suburbs in the county of Middlesex, and the east and north parts of the city; but this latter I only speak of as a report.

Certain it is, the greatest part of the poor, or families who formerly lived by their labour, or by retail trade, lived now on charity; and had there not been prodigious sums of money given by charitable well-minded Christians, for the support of such, the city could never have subsisted. There were, no question, accounts kept of their charity and of the just distribution of it by the magistrates: but as such multitudes of those very officers died, through whose hands it was distributed, and also that, as I have been told, most of the accounts of those things were lost in the great fire which happened in the very next year, and which burnt even the chamberlain's office, and many of their papers; so I could never come at the particular account, which I used great endeavours to have seen.

It may, however, be a direction in case of the approach of a like visitation, which God keep the city from; I say, it may be of use to observe, that by the care of the Lord Mayor and aldermen, at that time, in distributing weekly great sums of money for relief of the poor, a multitude of people, who would otherwise have perished, were relieved and their lives preserved. And here let me enter into a brief state of the case of the poor at that time, and what was apprehended from them, from whence may be judged hereafter, what may be expected, if the like distress should come upon the city.

At the beginning of the plague, when there was now no more hope, but that the whole city would be visited, when, as I have said, all that had friends or estates in the country, retired with

their families ; and when, indeed, one would have thought the very city itself was running out of the gates, and that there would be nobody left behind ; you may be sure from that hour all trade, except such as related to immediate subsistence, was, as it were, at a full stop.

This is so lively a case, and contains in it so much of the real condition of the people, that I think I cannot be too particular in it ; and therefore I descend to the several arrangements, or classes of people, who fell into immediate distress upon this occasion : for example :—

- 1.—All master workmen in manufactories—especially such as belonged to ornament, and the less necessary parts of the people's dress, clothes, and furniture for houses—such as ribbon-weavers and other weavers, gold and silver lace makers, and gold and silver wire-drawers, sempstresses, milliners, shoemakers, hatmakers, and glovemakers ; also, upholsterers, joiners, cabinetmakers, looking-glass makers ; and innumerable trades which depend upon such as these ; I say, the master workmen in such stopped their work, dismissed their journeymen, and workmen, and all their dependants.
- 2.—As merchandizing was at a full stop, for very few ships ventured to come up the river, and none at all went out ; so all the extraordinary officers of the customs, likewise the watermen, carmen, porters, and all the poor, whose labour depended upon the merchants, were at once dismissed and put out of business.
- 3.—All the tradesmen usually employed in building or repairing of houses were at a full stop, for the people were far from wanting to build houses, when so many thousand houses were at once stripped of their inhabitants ; so that this one article turned all the ordinary workmen of that kind out of business, such as bricklayers, masons, carpenters, joiners, plasterers, painters, glaziers, smiths, plumbers, and all the labourers depending on such.
- 4.—As navigation was at a stop, our ships neither coming in nor going out as before, so the seamen were all out of employment, and many of them in the last and lowest degree of distress ; and with the seamen were all the several tradesmen and workmen belonging to and depending upon the building and fitting out of ships, such as ship carpenters, caulkers, ropemakers, dry-coopers, sail-makers, anchor-

smiths, and other smiths, blockmakers, carvers, gun-smiths, ship-chandlers, ship-carvers, and the like; the masters of those, perhaps, might live upon their substance; but the traders were universally at a stop, and consequently all their workmen discharged; add to these, that the river was, in a manner, without boats, and all or most part of the watermen, lightermen, boat-builders, and lighter-builders, in like manner idle and laid by.

5.—All families retrenched their living as much as possible, as well those that fled as those that stayed; so that an innumerable multitude of footmen, serving-men, shop-keepers, journeymen, merchants' book-keepers, and such sort of people, and especially poor maid-servants, were turned off, and left friendless and helpless, without employment and without habitation: and this was really a dismal article.

I might be more particular as to this part, but it may suffice to mention in general, all trades being stopped, employment ceased; the labour, and by that the bread, of the poor were cut off; and at first, indeed, the cries of the poor were most lamentable to hear, though, by the distribution of charity, their misery that way was greatly abated: many, indeed, fled into the country, but thousands of them having stayed in London till nothing but desperation sent them away, death overtook them on the road, and they served for no better than the messengers of death; indeed, others carrying the infection along with them, spread it very unhappily into the remotest parts of the kingdom.

Many of these were the miserable objects of despair which I have mentioned before, and were removed by the destruction which followed; these might be said to perish, not by the infection itself, but by the consequence of it; indeed, namely, by hunger and distress, and the want of all things,—being without lodging, without money, without friends, without means to get their bread, or without any one to give it them; for many of them were without what we call legal settlements, and so could not claim of the parishes, and all the support they had was by application to the magistrates for relief, which relief was (to give the magistrates their due) carefully and cheerfully administered, as they found it necessary; and those that stayed behind never felt the want and distress of that kind which they felt who went away in the manner above noted.

Let any one who is acquainted with what multitudes of people get their daily bread in this city by their labour, whether artificers or mere workmen,—I say, let any man consider what must be the miserable condition of this town, if, on a sudden, they should be all turned out of employment, that labour should cease, and wages for work be no more.

This was the case with us at that time ; and had not the sums of money, contributed in charity by well-disposed people of every kind, as well abroad as at home, been prodigiously great, it had not been in the power of the Lord Mayor and sheriffs to have kept the public peace ; nor were they without apprehensions as it was, that desperation should push the people upon tumults, and cause them to rifle the houses of the rich men, and plunder the markets of provisions ; in which case the country people who brought provisions very freely and boldly to town, would have been terrified from coming any more, and the town would have sunk under an unavoidable famine.

But the prudence of my Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen within the city, and of the justices of the peace in the out-parts, was such, that they were supported with money from all parts so well, that the poor people were kept quiet, and their wants everywhere relieved as far as was possible to be done.

Two things besides this contributed to prevent the mob doing any mischief : one was, that really the rich themselves had not laid up stores of provisions in their houses, as, indeed, they ought to have done, and which, if they had been wise enough to have done, and locked themselves entirely up, as some few did, they had, perhaps, escaped the disease better ; but as it appeared they had not, so the mob had no notion of finding stores of provisions there, if they had broken in, as it is plain they were sometimes very near doing, and which, if they had, they had finished the ruin of the whole city ; for there were no regular troops to have withstood them ; nor could the trained bands have been brought together to defend the city, no men being to be found to bear arms. But the vigilance of the Lord Mayor, and such magistrates as could be had (for some, even of the aldermen, were dead, and some absent), prevented this ; and they did it by the most kind and gentle methods they could think of, as particularly by relieving the most desperate with money, and putting others into business, and particularly that employment of watching houses that were infected and shut up ; and as the number of these were very great (for it was said there

were at one time ten thousand houses shut up), and every house had two watchmen to guard it, viz., one by night and the other by day: this gave opportunity to employ a very great number of poor men at a time.

The women and servants that were turned off from their places, were likewise employed as nurses to tend the sick in all places; and this took off a very great number of them.

And which, though a melancholy article in itself, yet was a deliverance in its kind: namely, the plague, which raged in a dreadful manner from the middle of August to the middle of October, carried off in that time thirty or forty thousand of these very people, which, had they been left, would certainly have been an insufferable burden by their poverty: that is to say, the whole city could not have supported the expense of them, or have provided food for them; and they would, in time, have been driven to the necessity of plundering either the city itself or the country adjacent, to have subsisted themselves, which would, first or last, have put the whole nation, as well as the city, into the utmost terror and confusion.

It was observable, then, that this calamity of the people made them very humble; for now, for about nine weeks together, there died near 1,000 in a day, one day with another, even by the account of the weekly bills, which yet, I have reason to be assured, never gave a full account by many thousands, the confusion being such, and the carts working in the dark when they carried the dead, that in some places no account at all was kept, but they worked on; the clerks and sextons not attending for weeks together, and not knowing what number they carried. This account is verified by the following bills of mortality.

		Of all diseases.	Of the plague.
From .	Aug. 8 to Aug. 15	5319	3880
	to 22	5568	4237
	to 29	7496	6102
	Aug. 29 to Sept. 5	8252	6988
	to 12	7690	6544
	to 19	8297	7165
	to 26	6400	5533
	Sept. 26 to Oct. 3	5720	4929
	to 10	5068	4227
		<u>59810</u>	<u>49605</u>

So that the gross of the people were carried off in these two months ; for as the whole number which was brought in to die of the plague was but 68,590, here is 50,000 of them, within a trifle, in two months ; I say 50,000, because, as there wants 395 in the number above, so there wants two days of two months in the account of time.

Now, when I say that the parish officers did not give in a full account, or were not to be depended upon for their account, let any one but consider how men could be exact in such a time of dreadful distress, and when many of them were taken sick themselves, and perhaps died in the very time when their accounts were to be given in ; I mean the parish clerks besides inferior officers, for these poor men ventured at all hazards, yet they were far from being exempt from the common calamity ; especially, if it be true that the parish of Stepney had within the year one hundred and sixteen sextons, grave-diggers, and their assistants, that is to say, bearers, bell-men, and drivers of carts, for carrying off the dead bodies.

Indeed, the work was not of a nature to allow them leisure to take an exact tale of the dead bodies, which were all huddled together in the dark into a pit, which pit or trench no man could come nigh but at the utmost peril. I observed often that in the parishes of Aldgate or Cripplegate, Whitechapel, and Stepney, there were five, six, seven, and eight hundred in a week in the bills ; whereas, if we may believe the opinion of those that lived in the city all the time, as well as I, there died sometimes two thousand a week in those parishes ; and I saw it under the hand of one that made as strict an examination into that part as he could, that there really died an hundred thousand people of the plague in that one year ; whereas, in the bills, the article of the plague was but 68,590.

If I may be allowed to give my opinion by what I saw with my eyes, and heard from other people that were eye-witnesses, I do verily believe the same, viz., that there died at least 100,000 of the plague only, besides other distempers, and besides those which died in the fields and highways and secret places, out of the compass of the communication, as it was called, and who were not put down in the bills, though they really belonged to the body of the inhabitants. It was known to us all, that abundance of poor despairing creatures, who had the distemper upon them, and were grown stupid or melancholy by their misery, as many were, wandered away into the fields and

woods, and into several uncouth places, almost anywhere, to creep into a bush, or a hedge, and DIE.

The inhabitants of the villages adjacent would, in pity, carry them food, and set it at a distance, that they might fetch it if they were able, and sometimes they were not able: and the next time they went they should find the poor wretches lie dead and the food untouched. The number of these miserable objects were many, and I know so many that perished thus, and so exactly where, that I believe I could go to the very place and dig their bones up still; for the country people would go and dig a hole at a distance from them, and then, with long poles and hooks at the end of them, drag the bodies into these pits, and then throw the earth in from as far as they could cast it, to cover them, taking notice how the wind blew, and so coming on that side which the seamen call to windward, that the scent of the bodies might blow from them; and thus great numbers went out of the world who were never known, or any account of them taken, as well within the bills of mortality as without.

This, indeed, I had, in the main, only from the relation of others, for I seldom walked into the fields except towards Bethnal Green and Hackney, or as hereafter; but when I did walk, I always saw a great many poor wanderers at a distance; but I could know little of their cases; for whether it were in the street or in the fields, if we had seen anybody coming, it was a general method to walk away; yet I believe the account is exactly true.

As this puts me upon mentioning my walking the streets and fields, I cannot omit taking notice what a desolate place the city was at that time; the great street I lived in, which is known to be one of the broadest of all the streets of London, I mean of the suburbs as well as the liberties; all the side where the butchers lived, especially without the bars, was more like a green field than a paved street, and the people generally went in the middle with the horses and carts; it is true, that the farthest end, towards Whitechapel church, was not all paved, but even the part that was paved was full of grass also; but this need not seem strange, since the great streets within the city, such as Leadenhall-street, Bishopsgate-street, Cornhill, and even the Exchange itself, had grass growing in them in several places; neither cart nor coach were seen in the streets from morning to evening, except some country carts to bring roots and beans, or pease, hay and straw to the market, and of those but very few compared to what was usual; as for coaches they

were scarce used but to carry sick people to the pest-house and to other hospitals, and some few to carry physicians to such places as they thought fit to venture to visit; for really coaches were dangerous things, and people did not care to venture into them, because they did not know who might have been carried in them last; and sick infected people were, as I have said, ordinarily carried in them to the pest-houses, and sometimes people expired in them as they went along.

It is true, when the infection came to such a height as I have now mentioned, there were very few physicians who cared to stir abroad to sick houses, and very many of the most eminent of the faculty were dead, as well as the surgeons also; for now it was indeed a dismal time, and for about a month together, not taking any notice of the bills of mortality, I believe there did not die less than 1,500 or 1,700 a day, one day with another.

Physicians
dismissed
at their
decimation.

One of the worst days we had in the whole time, as I thought, was in the beginning of September, when indeed good people began to think that God was resolved to make a full end of the people in this miserable city. This was at that time when the plague was fully come into the eastern parishes. The parish of Aldgate, if I may give my opinion, buried above a thousand a week for two weeks, though the bills did not say so many; but it surrounded me at so dismal a rate, that there was not a house in twenty, uninfected—in the Minories, in Houndsditch, and in those parts of Aldgate parish about the Butcher-row, and the alleys over against me; I say, in those places death reigned in every corner. Whitechapel parish was in the same condition, and though much less than the parish I lived in, yet buried near 600 a week by the bills; and, in my opinion, near twice as many; whole families, and indeed, whole streets of families, were swept away together, insomuch that it was frequent for neighbours to call to the bellman to go such and such houses, and fetch out the people, for that they were all dead.

And, indeed, the work of removing the dead bodies by carts was now grown so very odious and dangerous, that it was complained of that the bearers did not take care to clear such houses where all the inhabitants were dead; but that sometimes the bodies lay several days unburied till the neighbouring families were offended with the stench, and consequently infected; and this neglect of the officers was such that the church-wardens and constables were summoned to look after it; and even the justices of the hamlets were obliged to venture their

lives among them, to quicken and encourage them, for innumerable of the bearers died of the distemper, infected by the bodies they were obliged to come so near; and had it not been that the number of poor people who wanted employment, and wanted bread (as I have said before), was so great, that necessity drove them to undertake anything, and venture anything, they would never have found people to be employed; and then the bodies of the dead would have lain above-ground, and have perished and rotted in a dreadful manner.

But the magistrates cannot be enough commended in this, that they kept such good order for the burying of the dead, that as fast as any of those they employed to carry off and bury the dead fell sick or died, as was many times the case, they immediately supplied their places with others, which by reason of the great number of poor that was left out of business, as above, was not hard to do. This occasioned that, notwithstanding the infinite number of people which died and were sick, almost all together, yet they were always cleared away and carried off every night; so that it was never to be said of London that the living were not able to bury the dead.

As the desolation was greater during those terrible times, so the amazement of the people increased; and a thousand unaccountable things they would do in the violence of their fright, as others did the same in the agonies of their distemper, and this part was very affecting: some went roaring and crying, and wringing their hands along the street; some would go praying and lifting up their hands to heaven, calling upon God for mercy. I cannot say, indeed, whether this was not in their distraction; but be it so, it was still an indication of a more serious mind, when they had the use of their senses, and was much better, even as it was, than the frightful yellings and cryings that every day, and especially in the evenings, were heard in some streets. I suppose the world has heard of the famous Solomon Eagle, an enthusiast. He, though not infected at all but his head, went about denouncing of judgment upon the city in a frightful manner; sometimes quite naked, and with a pan of burning charcoal on his head. What he said, or pretended, indeed, I could not learn.

I will not say whether that clergyman was distracted or not, or whether he did it in pure zeal for the poor people, who went every evening through the streets of Whitechapel, and with his hands lifted up, repeated that part of the liturgy of the Church

continually, "Spare us, good Lord, spare thy people whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood." I say, I cannot speak positively of these things, because these were only the dismal objects which represented themselves to me as I looked through my chamber windows (for I seldom opened the case-ments) while I confined myself within doors, during that most violent raging of the pestilence; when indeed, as I have said, many began to think, and even to say, that there would none escape; and indeed I began to think so too; and therefore kept within doors for about a fortnight, and never stirred out, but I could not hold it. Besides, there were some people who, notwithstanding the danger, did not omit publicly to attend the worship of God, even in the most dangerous times; and though it is true that a great many clergymen did shut up their churches, and fled as other people did, for the safety of their lives; yet all did not do so; some ventured to officiate, and to keep up the assemblies of the people by constant prayers, and sometimes sermons, or brief exhortations to repentance and reformation, and this as long as any one would come to hear them; and dissenters did the like also, and even in the very churches, where the parish ministers were either dead or fled, nor was there any room for making differences at such a time as this was.

It was indeed a lamentable thing to hear the miserable lamentations of poor dying creatures, calling out for ministers to comfort them and pray with them, to counsel them, and to direct them, calling out to God for pardon and mercy, and confessing aloud their past sins. It would make the stoutest heart bleed to hear how many warnings were then given by dying penitents to others not to put off and delay their repentance to the day of distress, that such a time of calamity as this was no time for repentance, was no time to call upon God. I wish I could repeat the very sound of those groans, and of those exclamations that I heard from some poor dying creatures, when in the height of their agonies and distress; and that I could make him that reads this hear, as I imagine I now hear them, for the sound seems still to ring in my ears.

Londoners
call out to
the Divine
King for
pardon and
mercy.

If I could but tell this part in such moving accents as should alarm the very soul of the reader, I should rejoice that I recorded those things, however short and imperfect.

It pleased God that I was still spared, and very hearty and sound in health, but very impatient of being pent up within doors without air, as I have been for fourteen days or there-

abouts; and I could not restrain myself, but I would go and carry a letter for my brother to the post-house. Then it was, indeed, that I observed a profound silence in the streets. When I came to the post-house, as I went to put in my letter, I saw a man stand in one corner of the yard, and talking to another at a window, and a third had opened a door belonging to the office. In the middle of the yard lay a small leather purse, with two keys hanging at it, with money in it, but nobody would meddle with it. I asked how long it had lain there. The man at the window said it had lain almost an hour, but that they had not meddled with it, because they did not know but the person who dropped it might come back to look for it. I had no such need of money, nor was the sum so big that I had any inclination to meddle with it, or to get the money at the hazard it might be attended with, so I seemed to go away, when the man who had opened the door said he would take it up; but so that if the right owner came for it he should be sure to have it; so he went in and fetched a pail of water, and set it down hard by the purse, then went again and fetched some gunpowder, and cast a good deal of powder upon the purse, and then made a train from that which he had thrown loose upon the purse—the train reached about two yards; after this, he goes in a third time, and fetches out a pair of tongs red-hot, and which he had prepared, I suppose, on purpose; and first setting fire to the train of powder, that singed the purse, and also smoked the air sufficiently; but he was not content with that, but he then takes up the purse with the tongs, holding it so long till the tongs burnt through the purse, and then he shook the money out into the pail of water, so he carried it in. The money, as I remember, was about thirteen shillings, and some smooth groats and brass farthings.

There might, perhaps, have been several poor people, as I have observed above, that would have been hardy enough to have ventured for the sake of money; but you may easily see, by what I have observed, that the few people who were spared were very careful of themselves at that time when the distress was so exceeding great.

Much about the same time I walked out into the fields towards Bow, for I had a great mind to see how things were managed in the river, and among the ships; and as I had some concern in shipping, I had a notion that it had been one of the best ways of securing one's-self from the infection to have

retired into a ship, and musing how to satisfy my curiosity on that point, I turned away over the fields from Bow to Bromley, and down to Blackwall, to the stairs which are there for landing or taking water.

Here I saw a poor man walking on the bank, or sea-wall, as they call it, by himself. I walked a-while also about, seeing the houses all shut up; at last I fell into some talk, at a distance, with this poor man: first I asked him how people did thereabouts.

"Alas! sir," says he, "almost desolate; all dead or sick. Here are very few families in this part, or in that village," pointing at Poplar, "where half of them are not dead already, and the rest sick." Then he pointed to one house:—"There they are all dead," said he, "and the house stands open; nobody dares go into it. A poor thief," says he, "ventured in to steal something, but he paid dear for his theft, for he was carried to the churchyard, too, last night." Then he pointed to several other houses:—"There," says he, "they are all dead, the man, and his wife and five children. There," says he, "they are shut up; you see a watchman at the door; and so of other houses."

"Why," says I, "what do you here all alone?"

"Why," says he, "I am a poor desolate man; it has pleased God I am not yet visited, though my family is, and one of my children dead."

"How do you mean, then," said I, "that you are not visited?"

"Why," says he, "that is my house," pointing to a very little low boarded house, "and there my poor wife and two children live," said he, "if they may be said to live, for my wife and one of the children are visited, but I do not come at them." And with that word I saw the tears run very plentifully down his face; and so they did down mine too, I assure you.

"But," said I, "why do you not come at them? how can you abandon your own flesh and blood?" "Oh, sir," says he, "the Lord forbid; I do not abandon them, I work for them as much as I am able, and blessed be the Lord I keep them from want;" and with that I observed he lifted up his eyes to heaven with a countenance that presently told me I had happened on a man who was no hypocrite, but a serious, religious, good man, and his ejaculation was an expression of thankfulness that, in such a condition as he was in, he should be able to say his family was not in want.—"Well," says I, "honest man, that is a great mercy as things go now with the poor. But how do you live, then; and how

are you kept from the dreadful calamity that is now upon us all?"—"Why, sir," says he, "I am a waterman, and there is my boat," says he; "and the boat serves me for a house; I work in it in the day, and I sleep in it in the night; and what I get I lay down upon that stone," says he, showing me a broad stone on the other side of the street, a good way from his house, "and then," says he, "I halloo and call to them till I make them hear, and they come and fetch it."

"Well, friend," says I, "but how can you get any money as a waterman? Does anybody go by water these times?"—"Yes, sir," says he, "in the way I am employed there does. Do you see there," says he, "five ships lie at anchor," pointing down the river, "a good way below the town? and do you see," says he, "eight or ten ships lie at the chain there, and at anchor yonder?" pointing above the town. "All those ships have families on board, of their merchants and owners, and such like, who have locked themselves up, and live on board, close shut in, for fear of the infection; and I tend on them to fetch things for them, carry letters, and do what is absolutely necessary, that they may not be obliged to come on shore; and every night I fasten my boat on board one of the ship's boats, and there I sleep by myself, and, blessed be God, I am preserved hitherto."

"Well," said I, "friend, but will they let you come on board, after you have been on shore here, when this is such a terrible place, and so infected as it is?"

"Why, as to that," says he, "I very seldom go up the ship's side, but deliver what I bring to their boat, or lie by the side, and they hoist it on board; if I did, I think they are in no danger from me, for I never go into any house on shore, or touch anybody, no, not of my own family; but I fetch provisions for them."

"Nay," says I, "but that may be worse, for you must have those provisions of somebody or other; and since all this part of the town is so infected, it is dangerous so much as to speak with anybody; for the village," said I, "is, as it were, the beginning of London, though it be at some distance from it."

"That is true," added he, "but you do not understand me right. I do not buy provisions for them here. I row up to Greenwich, and buy fresh meat there, and sometimes I row down the river to Woolwich and buy there; then I go to single farm houses on the Kentish side, where I am known, and buy fowls, and eggs, and butter, and bring to the ships, as they direct me,

sometimes one, sometimes the other. I seldom come on shore here; and I came now only to call my wife, and hear how my little family do, and give them a little money which I received last night."

"Poor man!" said I; "and how much hast thou gotten for them?"

"I have gotten four shillings," said he, "which is a great sum, as things go now with poor men; but they have given me a bag of bread, too, and a salt fish, and some flesh; so all helps out."

"Well," said I, "have you given it them yet?"

"No," said he; "but I have called, and my wife has answered that she cannot come out yet, but in half an hour she hopes to come, and I am waiting for her: poor woman!" says he, "she is brought sadly down; she has a swelling and it is broke, and I hope she will recover; but I fear the child will die; but it is the Lord!"—here he stopped, and wept very much.

"Well, honest friend," said I, "thou hast a sure comforter, if thou hast brought thyself to be resigned to the will of God; he is dealing with us all in judgment."

"Oh, sir," says he, "it is infinite mercy, if any of us are spared; and who am I to repine?"

"Sayest thou so," said I, "and how much less is my faith than thine?" And here my heart smote me, suggesting how much better this poor man's foundation was on which he staid in the danger than mine; that he had no where to fly, that he had a family to bind him to attendance, which I had not; and mine was mere presumption, his a true dependence, and a courage resting on God; and yet that he used all possible caution for his safety.

I turned a little way from the man while these thoughts engaged me, for, indeed, I could no more refrain from tears than he.

At length, after some further talk, the poor woman opened the door, and called Robert, Robert; he answered, and bid her stay a few moments, and he would come; so he ran down the common stairs to his boat, and fetched up a sack in which was the provisions he had brought from the ships, and when he returned he hallooed again; then he went to the great stone which he showed me, and emptied the sack and laid all out, everything by themselves, and then retired; and his wife came with a little boy to fetch them away, and he called and said

such a captain had sent such a thing, and such a captain such a thing; and at the end adds, "God hath sent them all, give thanks to him." When the poor woman had taken up all, she was so weak she could not carry it at once in, though the weight was not much neither; so she left the biscuit, which was in a little bag, and left a little boy to watch it till she came again.

"Well, but," says I to him, "did you leave her the four shillings, too, which you said was your week's pay?"

"Yes, yes," says he, "you shall hear her own it." So he calls again, "Rachel, Rachel," (which, it seems, was her name,) "did you take up the money?"—"Yes," said she.—"How much was it?" said he.—"Four shillings and a groat," said she.—"Well, well," says he, "the Lord keep you all;" and so he turned to go away.

As I could not refrain from contributing tears to this man's story, so neither could I refrain my charity for his assistance; so I called him—"Hark thee, friend," said I, "come hither, for I believe thou art in health, that I may venture thee;" so I pulled out my hand, which was in my pocket before;—"Here," says I, "go and call thy Rachel once more, and give her a little more comfort from me. God will never forsake a family that trusts in him as thou dost." So I gave him four other shillings, and bid him go lay them on the stone, and call his wife.

I have not words to express the poor man's thankfulness, neither could he express it himself, but by tears running down his face; he called his wife and told her God had moved the heart of a stranger, upon hearing their condition, to give them all that money, and a great deal more such as that he said to her. The woman, too, made signs of the like thankfulness, as well to heaven as to me, and joyfully picked it up; and I parted with no money all that year that I thought better bestowed.

Infection of
Greenwich.

I then asked the poor man if the distemper had not reached to Greenwich. He said it had not till about a fortnight before; but that then he feared it had; but that it was only at that end of the town which lay south towards Deptford-bridge; that he went only to a butcher's shop and a grocer's, where he generally bought such things as they sent him for, but was very careful.

I asked him then, how it came to pass that those people who had so shut themselves up in the ships, had not laid in sufficient stores of all things necessary? He said some of them had; but, on the other hand, some did not come on board till they were frightened into it, and till it was too dangerous for them to go to

the proper people to lay in quantities of things ; and that he waited on two ships, which he showed me, that had laid in little or nothing but biscuit-bread, and ship beer ; and that he had bought everything else almost for them. I asked him if there were any more ships that had separated themselves, as those had done ? He told me yes ; all the way up from the point right against Greenwich, to within the shores of Limehouse and Redriff, all the ships that could have room rid two and two in the middle of the stream, and that some of them had several families on board. I asked him if the distemper had not reached them ? He said he believed it had not, except two or three ships, whose people had not been so watchful as to keep the seamen from going on shore as others had been ; and he said it was a very fine sight to see how the ships lay up the pool.

When he said he was going over to Greenwich, as soon as the tide began to come in, I asked him if he would let me go with him, and bring me back ? for that I had a great mind to see how the ships were ranged, as he had told me. He told me if I would assure him, on the word of a Christian and of an honest man, that I had not the distemper, he would. I assured him that I had not ; that it had pleased God to preserve me ; that I lived in Whitechapel, but was too impatient of being so long within doors, and that I had ventured out so far for the refreshment of a little air : but that none in my house had so much as been touched with it.

“ Well, sir,” says he, “ as your charity has been moved to pity me and my poor family, sure you cannot have so little pity left as to put yourself into my boat if you were not sound in health, which would be nothing less than killing me and ruining my whole family.”

The poor man troubled me so much when he spoke of his family with such a sensible concern and in such an affectionate manner, that I could not satisfy myself at first to go at all. I told him I would lay aside my curiosity rather than make him uneasy ; though I was sure, and very thankful for it, that I had no more distemper upon me than the freshest man in the world. Well, he would not have me put it off neither, but to let me see how confident he was that I was just to him, he now importuned me to go : so when the tide came up to his boat, I went in, and he carried me to Greenwich. While he bought the things which he had in his charge to buy, I walked up to the top of the hill under which the town stands, and on the east side of the town,

to get a prospect of the river ; but it was a surprising sight to see the number of ships which lay in rows, two and two, and in some places two or three such lines in the breadth of the river ; and this not only up to the town, between the houses which we call Ratcliff and Redriff, which they name the pool, but even down the whole river, as far as the head of Long Reach, which is as far as the hills give us leave to see it.

I cannot guess at the number of ships, but I think there must be several hundreds of sail ; and I could not but applaud the contrivance, for ten thousand people and more, who attended ship affairs, were certainly sheltered here from the violence of the contagion, and lived very safe and very easy.

I returned to my own dwelling very well satisfied with my day's journey, and particularly with the poor man ; also I rejoiced to see that such little sanctuaries were provided for so many families on board, in a time of such desolation. I observed also that as the violence of the plague had increased, so the ships which had families on board removed and went farther off, till, as I was told, some went quite away to sea, and put into such harbours and safe roads on the north coast as they could best come at.

But it was also true that all the people who thus left the land, and lived on board the ships, were not entirely safe from the infection, for many died, and were thrown overboard into the river, some in coffins, and some, as I heard, without coffins, whose bodies were seen sometimes to drive up and down with the tide in the river.

But I believe I may venture to say, that in those ships which were thus infected, it either happened where the people had recourse to them too late, and did not fly to the ship till they had stayed too long on shore, and had the distemper upon them, though perhaps they might not perceive it, and so the distemper did not come to them on board the ships, but they really carried it with them ; or, it was in these ships where the poor watermen said they had not had time to furnish themselves with provisions, but were obliged to send often on shore to buy what they had occasion for, or suffered boats to come to them from the shore ; and so the distemper was brought insensibly among them.

And here I cannot but take notice that the strange temper of the people of London at that time contributed extremely to their own destruction. The plague began, as I have observed,

at the other end of the town, namely, in Long-acre, Drury-lane, &c., and came on towards the city very gradually and slowly. It was felt at first in December, then again in February, then again in April, and always but a very little at a time; then it stopped till May, and even the last week in May there were but seventeen in all that end of the town; and all this while, even so long as till there died above 3000 a week, yet had the people in Redriff, and in Wapping, and Ratcliff, on both sides the river, and almost all Southwark side, a mighty fancy that they should not be visited, or, at least, that it would not be so violent among them. Some people fancied the smell of the pitch and tar, and such other things, as oil, and resin, and brimstone, which is so much used by all trades relating to shipping, would preserve them. Others argued it, because it was in its extremest violence in Westminster, and the parish of St. Giles's and St. Andrew's, &c., and began to abate again, before it came among them, which was true, indeed, in part. For example :—

From the 8th to the 15th of August.

		Total this week.
St. Giles's in the	} 242	Stepney 197
Fields . . .		St. Mag. Bermondsey 24
Cripplegate . . . 886		Rotherhithe 3

From the 15th to the 22nd of August.

		Total this week.
St. Giles's in the	} 175	Stepney 273
Fields . . .		St. Mag. Bermondsey 36
Cripplegate . . . 847		Rotherhithe 2

N.B. That it was observed that the numbers mentioned in Stepney parish at that time, were generally all on that side where Stepney parish joined to Shoreditch, which we now call Spitalfields, where the parish of Stepney comes up to the very wall of Shoreditch church-yard; and the plague at this time was abated at St. Giles's in the Fields, and raged most violently in Cripplegate, Bishopsgate, and Shoreditch parishes, but there were not ten people a week that died of it in all that part of Stepney parish which takes in Limehouse, Ratcliff-highway, and which are now the parishes of Shadwell and Wapping, even to St. Katherine's, by the Tower, till after the whole month of August was expired; but they paid for it afterwards, as I shall observe by-and-by.

This, I say, made the people of Redriff and Wapping, Ratcliff and Limehouse, so secure, and flatter themselves so much with

the plague's going off without reaching them, that they took no care either to fly into the country, or shut themselves up; nay, so far were they from stirring, that they rather received their friends and relations from the city into their houses; and several from other places really took sanctuary in that part of the town, as a place of safety, and as a place which they thought God would pass over, and not visit as the rest was visited.

And this was the reason, that when it came upon them, they were more surprised, more unprovided, and more at a loss what to do, than they were in other places; for when it came among them really, and with violence, as it did, indeed, in September, and October, there was then no stirring out into the country; nobody would suffer a stranger to come near them, no, nor near the towns where they dwelt; and, as I have been told, several that wandered into the country, on Surrey side, were found starved to death in the woods and commons, that country being more open and more woody than any other part so near London, especially about Norwood, and the parishes of Camberwell, Dulwich, and Lewisham, where, it seems, nobody durst relieve the poor distressed people for fear of the infection.

This notion having, as I said, prevailed with the people in that part of the town, was in part the occasion, as I said before, that they had recourse to ships for their retreat; and where they did this early, and with prudence, furnishing themselves so with provisions, so that they had no need to go on shore for supplies, or suffer boats to come on board to bring them; I say, where they did so, they had certainly the safest retreat of any people whatsoever: but the distress was such that people ran on board in their fright, without bread to eat: and some into ships that had no men on board, to remove them farther off, or to take the boat and go down the river to buy provisions, where it may be done safely; and these often suffered, and were infected on board as much as on shore.

As the richer sort got into ships, so the lower rank got into hoys, smacks, lighters, and fishing-boats; and many, especially watermen, lay in their boats; but those made sad work of it, especially the latter,—for going about for provisions, and, perhaps, to get their subsistence, the infection got in among them and made a fearful havoc: many of the watermen died alone in their wherries, as they rid at their roads, as well above bridge as below, and were not found sometimes till they were not in condition for anybody to touch or come near them.

Indeed, the distress of the people at this seafaring end of the town was very deplorable, and deserved the greatest commiseration : but, alas ! this was a time when every one's private safety lay so near them, that they had no room to pity the distresses of others ; for every one had death, as it were, at his door, and many even in their families, and knew not what to do or whither to fly.

This, I say, took away all compassion ; self-preservation, indeed, appeared here to be the first law, for the children ran away from their parents, as they languished in the utmost distress ; and, in some places, though not so frequent as the other, parents did the like to their children ; nay, some dreadful examples there were, and particularly two in one week, of distressed mothers raving and distracted, killing their own children, one whereof was not far off from where I dwelt ; the poor lunatic creature not living herself long enough to be sensible of the sin of what she had done, much less to be punished for it.

It is not, indeed, to be wondered at, for the danger of immediate death to ourselves took away all bowels of love, all concern for one another : I speak in general, for there were many instances of immoveable affection, pity, and duty, in many, and some that came to my knowledge ; that is to say, by hearsay ; for I shall not take upon me to vouch the truth of the particulars.

To introduce one, let me first mention that one of the most deplorable cases in all the present calamity was that of women with child, who, when they came to the hour of their sorrows, and their pains came upon them, could neither have help of one kind or another ; neither midwife nor neighbouring women to come near them ; most of the midwives were dead,—especially of such as served the poor ; and many, if not all, the midwives of note were fled into the country ; so that it was next to impossible for a poor woman that could not pay an immoderate price to get any midwife to come to her, and if they did, those they could get were generally unskilful and ignorant creatures ; and the consequence of this was, that a most unusual and incredible number of women were reduced to the utmost distress. Some were delivered, and spoiled by the rashness and ignorance of those who pretended to lay them. Children without number were, I might say, murdered by the same, but a more justifiable ignorance, pretending they would save the mother, whatever became of the child ; and many times both mother and child

were lost in the same manner; and especially where the mother had the distemper, there nobody would come near them, and both sometimes perished; sometimes the mother has died of the plague, and the infant, it may be, half-born, or born, but not parted from the mother. Some died in the very pains of their travail, and not delivered at all; and so many were the cases of this kind, that it is hard to judge of them.

Something of it will appear in the unusual numbers which are put into the weekly bills (though I am far from allowing them to be able to give anything of a full account), under the articles of—

CHILD-BED.

ABORTIVE AND STILL-BORN.

CHRISOMS AND INFANTS.

Take the weeks in which the plague was most violent, and compare them with the weeks before the distemper began, even in the same year: for example:—

		Child-bed.	Abort.	Still-born
From	Jan. 3 to Jan. 10 . .	7 . .	1 . .	13
	to 17 . .	8 . .	6 . .	11
	to 24 . .	9 . .	5 . .	15
	to 31 . .	3 . .	2 . .	9
	Jan. 31 to Feb. 7 . .	3 . .	3 . .	8
	to 14 . .	6 . .	2 . .	11
	to 21 . .	5 . .	2 . .	13
	to 28 . .	2 . .	2 . .	10
	Feb 28 to Mar. 7 . .	5 . .	1 . .	10
	Aug. 1 to Aug. 8 . .	25 . .	5 . .	11
	to 15 . .	23 . .	6 . .	8
	to 22 . .	28 . .	4 . .	4
	to 29 . .	40 . .	6 . .	10
	Aug. 29 to Sept. 5 . .	38 . .	2 . .	11
	to 12 . .	39 . .	23 . .	0
	to 19 . .	42 . .	5 . .	17
	to 26 . .	42 . .	6 . .	10
	Sept. 26 to Oct. 3 . .	14 . .	4 . .	9
		339	85	180

To the disparity of these numbers, is to be considered and allowed for, that according to our usual opinion, who were then upon the spot, there were not one-third of the people in the

town during the months of August and September as were in the months of January and February: in a word, the usual number that used to die of these three articles; and, as I hear, did die of them the year before, was thus:—

1664	{ Child-bed	189
	{ Abortive and Still-born	458
		647
1665	{ Child-bed	625
	{ Abortive and Still-born	617
		1242

This inequality, I say, is exceedingly augmented, when the numbers of people are considered. I pretend not to make any exact calculation of the numbers of people which were at this time in the city; but I shall make a probable conjecture at that part by-and-by: what I have said now is to explain the misery of those poor creatures above, so that it might well be said, as in the Scripture, “Woe be to those who are with child, and to those which give suck in that day.” For indeed it was a woe to them in particular.

I was not conversant in many particular families where these things happened; but the outcries of the miserable were heard afar off. As to those who were with child, we have seen some calculation made; 291 women dead in child-bed in nine weeks, out of one-third part of the number, of whom there usually died in that time but eighty-four of the same disaster. Let the reader calculate the proportion.

There is no room to doubt but the misery of those that gave suck was in proportion as great. Our bills of mortality could give but little light in this; yet some it did; there were several more than usual starved at nurse; but this was nothing. The misery was, where they were—First, starved for want of nurse, the mother dying, and all the family and infants found dead by them, merely for want; and, if I may speak my opinion, I do believe that many hundreds of poor helpless infants perished in this manner. Secondly (not starved but) poisoned by the nurse: nay, even where the mother has been nurse, and having received the infection, has poisoned, that is, infected the infant with her milk, even before they knew they were infected themselves;

Women in
certain
cases to re-
tire from
pestilence.

may, and the infant has died in such a case before the mother. I cannot but remember to leave this admonition upon record, if ever such another dreadful visitation should happen in this city, that all women that are with child, or that give suck, should be gone, if they have any possible means, out of the place, because their misery, if infected, will so much exceed all other people's.

I could tell here dismal stories of living infants being found sucking the breasts of their mothers or nurses after they had been dead of the plague. Of a mother, in the parish where I lived, who, having a child that was not well, sent for an apothecary to view the child; and when he came, as the relation goes, was giving the child suck at her breast, and to all appearance was herself very well; but when the apothecary came close to her he saw the tokens upon that breast with which she was suckling the child. He was surprised enough to be sure, but not willing to fright the poor woman too much, he desired she would give the child into his hand. So he takes the child, and going to a cradle in the room, lays it in, and opening its clothes, found the tokens upon the child too, and both died before he could get home to send a preventive medicine to the father of the child, to whom he told their condition. Whether the child infected the nurse-mother, or the mother the child, was not certain, but the last most likely.

Likewise of a child brought home to the parents from a nurse that had died of the plague, yet the tender mother would not refuse to take in her child, and laid it in her bosom, by which she was infected, and died with the child in her arms dead also.

It would make the hardest heart move at the instances that were frequently found of tender mothers, tending and watching with their dear children, and even dying before them, and sometimes taking the distemper from them and dying, when the child, for whom the affectionate heart had been sacrificed, has got over it and escaped.

The like of a tradesman in East Smithfield, whose wife was big with child, of her first child, and fell in labour, having the plague upon her. He could neither get midwife to assist her or nurse to tend her; and two servants which he kept fled both from her. He ran from house to house like one distracted, but could get no help; the utmost he could get was, that a watchman, who attended at an infected house shut up, promised to send a nurse in the morning: the poor man, with his heart

broke, went back, assisted his wife what he could, acted the part of the midwife, brought the child dead into the world, and his wife, in about an hour, died in his arms, where he held her dead body fast till the morning, when the watchman came, brought the nurse as he had promised, and coming up the stairs, for he had left the door open, or only latched, they found the man sitting with his dead wife in his arms, and so overwhelmed with grief, that he died in a few hours after, without any sign of the infection upon him, but merely sunk under the weight of his grief.

I have heard also of some who, on the death of their relations, have grown stupid with the insupportable sorrow, and of one in particular, who was so absolutely overcome with the pressure upon his spirits, that by degrees his head sunk into his body, so between his shoulders, that the crown of his head was very little seen above the bone of his shoulders; and by degrees, losing both voice and sense, his face looking forward, lay against his collar-bone, and could not be kept up any otherwise, unless held up by the hands of other people; and the poor man never came to himself again, but languished near a year in that condition, and died; nor was he ever once seen to lift up his eyes, or to look upon any particular object.

I cannot undertake to give any other than a summary of such passages as these, because it was not possible to come at the particulars, where sometimes the whole families, where such things happened, were carried off by the distemper: but there were innumerable cases of this kind, which presented to the eye, and the ear, even in passing along the streets, as I have hinted above; nor is it easy to give any story of this or that family, which there was not divers parallel stories to be met with of the same kind.

But as I am now talking of the time when the plague raged at the easternmost parts of the town; how for a long time the people of those parts had flattered themselves that they should escape; and how they were surprised when it came upon them as it did, for, indeed, it came upon them like an armed man, when it did come; I say, this brings me back to the three poor men who wandered from Wapping, not knowing whither to go, or what to do, and whom I mentioned before; one a biscuit-baker, one a sailmaker, and the other a joiner; all of Wapping, or thereabouts.

The sleepiness and security of that part, as I have observed, was such that they not only did not shift for themselves, as

others did, but they boasted of being safe, and of safety being with them; and many people fled out of the city, and out of the infected suburbs to Wapping, Ratcliff, Limehouse, Poplar, and such places, as to places of security; and it is not at all unlikely that their doing this helped to bring the plague that way faster than it might otherwise have come. For, though I am much for people's flying away, and emptying such a town as this, upon the first appearance of a like visitation, and that all people, who have any possible retreat, should make use of it in time, and begone; yet I must say, when all that will fly are gone, those that are left, and must stand it, should stand stock still where they are, and not shift from one end of the town, or one part of the town, to the other; for that is the bane and mischief of the whole, and they carry the plague from house to house in their very clothes.

The Lord Mayor and Magistrates order the destruction of dogs and cats.

Wherefore were we ordered to kill all the dogs and cats, but because, as they were domestic animals, and are apt to run from house to house, and from street to street, so they are capable of carrying the effluvia or infectious steams of bodies infected, even in their furs and hair; and therefore it was, that in the beginning of the infection, an order was published by the Lord Mayor and by the magistrates, according to the advice of the physicians, that all the dogs and cats should be immediately killed, and an officer was appointed for the execution.

It is incredible, if their account is to be depended upon, what a prodigious number of those creatures were destroyed: I think they talked of 40,000 dogs, and five times as many cats, few houses being without a cat, some having several, sometimes five or six in a house. All possible endeavours were used also to destroy the mice and rats, especially the latter, by laying rat's-bane and other poisons for them, and a prodigious multitude of them were also destroyed.

I often reflected upon the unprovided condition that the whole body of the people were in at the first coming of this calamity upon them, and how it was for want of timely entering into measures and managements, as well public as private, that all the confusions that followed were brought upon us; and that such a prodigious number of people sunk in that disaster, which, if proper steps had been taken, might, Providence concurring, have been avoided, and which, if posterity think fit, they may take a caution and warning from; but I shall come to this part again.

I come back to my three men: their story has a moral in

every part of it, and their whole conduct, and that of some whom they joined with, is a pattern for all poor men to follow, or women either, if ever such a time comes again; and if there was no other end in recording it, I think this a very just one, whether my account be exactly according to fact or not.

Two of them were said to be brothers, the one an old soldier, but now a biscuit-baker; the other a lame sailor, but now a sail-maker; the third a joiner. Says John, the biscuit-baker, one day, to Thomas, his brother, the sail-maker, "Brother Tom, what will become of us? The plague grows hot in the city, and increases this way; what shall we do?"

"Truly," says Thomas, "I am at a great loss what to do: for I find, if it comes down into Wapping, I shall be turned out of my lodging." And thus they began to talk of it beforehand.

John.—Turned out of your lodging, Tom! if you are, I don't know who will take you in; for people are so afraid of one another now, there's no getting a lodging anywhere.

Thomas.—Why, the people where I lodge are good civil people, and have kindness enough for me too; but they say I go abroad every day to my work, and it will be dangerous; and they talk of locking themselves up, and letting nobody come near them.

John.—Why, they are in the right, to be sure, if they resolve to venture staying in town.

Thomas.—Nay, I might e'en resolve to stay within doors too, for, except a suit of sails that my master has in hand, and which I am just finishing, I am like to get no more work a great while; there's no trade stirs now; workmen and servants are turned off everywhere, so that I might be glad to be locked up too. But I do not see that they will be willing to consent to that, any more than to the other.

John.—Why, what will you do then, brother? and what shall I do? for I am almost as bad as you. The people where I lodge are all gone into the country, but a maid, and she is to go next week, and to shut the house quite up, so that I shall be turned adrift to the wide world before you; and I am resolved to go away too, if I knew but where to go.

Thomas.—We were both distracted we did not go away at first, then we might ha' travelled anywhere; there's no stirring now. We shall be starved if we pretend to go out of town; they won't let us have victuals, no, not for our money, nor let us come into the towns, much less into their houses.

John.—And that which is almost as bad, I have but little money to help myself with neither.

Thomas.—As to that we might make shift : I have a little, though not much ; but I tell you there's no stirring on the road. I know a couple of poor honest men in our street have attempted to travel ; and at Barnet, or Whetston, or thereabout, the people offered to fire at them, if they pretended to go forward ; so they are come back again quite discouraged.

John.—I would have ventured their fire, if I had been there. If I had been denied food for my money, they should ha' seen me take it before their faces ; and if I had tendered money for it, they could not have taken any course with me by law.

Thomas.—You talk your old soldier's language, as if you were in the Low Countries now, but this is a serious thing. The people have good reason to keep anybody off, that they are not satisfied are sound, at such a time as this, and we must not plunder them.

John.—No, brother, you mistake the case, and mistake me too. I would plunder nobody ; but for any town upon the road to deny me leave to pass through the town in the open highway, and deny me provisions for my money, is to say the town has a right to starve me to death, which cannot be true.

Thomas.—But they do not deny you liberty to go back again from whence you came, and therefore they do not starve you.

John.—But the next town behind me will, by the same rule, deny me leave to go back, and so they do starve me between them ; besides there is no law to prohibit my travelling wherever I will on the road.

Thomas.—But there will be so much difficulty in disputing with them at every town on the road, that it is not for poor men to do it, or undertake it at such a time as this is especially.

John.—Why, brother, our condition, at this rate, is worse than anybody's else ; for we can neither go away nor stay here. I am of the same mind with the lepers of Samaria : if we stay here, we are sure to die : I mean, especially, as you and I are situated, without a dwelling-house of our own, and without lodging in anybody's else ; there is no lying in the street at such a time as this, we had as good go into the dead-cart at once ; therefore, I say, if we stay here we are sure to die, and if we go away we can but die ; I am resolved to be gone.

Thomas.—You will go away ; whither will you go ? and what can you do ? I would as willingly go away as you, if I knew

whither ; but we have no acquaintance, no friends. Here we were born, and here we must die.

John.—Look you, Tom, the whole kingdom is my native country, as well as this town. You may as well say I must not go out of my house if it is on fire, as that I must not go out of the town I was born in when it is infected with the plague. I was born in England, and have a right to live in it if I can.

Thomas.—But you know every vagrant person may, by the laws of England, be taken up and passed back to their last legal settlement.

John.—But how shall they make me vagrant ? I desire only to travel on upon my lawful occasions.

Thomas.—What lawful occasions can we pretend to travel, or rather wander upon ? They will not be put off with words.

John.—Is not flying to save our lives a lawful occasion ? and do they not all know that the fact is true ? We cannot be said to dissemble.

Thomas.—But suppose they let us pass, whither shall we go ?

John.—Anywhere to save our lives ; it is time enough to consider that when we are got out of this town. If I am once out of this dreadful place, I care not where I go.

Thomas.—We shall be driven to great extremities. I know not what to think of it.

John.—Well, Tom, consider of it a little.

This was about the beginning of July ; and though the plague was come forward in the west and north parts of the town, yet all Wapping, as I have observed before, and Redriff, and Ratcliff, and Limehouse, and Poplar, in short, Deptford and Greenwich, both sides of the river from the Hermitage, and from over against it, quite down to Blackwall, was entirely free, there had not one person died of the plague in all Stepney parish, and not one on the south side of Whitechapel-road, no, not in any parish ; and yet the weekly bill was that very week risen up to 1006.

It was a fortnight after this before the two brothers met again, and then the case was a little altered, and the plague was exceedingly advanced, and the number greatly increased ; the bill was up at 2785, and prodigiously increasing, though still both sides of the river, as below, kept pretty well : but some began to die in Redriff, and about five or six in Ratcliff-highway, when the sail-maker came to his brother John express, and in some fright, for he was absolutely warned out of his lodging, and had only a week to provide himself. His brother John was in as

bad a case, for he was quite out, and had only begged leave of his master, the biscuit-baker, to lodge in an out-house belonging to his workhouse, where he only lay upon straw, with some biscuit sacks, or bread sacks, as they called them, laid upon it, and some of the same sacks to cover him.

Here they resolved, seeing all employment being at an end, and no work or wages to be had, they would make the best of their way to get out of the reach of the dreadful infection ; and being as good husbands as they could, would endeavour to live upon what they had as long as it would last, and then work for more, if they could get work anywhere, of any kind, let it be what it would.

While they were considering to put this resolution in practice in the best manner they could, the third man, who was acquainted very well with the sail-maker, came to know of the design, and got leave to be one of the number ; and thus they prepared to set out.

It happened that they had not an equal share of money : but as the sail-maker, who had the best stock, was, besides his being lame, the most unfit to expect to get anything by working in the country, so he was content that what money they had should all go into one public stock, on condition that whatever any one of them could gain more than another it should, without any grudging, be all added to the public stock.

They resolved to load themselves with as little baggage as possible, because they resolved at first to travel on foot, and to go a great way, that they might, if possible, be effectually safe ; and a great many consultations they had with themselves before they could agree about what way they should travel, which they were so far from adjusting, that even to the morning they set out they were not resolved on it.

At last the seaman put in a hint that determined it. " First," says he, " the weather is very hot, and therefore I am for travelling north, that we may not have the sun upon our faces, and beating upon our breasts, which will heat and suffocate us ; and I have been told," says he, " that it is not good to overheat our blood at a time when, for aught we know, the infection may be in the very air. In the next place," says he, " I am for going the way that may be contrary to the wind as it may blow when we set out, that we may not have the wind blow the air of the city on our backs as we go." These two cautions were approved of, if it could be brought so to hit that the wind might not be in the

south when they set out to go north. John, the baker, who had been a soldier, then put in his opinion. "First," says he, "we none of us expect to get any lodging on the road, and it will be a little too hard to lie just in the open air; though it may be warm weather, yet it may be wet and damp, and we have a double reason to take care of our healths at such a time as this, and therefore," says he, "you, brother Tom, that are a sail-maker, might easily make us a little tent, and I will undertake to set it up every night, and take it down, and a fig for all the inns in England; if we have a good tent over our heads we shall do well enough."

The joiner opposed this, and told them let them leave that to him, he would undertake to build them a house every night with his hatchet and mallet, though he had no other tools, which should be fully to their satisfaction, and as good as a tent.

The soldier and the joiner disputed that point some time, but at last the soldier carried it for a tent; the only objection against it was, that it must be carried with them, and that would increase their baggage too much, the weather being hot; but the sail-maker had a piece of good hap fell in, which made that easy, for his master whom he worked for having a rope-walk, as well as a sail-making trade, had a little poor horse that he made no use of then, and being willing to assist the three honest men, he gave them the horse for the carrying their baggage; also, for a small matter of three days' work that his man did for him before he went, he let him have an old topgallant-sail that was worn out, but was sufficient and more than enough to make a very good tent; the soldier showed how to shape it, and they soon by his direction made their tent, and fitted it with poles or staves for the purpose, and thus they were furnished for their journey; *viz.*, three men, one tent, one horse, one gun, for the soldier would not go without arms, for now he said he was no more a biscuit-baker, but a trooper.

The joiner had a small bag of tools, such as might be useful if he should get any work abroad, as well for their subsistence as his own; what money they had they brought all into one public stock, and thus they began their journey. It seems, that in the morning when they set out the wind blew, as the sailor said, by his pocket compass, at N.W. by W.; so they directed, or rather resolved to direct, their course N.W.

But then a difficulty came in their way, that as they set out from the hither end of Wapping, near the Hermitage, and that

the plague was now very violent, especially on the north side of the city, as in Shoreditch and Cripplegate parishes, they did not think it safe for them to go near those parts, so they went away east, through Ratcliff-highway, as far as Ratcliff-cross, and leaving Stepney Church still on their left hand, being afraid to come up from Ratcliff-cross to Mile-end, because they must come just by the church-yard, and because the wind, that seemed to blow more from the west, blowed directly from the side of the city where the plague was hottest. So, I say, leaving Stepney, they fetched a long compass, and going to Poplar and Bromley, came into the great road just at Bow. Here the watch placed upon Bow bridge would have questioned them; but they, crossing the road into a narrow way that turns out of the higher end of the town of Bow to Old Ford, avoided any inquiry there, and travelled on to Old Ford. The constables everywhere were upon their guard, not so much, it seems, to stop people passing by as to stop them from taking up their abode in their towns, and withal, because of a report that was newly raised at that time, and that indeed was not very improbable, viz., that the poor people in London being distressed and starved for want of work, and by that means for want of bread, were up in arms and had raised a tumult, and that they would come out to all the towns round to plunder for bread. This I say, was only a rumour, and it was very well it was no more; but it was not so far off from being a reality as it has been thought, for in a few weeks more the poor people became so desperate by the calamity they suffered, that they were with great difficulty kept from running out into the fields and towns, and tearing all in pieces wherever they came; and, as I observed before, nothing hindered them but that the plague raged so violently, and fell in upon them so furiously, that they rather went to the grave by thousands than into the fields in mobs by thousands; for in the parts about the parishes of St. Sepulchre's, Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, Bishopsgate, and Shoreditch, which were the places where the mob began to threaten, the distemper came on so furiously that there died in those few parishes, even then, before the plague was come to its height, no less than 5361 people in the first three weeks in August, when, at the same time, the parts about Wapping, Ratcliff, and Rotherhithe, were, as before described, hardly touched, or but very lightly; so that, in a word, though, as I said before, the good management of the Lord Mayor and justices did much to prevent the rage and

desperation of the people from breaking out in rabbles and tumults, and, in short, from the poor plundering the rich; I say, though they did much, the dead-cart did more, for, as I have said, that, in five parishes only, there died above 5000 in twenty days, so there might be probably three times that number sick all that time, for some recovered, and great numbers fell sick every day, and died afterwards. Besides, I must still be allowed to say, that if the bills of mortality said five thousand, I always believed it was near twice as many in reality, there being no room to believe that the account they gave was right, or that, indeed, they were, among such confusions as I saw them in, in any condition to keep an exact account.

But to return to my travellers:—Here they were only examined, and as they seemed rather coming from the country than from the city, they found the people easier with them; that they talked to them, let them come into a public house where the constable and his warders were, and gave them drink and some victuals, which greatly refreshed and encouraged them; and here it came into their heads to say, when they should be inquired of afterwards, not that they came from London, but that they came out of Essex.

To forward this little fraud, they obtained so much favour of the constable at Old Ford, as to give them a certificate of their passing from Essex through that village, and that they had not been at London; which, though false in the common acceptation of London in the country, yet was literally true, Wapping or Ratcliff being no part either of the city or liberty.

This certificate, directed to the next constable that was at Homerton, one of the hamlets of the parish of Hackney, was so serviceable to them, that it procured them not a free passage there only, but a full certificate of health from a justice of the peace, who, upon the constable's application, granted it without much difficulty; and thus they passed through the long-divided town of Hackney (for it lay then in several separated hamlets), and travelled on till they came into the great north road on the top of Stamford-hill.

By this time they began to be weary, and so in the back road from Hackney, a little before it opened into the said great road, they resolved to set up their tent, and encamp for the first night; which they did accordingly, with the addition, that, finding a barn, or a building like a barn, and first searching as well as they could, to be sure there was nobody in it, they set up their

tent, with the head of it against the barn ; this they did, also, because the wind blew that night very high, and they were but young at such a way of lodging, as well as at the managing their tent.

Here they went to sleep ; but the joiner, a grave and sober man, and not pleased with their lying at this loose rate the first night, could not sleep, and resolved, after trying to sleep to no purpose, that he would get out, and taking the gun in his hand, stand sentinel, and guard his companions ; so, with the gun in his hand, he walked to and again before the barn, for that stood in the field near the road, but within the hedge. He had not been long upon the scout, but he heard a noise of people coming on as if it had been a great number, and they came on, as he thought, directly towards the barn. He did not presently awake his companions, but in a few minutes more, their noise growing louder and louder, the biscuit-baker called to him and asked him what was the matter, and quickly started out too : the other being the lame sailmaker, and most weary, lay still in the tent.

As they expected, so the people whom they had heard, came on directly to the barn, when one of our travellers challenged, like soldiers upon the guard, with "Who comes there?" The people did not answer immediately, but one of them speaking to another that was behind them, "Alas ! alas ! we are all disappointed," says he ; "here are some people before us ; the barn is taken up."

They all stopped upon that, as under some surprise, and it seems there were about thirteen of them in all, and some women among them : they consulted together what they should do ; and by their discourse, our travellers soon found they were poor distressed people too, like themselves, seeking shelter and safety ; and besides, our travellers had no need to be afraid of their coming up to disturb them, for as soon as they heard the words, "Who comes there?" these could hear the women say, as if frightened, "Do not go near them : how do you know but they may have the plague?" And when one of the men said, "Let us but speak to them," the women said, "No, don't by any means ; we have escaped thus far by the goodness of God ; do not let us run into danger now, we beseech you."

Our travellers found by this that they were a good sober sort of people, and flying for their lives as they were ; and, as they were encouraged by it, so John said to the joiner his comrade,

"Let us encourage them, too, as much as we can." So he called to them: "Hark ye, good people," says the joiner, "we find, by your talk, that you are flying from the same dreadful enemy as we are. Do not be afraid of us, we are only three poor men; if you are free from the distemper, you shall not be hurt by us; we are not in the barn, but in a little tent here on the outside, and we will remove for you; we can set up our tent again immediately anywhere else." And upon this a parley began between the joiner, whose name was Richard, and one of their men, who said his name was Ford.

Ford.—And do you assure us that you are all sound men?

Rich.—Nay, we are concerned to tell you of it, that you may not be uneasy, or think yourselves in danger; but you see we do not desire you should put yourselves into any danger, and therefore, I tell you that we have not made use of the barn, so we will remove from it, that you may be safe, and we also.

Ford.—That is very kind and charitable; but, if we have reason to be satisfied that you are sound and free from the visitation, why should we make you remove now you are settled in your lodging, and it may be, are laid down to rest? We will go into the barn, if you please, to rest ourselves awhile, and we need not disturb you.

Rich.—Well, but you are more than we are. I hope you will assure us that you are all of you sound too, for the danger is as great from you to us as from us to you.

Ford.—Blessed be God that some do escape, though it is but few: what may be our portion still we know not, but hitherto we are preserved.

Rich.—What part of the town do you come from? Was the plague come to the places where you lived?

Ford.—Ay, ay, in a most frightful and terrible manner, or else we had not fled away as we do; but we believe there will be very few left alive behind us.

Rich.—What part do you come from?

Ford.—We are most of us of Cripplegate parish, only two or three of Clerkenwell parish, but on the hither side.

Rich.—How then was it that you came away no sooner?

Ford.—We have been away some time, and kept together as well as we could at the hither end of Islington, where we got leave to lie in an old uninhabited house, and had some bedding and conveniences of our own that we brought with us; but the plague is come up into Islington too, and a house next door to

our poor dwelling was infected and shut up, and we came away in a fright.

Rich.—And what way are you going ?

Ford.—As our lot shall cast us—we know not whither—but God will guide those that look up to him.

They parleyed no further at that time, but came all up to the barn, and with some difficulty got into it. There was nothing but hay in the barn, but it was almost full of that, and they accommodated themselves as well as they could, and went to rest ; but our travellers observed that before they went to sleep, an ancient man, who, it seems, was father of one of the women, went to prayer with all the company, recommending themselves to the blessing and direction of Providence before they went to sleep.

It was soon day at that time of the year ; and as Richard the joiner had kept guard the first part of the night, so John the soldier relieved him, and he had the post in the morning, and they began to be acquainted with one another. It seems, when they left Islington, they intended to have gone north, away to Highgate, but were stopped at Holloway, and there they would not let them pass ; so they crossed over the fields and hills to the eastward, and came out at the boarded river, and so, avoiding the town, they left Hornsey on the left hand, and Newington on the right hand, and came into the great road about Stamford-hill on that side, as the three travellers had done on the other side : and now they had thoughts of going over the river in the marshes, and make forwards to Epping Forest, where they hoped they should get leave to rest. It seems they were not poor, at least, not so poor as to be in want ; at least, they had enough to subsist them moderately for two or three months, when, as they said, they were in hopes the cold weather would check the infection, or at least the violence of it would have spent itself, and would abate, if it were only for want of people left alive to be infected.

This was much the fate of our three travellers, only that they seemed to be better furnished for travelling, and had it in their view to go farther off ; for, as to the first, they did not propose to go farther than one day's journey, that so they might have intelligence every two or three days how things were at London.

But here our travellers found themselves under an unexpected inconvenience, namely, that of their horse, for by means of the

horse to carry their baggage, they were obliged to keep in the road ; whereas, the people of this other band went over the fields or roads, path or no path, way or no way, as they pleased ; neither had they any occasion to pass through any town, or come near any town, other than to buy such things as they wanted for their necessary subsistence, and in that, indeed, they were put to much difficulty ; of which in its place.

But our three travellers were obliged to keep the road, or else they must commit spoil, and do the country a great deal of damage in breaking down fences and gates, to go over enclosed fields, which they were loath to do if they could help it.

Our three travellers, however, had a great mind to join themselves to this company, and take their lot with them ; and after some discourse, they laid aside their first design, which looked northward, and resolved to follow the other into Essex ; so in the morning they took up their tent, and loaded their horse, and away they travelled together.

They had some difficulty in passing the ferry at the river side, the ferryman being afraid of them ; but after some parley at a distance, the ferryman was content to bring his boat to a place distant from the usual ferry, and leave it there for them to take it ; so putting themselves over, he directed them to leave the boat, and he, having another boat, said he would fetch it again, which it seems, however, he did not do for above eight days.

Here, giving the ferryman money beforehand, they had a supply of victuals and drink, which he brought and left in the boat for them, but not without, as I said, having received the money beforehand. But now our travellers were at a great loss and difficulty how to get the horse over, the boat being small, and not fit for it ; and at last could not do it without unloading the baggage, and making him swim over.

From the river they travelled towards the forest ; but when they came to Walthamstow, the people of that town denied to admit them, as was the case everywhere. The constables and their watchmen kept them off at a distance, and parleyed with them ; they gave the same account of themselves as before, but these gave no credit to what they said, giving it for a reason that two or three companies had already come that way, and made the like pretences, but that they had given several people the distemper, in the towns where they had passed, and had been afterwards so hardly used by the country, though with justice, too, as they had deserved ; that about Brentwood, or

that way, several of them perished in the fields, whether of the plague, or of mere want and distress, they could not tell.

This was a good reason indeed why the people of Walthamstow should be very cautious, and why they should resolve not to entertain anybody that they were not well satisfied of. But as Richard, the joiner, and one of the other men who parleyed with them, told them, it was no reason why they should block up the roads, and refuse to let people pass through the town, and who asked nothing of them, but to go through the street : that if their people were afraid of them, they might go into their houses and shut their doors, they would neither show them civility nor incivility, but go on about their business.

The constables and attendants, not to be persuaded by reason, continued obstinate, and would hearken to nothing ; so the two men that talked with them went back to their fellows, to consult what was to be done : it was very discouraging in the whole, and they knew not what to do for a good while. But at last John, the soldier and biscuit-baker, considering awhile, — “ Come,” says he, “ leave the rest of the parley to me.” He had not appeared yet, so he sets the joiner, Richard, to work, to cut some poles out of the trees, and shape them as like guns as he could, and in a little time he had five or six fair muskets, which, at a distance, would not be known ; and about the part where the lock of a gun is, he caused them to wrap cloth and rags, such as they had, as soldiers do in wet weather, to preserve the locks of their pieces from rust, the rest was discoloured with clay or mud, such as they could get ; and all this while the rest of them sat under the trees by his direction, in two or three bodies, where they made fires at a good distance from one another.

While this was doing, he advanced himself and two or three with him, and set up their tent in the lane, within sight of the barrier which the townsmen had made, and sent a sentinel just by it with the real gun, the only one they had, and who walked to and fro with the gun on his shoulder, so that the people of the town might see them ; also he tied the horse to a gate in the hedge just by, and got some dry sticks together, and kindled a fire on the other side of the tent, so that the people of the town could see the fire and the smoke, but could not see what they were doing at it.

After the country people had looked upon them very earnestly a great while, and, by all that they could see could not but suppose that they were a great many in company, they began

to be uneasy, not for their going away, but for staying where they were; and, above all, perceiving they had horses and arms, for they had seen one horse and one gun at the tent, and they had seen others of them walk about the field on the inside of the hedge by the side of the lane, with their muskets as they took them to be shouldered: I say, upon such a sight as this, you may be assured they were alarmed and terribly frightened; and it seems they went to a justice of the peace to know what they should do. What the justice advised them to I know not, but towards the evening they called from the barrier, as above, to the sentinel at the tent.

"What do you want?" says John.*

"Why, what do you intend to do?" says the constable.

"To do," says John, "what would you have us to do?"

Const.—Why don't you be gone—what do you stay there for?

John.—Why do you stop us on the king's highway, and pretend to refuse us leave to go on our way?

Const.—We are not bound to tell you our reason, though we did let you know it was because of the plague.

John.—We told you we were all sound, and free from the plague, which we were not bound to have satisfied you of, and yet you pretend to stop us on the highway.

Const.—We have a right to stop it up, and our own safety obliges us to it; besides, this is not the king's highway, it is a way upon sufferance; you see here is a gate, and if we do let people pass here we make them pay toll.

John.—We have a right to seek our own safety as well as you, and you may see we are flying for our lives, and it is very unchristian and unjust to stop us.

Const.—You may go back from whence you came; we do not hinder you from that.

John.—No, it is a stronger enemy than you that keeps us from doing that, or else we should not have come hither.

Const.—Well, you may go any other way, then.

John.—No, no: I suppose you see we are able to send you going, and all the people of your parish, and come through your town when we will; but, since you have stopped us here, we are content; you see we have encamped here, and here we will live: we hope you will furnish us with victuals.

* It seems John was in the tent, but, hearing them call, he steps out, and, taking the gun upon his shoulder, talked to them as if he had been the sentinel placed there upon the guard by some officer that was his superior.

Const.—We furnish you! What do you mean by that?

John.—Why, you would not have us starve, would you? If you stop us here you must keep us.

Const.—You will be ill kept at our maintenance.

John.—If you stint us we shall make ourselves the better allowance.

Const.—Why, you will not pretend to quarter upon us by force, will you?

John.—We have offered no violence to you yet; why do you seem to oblige us to it? I am an old soldier, and cannot starve; and if you think that we shall be obliged to go back for want of provisions, you are mistaken.

Const.—Since you threaten us, we shall take care to be strong enough for you: I have orders to raise the county upon you.

John.—It is you that threaten, not we: and, since you are for mischief, you cannot blame us if we do not give you time for it: we shall begin our march in a few minutes.*

Const.—What is it you demand of us?

John.—At first we desired nothing of you but leave to go through the town; we should have offered no injury to any of you, neither would you have had any injury or loss by us. We are not thieves, but poor people in distress, and flying from the dreadful plague in London, which devours thousands every week. We wonder how you could be so unmerciful.

Const.—Self-preservation obliges us.

John.—What! to shut up your compassion in a case of such distress as this?

Const.—Well, if you will pass over the fields on your left-hand, and behind that part of the town, I will endeavour to have gates opened for you.

John.—Our horsemen† cannot pass with our baggage that way; it does not lead into the road that we want to go, and why should you force us out of the road; besides, you have kept us here all day without any provisions but such as we brought with us. I think you ought to send us some provisions for our relief.

Const.—If you will go another way we will send you some provisions.

John.—That is the way to have all the towns in the county stop up the ways against us.

* This frightened the constable and the people that were with him, that they immediately changed their note.

† They had but one horse amongst them.

Const.—If they all furnish you with food, what will you be the worse? I see you have tents, you want no lodging.

John.—Well, what quantity of provisions will you send us?

Const.—How many are you?

John.—Nay, we do not ask enough for all our company, we are in three companies; if you will send us bread for twenty men and about six or seven women for three days, and show us the way over the fields you speak of, we desire not to put your people into any fear for us; we will go out of our way to oblige you, though we are as free from infection as you are.

Const.—And will you assure us that your other people shall offer us no new disturbance?

John.—No, no; you may depend on it.

Const.—You must oblige yourself, too, that none of your people shall come a step nearer than where the provisions we send you shall be set down.

John.—I answer for it we will not.*

Accordingly they sent to the place twenty loaves of bread, and three or four large pieces of good beef, and opened some gates, through which they passed, but none of them had courage so much as to look out to see them go, and, as it was evening, if they had looked they could not have seen them, so as to know how few they were.

This was John the soldier's management. But this gave such an alarm to the county, that, had they really been two or three hundred, the whole county would have been raised upon them; and they would have been sent to prison, or perhaps knocked on the head.

They were soon made sensible of this, for two days afterwards they found several parties of horsemen and footmen also about, in pursuit of three companies of men armed, as they said, with muskets, who were broke out from London, and had the plague upon them; and that were not only spreading the distemper among the people, but plundering the country.

As they saw now the consequence of their case, they soon saw the danger they were in, so they resolved, by the advice also of the old soldier, to divide themselves again. John and his two comrades, with the horse, went away as if towards Waltham;

* Here he called to one of his men, and bade him order Captain Richard and his people to march the lower way on the side of the marshes, and meet them in the Forst; which was all a sham, for they had no Captain Richard or any such company.

the other in two companies, but all a little asunder, and went towards Epping.

The first night they encamped all in the forest, and not far off one another, but not setting up the tent lest that should discover them ; on the other hand, Richard went to work with his axe and his hatchet, and, cutting down branches of trees, he built three tents or hovels, in which they all encamped with as much convenience as they could expect.

The provisions they had at Walthamstow served them very plentifully this night, and as for the next they left it to Providence ; they had fared so well with the old soldier's conduct, that they now willingly made him their leader ; and the first of his conduct appeared to be very good. He told them that they were now at a proper distance enough from London : that as they need not be immediately beholden to the country for relief, so they ought to be as careful the country did not infect them, as that they did not infect the country ; that what little money they had they must be as frugal of as they could ; that as he would not have them think of offering the country any violence, so they must endeavour to make the sense of their condition go as far with the country as it could. They all referred themselves to his direction ; so they left their three houses standing, and the next day went away towards Epping ; the Captain, also, for so they now called him, and his two fellow-travellers, laid aside their design of going to Waltham, and all went together.

When they came near Epping they halted, choosing out a proper place in the open forest, not very near the highway, but not far out of it, on the north side, under a little cluster of low pollard-trees : here they pitched their little camp, which consisted of three large tents or huts made of poles, which their carpenter, and such as were his assistants, cut down and fixed in the ground in a circle, binding all the small ends together at the top, and thickening the sides with boughs of trees and bushes, so that they were completely close and warm. They had, besides this, a little tent where the women lay by themselves, and a hut to put the horse in.

It happened that the next day, or next but one, was market-day at Epping, when Captain John and one of the other men went to market and bought some provisions, that is to say, bread and some mutton and beef, and two of the women went separately as if they had not belonged to the rest, and bought more. John took the horse to bring it home, and the sack (which the car-

penter carried his tools in) to put it in. The carpenter went to work and made them benches and stools to sit on, such as the wood he could get would afford, and a kind of a table to dine on.

They were taken no notice of for two or three days, but after that abundance of people ran out of the town to look at them, and all the country was alarmed about them. The people at first seemed afraid to come near them, and, on the other hand, they desired the people to keep off, for there was a rumour that the plague was at Waltham, and that it had been in Epping two or three days; so John called out to them not to come out to them,—“For,” says he, “we are all whole and sound people here, and would not have you bring the plague among us, nor pretend we brought it among you.”

People and country become alarmed.

After this the parish officers came up to them and parleyed with them at a distance, and desired to know who they were, and by what authority they pretended to fix their stand at that place. John answered very frankly, they were poor distressed people from London, who, foreseeing the misery they should be reduced to, if the plague spread into the city, had fled out in time for their lives, and having no acquaintance or relations to fly to, had first taken up at Islington, but the plague being come into that town, were fled further: and as they supposed that the people of Epping might have refused them coming into their town, they had pitched their tent thus in the open field, and in the forest, being willing to bear all the hardships of such a disconsolate lodging, rather than have any one think or be afraid that they should receive injury by them.

Parleying of parish officers.

At first the Epping people talked roughly to them, and told them they must remove; that this was no place for them; and that they pretended to be sound and well, but that they might be infected with the plague for aught they knew, and might infect the whole country, and they could not suffer them there.

John argued very calmly with them a great while, and told them, that London was the place by which they, that is, the townsmen of Epping and all the country round them, subsisted; to whom they sold the produce of their lands, and out of whom they made the rent of their farms; and to be so cruel to the inhabitants of London, or to any of those by whom they gained so much, was very hard, and they would be loth to have it remembered hereafter, and have it told how barbarous, how unhospitable, and how unkind they were to the people of London, when they fled from the face of the most terrible enemy in the

Cruel treatment by inhabitants of Epping towards Londoners who fled from a terrible enemy.

world ; that it would be enough to make the name of an Epping man hateful through all the city, and to have the rabble stone them in the very streets, whenever they came so much as to market ; that they were not yet secure from being visited themselves, and that, as he heard, Waltham was already ; that they would think it very hard that when any of them fled for fear before they were touched, they should be denied the liberty of lying so much as in the open fields.

The Epping men told them again, that they, indeed, said they were sound and free from the infection, but that they had no assurance of it ; and that it was reported, that there had been a great rabble of people at Walthamstow, who made such pretences of being sound, as they did, but that they threatened to plunder the town, and force their way, whether the parish officers would or not ; that there were near 200 of them, and had arms and tents like Low Country soldiers ; that they extorted provisions from the town, by threatening them with living upon them at free quarter, showing their arms, and talking in the language of soldiers ; and that several of them being gone away to Romford and Brentwood, the country had been infected by them, and the plague spread into both those large towns, so that the people durst not go to market there as usual ; that it was very likely they were some of that party ; and if so, they deserved to be sent to the county jail, and be secured till they had made satisfaction for the damage they had done, and for the terror and fright they had put the country into.

John answered, that what other people had done was nothing to them ; that they assured them they were all of one company ; that they had never been more in number than they saw them at that time (which, by the way, was very true) ; that they came out in two separate companies, but joined by the way, their cases being the same ; that they were ready to give what account of themselves anybody could desire of them, and to give in their names and places of abode, that so they might be called to an account for any disorder that they might be guilty of ; that the townsmen might see they were content to live hardly, and only desired a little room to breathe in on the forest where it was wholesome ; for where it was not they could not stay, and would decamp if they found it otherwise there.

“ But,” said the townsman, “ we have a great charge of poor upon our hands already, and we must take care not to increase it ; we suppose you can give us no security against your being

chargeable to our parish and to the inhabitants, any more than you can of being dangerous to us as to the infection."

"Why, look you," says John, "as to being chargeable to you, we hope we shall not; if you will relieve us with provisions for our present necessity, we will be very thankful; as we all lived without charity when we were at home, so we will oblige ourselves fully to repay you, if God please to bring us back to our own families and houses in safety, and to restore health to the people of London."

"As to our dying here, we assure you, if any of us die, we that survive will bury them, and put you to no expense, except it should be that we should all die, and then, indeed, the last man, not being able to bury himself, would put you to that single expense, which I am persuaded," says John, "he would leave enough behind him to pay you for the expense of."

"On the other hand," says John, "if you will shut up all bowels of compassion, and not relieve us at all, we shall not extort anything by violence, or steal from any one; but when what little we have is spent, if we perish for want, God's will be done."

God's will
be done.

John wrought so upon the townsmen by talking thus rationally and smoothly to them, that they went away; and though they did not give any consent to their staying there, yet they did not molest them; and the poor people continued there three or four days longer without any disturbance. In this time they had got some remote acquaintance with a victualling-house at the outskirts of the town, to whom they called at a distance to bring some little things that they wanted, and which they caused to be set down at a distance, and always paid for very honestly.

During this time the younger people of the town came frequently pretty near them, and would stand and look at them, and sometimes talk with them at some space between; and particularly it was observed, that the first sabbath-day the poor people kept retired, worshipped God together, and were heard to sing psalms.

These things, and a quiet, inoffensive behaviour, began to get them the good opinion of the country, and people began to pity them, and speak very well of them, the consequence of which was, that upon the occasion of a very wet rainy night, a certain gentleman, who lived in the neighbourhood, sent them a little cart with twelve trusses or bundles of straw, as well for them to lodge upon, as to cover and thatch their huts, and to keep them

dry. The minister of a parish, not far off, not knowing of the other, sent them also about two bushels of wheat, and half a bushel of white peas.

They were very thankful to be sure for this relief, and particularly the straw was a very great comfort to them; for though the ingenious carpenter had made frames for them to lie in like troughs, and filled them with leaves of trees, and such things as they could get, and had cut all their tent-cloth out to make them coverlids, yet they lay damp, and hard, and unwholesome, till this straw came, which was to them like feather-beds; and, as John said, more welcome than feather-beds would have been at another time.

This gentleman and the minister having thus begun, and given an example of charity to these wanderers, others quickly followed, and they received every day some benevolence or other from the people, but chiefly from the gentlemen who dwelt in the country round about; some sent them chairs, stools, tables, and such household things as they gave notice they wanted; some sent them blankets, rugs, and coverlids; some earthenware, and some kitchen-ware for ordering their food.

Encouraged by this good usage, their carpenter, in a few days, built them a large shed or house with rafters, and a roof in form, and an upper floor, in which they lodged warm, for the weather began to be damp and cold in the beginning of September; but this house being very well thatched, and the sides and roof made very thick, kept out the cold well enough. He made also an earthen wall at one end, with a chimney in it, and another of the company, with a vast deal of trouble and pains, made a funnel to the chimney to carry out the smoke.

Here they lived comfortably, though coarsely, till the beginning of September, when they had the bad news to hear, whether true or not, that the plague, which was very hot at Waltham-abbey on one side, and at Romford and Brentwood on the other side, was also come to Epping, to Woodford, and to most of the towns upon the forest, and which, as they said, was brought down among them chiefly by the higglers, and such people as went to and from London with provisions.

If this was true, it was an evident contradiction to that report which was afterwards spread all over England, but which, as I have said, I cannot confirm of my own knowledge, namely, that the market people, carrying provisions to the city, never got the infection, or carried it back into the country; both which, I have been assured, has been false.

It might be that they were preserved even beyond expectation, though not to a miracle, that abundance went and came, and were not touched, and that was much for the encouragement of the poor people of London, who had been completely miserable if the people that brought provisions to the markets had not been many times wonderfully preserved, or, at least, more preserved than could be reasonably expected.

But now these new inmates began to be disturbed more effectually, for the towns about them were really infected, and they began to be afraid to trust one another so much as to go abroad for such things as they wanted, and this pinched them very hard; for now they had little or nothing but what the charitable gentlemen of the country supplied them with; but, for their encouragement, it happened that other gentlemen of the country, who had not sent them anything before, began to hear of them and supply them, and one sent them a large pig, that is to say, a porker; another, two sheep; and another sent them a calf; in short, they had meat enough, and sometimes had cheese and milk, and all such things; they were chiefly put to it for bread, for when the gentlemen sent them corn they had nowhere to bake it or to grind it. This made them eat the first two bushels of wheat that was sent them in parched corn, as the Israelites of old did, without grinding or making bread of it.

Israelites of
old referred
to by
Defoe.

At last they found means to carry their corn to a windmill near Woodford, where they had it ground; and afterwards the biscuit-baker made a hearth so hollow and dry, that he could bake biscuit cakes tolerably well; and thus they came into a condition to live without any assistance or supplies from the towns; and it was well they did, for the country was soon after fully infected, and about 120 were said to have died of the distemper in the villages near them, which was a terrible thing to them.

On this they called a new council, and now the towns had no need to be afraid they should settle near them, but, on the contrary, several families of the poorer sort of the inhabitants quitted their houses, and built huts in the forest after the same manner as they had done; but it was observed that several of these poor people that had so removed, had the sickness even in their huts or booths; the reason of which was plain, namely, not because they removed into the air, but because they did not remove time enough, that is to say, not till by openly conversing with the other people, their neighbours, they had the distemper

upon them, or (as may be said) among them, and so carried it about them whither they went; or, secondly, because they were not careful enough, after they were safely removed out of the towns, not to come in again and mingle with the diseased people.

But be it which of these it will, when our travellers began to perceive that the plague was not only in the towns, but even in the tents and huts on the forest near them, they began then not only to be afraid, but to think of decamping and removing; for had they stayed, they would have been in manifest danger of their lives.

It is not to be wondered that they were greatly afflicted at being obliged to quit the place where they had been so kindly received, and where they had been treated with so much humanity and charity; but necessity, and the hazard of life, which they came out so far to preserve, prevailed with them, and they saw no remedy. John, however, thought of a remedy for their present misfortune, namely, that he would first acquaint that gentleman who was their principal benefactor with the distress they were in, and to crave his assistance and advice.

The good charitable gentleman encouraged them to quit the place for fear they should be cut off from any retreat at all, by the violence of the distemper; but whither they should go that he found very hard to direct them to. At last John asked of him whether he (being a justice of the peace) would give them certificates of health to other justices whom they might come before, that so, whatever may be their lot, they might not be repulsed now they had been also so long from London. This his worship immediately granted, and gave them proper letters of health, and from thence they were at liberty to travel whither they pleased.

Accordingly they had a full certificate of health, intimating that they had resided in a village in the county of Essex so long, that being examined and scrutinized sufficiently, and having been retired from all conversation for above forty days, without any appearance of sickness, they were therefore certainly concluded to be sound men, and might be safely entertained anywhere, having at last removed rather for fear of the plague, which was come into such a town, rather than for having any signal of infection upon them, or upon any belonging to them.

With this certificate they removed, though with great reluc-

tance ; and John inclining not to go far from home, they moved towards the marshes on the side of Waltham ; but here they found a man, who it seems kept a weir or stop upon the river, made to raise the water for the barges which go up and down the river, and he terrified them with dismal stories of the sickness having been spread into all the towns on the river, and near the river, on the side of Middlesex and Hertfordshire ; that is to say, into Waltham Cross, Enfield, and Ware, and all the towns on the road, that they were afraid to go that way ; though it seems the man imposed upon them, for that the thing was not really true.

However, it terrified them, and they resolved to move across the forest towards Romford and Brentwood, but they heard that there were numbers of people fled out of London that way, who lay up and down the forest called Henhault Forest, reaching near Romford, and who, having no subsistence or habitation, not only lived oddly and suffered great extremities in the woods and fields for want of relief, but were said to be made so desperate by those extremities, as that they offered many violences to the country, robbed and plundered, and killed cattle, and the like ; that others, building huts and hovels by the roadside, begged, and that with an importunity next door to demanding relief ; so that the country was very uneasy, and had been obliged to take some of them up.

This, in the first place, intimated to them that they would be sure to find the charity and kindness of the country, which they had found here where they were before, hardened and shut up against them ; and that, on the other hand, they would be questioned wherever they came, and would be in danger of violence from others in like cases as themselves.

Upon all these considerations, John, their captain, in all their names, went back to their good friend and benefactor, who had relieved them before, and laying their case truly before him, humbly asked his advice ; and he as kindly advised them to take up their old quarters again, or if not, to remove but a little further out of the road, and directed them to a proper place for them ; and as they really wanted some house, rather than huts, to shelter them at that time of the year, it growing on towards Michaelmas, they found an old decayed house, which had been formerly some cottage or little habitation, but was so out of repair as scarce habitable, and by the consent of a farmer to whose farm it belonged, they got leave to make what use of

it they could. The ingenious joiner, and all the rest by his directions, went to work with it, and in a very few days made it capable to shelter them all, in case of bad weather, and in which there was an old chimney and an old oven, though both lying in ruins, yet they made them both fit for use; and raising additions, sheds, and lean-to's on every side, they soon made the house capable to hold them all.

They chiefly wanted boards to make window shutters, floors, doors, and several other things; but as the gentleman above favoured them, and the country was by that means made easy with them, and above all, that they were known to be all sound and in good health, everybody helped them with what they could spare.

Here they encamped for good and all, and resolved to remove no more. They saw plainly how terribly alarmed the country was everywhere at anybody that came from London, and that they should have no admittance anywhere but with the utmost difficulty, at least no friendly reception and assistance, as they had received here.

Now although they received great assistance and encouragement from the country gentlemen and from the people round about them, yet they were put to great straits, for the weather grew cold and wet in October and November, and they had not been used to so much hardship, so that they got colds in their limbs, and distempers, but never had the infection; and thus about December they came home to the city again.

I give this story thus at large, principally to give an account what became of the great numbers of people which immediately appeared in the city as soon as the sickness abated: for, as I have said, great numbers of those that were able and had retreats in the country, fled to those retreats. So when it was increased to such a frightful extremity as I have related, the middling people who had not friends fled to all parts of the country where they could get shelter, as well as those that had money to relieve themselves as those that had not. Those that had money always fled furthest, because they were able to subsist themselves; but those who were empty suffered, as I have said, great hardships, and were often driven by necessity to relieve their wants at the expense of the country. By that means the country was made very uneasy at them, and sometimes took them up, though even then they scarce knew what to do with them, and were always very backward to punish them,

but often too they forced them from place to place till they were obliged to come back again to London.

I have, since my knowing this story of John and his brother, inquired and found that there were a great many of the poor disconsolate people, as above, fled into the country every way, and some of them got little sheds and barns and outhouses to live in, where they could obtain so much kindness of the country, and especially where they had any the least satisfactory account to give of themselves, and particularly that they did not come out of London too late. But others, and that in great numbers, built themselves little huts and retreats in the fields and woods, and lived like hermits in holes and caves, or any place they could find; and where, we may be sure, they suffered great extremities, such that many of them were obliged to come back again whatever the danger was; and so those little huts were often found empty, and the country people supposed the inhabitants lay dead in them of the plague, and would not go near them for fear, no, not in a great while; nor is it unlikely but that some of the unhappy wanderers might die so all alone, even sometimes for want of help, as particularly in one tent or hut was found a man dead, and on the gate of a field just by was cut with his knife in uneven letters the following words, by which it may be supposed the other man escaped, or, that one dying first the other buried him as well as he could.

O mIsErY !

We BoTh ShaLL DyE,

WoE, WoE.

I have given an account already of what I found to have been the case down the river among the seafaring men, how the ships lay in the offing, as it is called, in rows or lines, astern of one another, quite down from the Pool as far as I could see. I have been told that they lay in the same manner quite down the river as low as Gravesend, and some far beyond, even everywhere, or in every place where they could ride with safety as to wind and weather; nor did I ever hear that the plague reached to any of the people on board those ships, except such as lay up in the Pool, or as high as Deptford Reach, although the people went frequently on shore to the country towns and villages, and farmer's houses, to buy fresh provisions, fowls, pigs, calves, and the like, for their supply.

Likewise, I found that the watermen on the river above the bridge, found means to convey themselves away up the river as

far as they could go ; and that they had, many of them, their whole families in their boats, covered with tilts and bales, as they call them, and furnished with straw within for their lodging ; and that they lay thus all along by the shore in the marshes, some of them setting up little tents with their sails, and so lying under them on shore in the day, and going into their boats at night ; and in this manner, as I have heard, the river sides were lined with boats and people as long as they had anything to subsist on, or could get anything of the country ; and indeed the country people, as well gentlemen as others, on these and all other occasions, were very forward to relieve them, but they were by no means willing to receive them into their towns and houses, and for that we cannot blame them.

There was one unhappy citizen within my knowledge who had been visited in a dreadful manner, so that his wife and all his children were dead, and himself and two servants only left with an elderly woman, a near relation, who had nursed those that were dead as well as she could. This disconsolate man goes to a village near the town, though not within the bills of mortality, and, finding an empty house there, inquires out the owner, and took the house. After a few days he got a cart and loaded it with goods, and carried them down to the house ; the people of the village opposed his driving the cart along, but with some arguings, and some force, the men that drove the cart along got through the street up to the door of the house ; there the constable resisted them again, and would not let them be brought in. The man caused the goods to be unloaden and laid at the door, and sent the cart away ; upon which they took the man before a justice of peace, that is to say, they commanded him to go, which he did. The justice ordered him to cause the cart to fetch away the goods again, which he refused to do ; upon which the justice ordered the constable to pursue the carters and fetch them back, and make them reload the goods and carry them away, or to set them in the stocks till they came for further orders ; and if they could not find them, and the man would not consent to take them away, they should cause them to be drawn with hooks from the house-door and burnt in the street. The poor distressed man upon this fetched the goods again, but with grievous cries and lamentations at the hardship of his case. But there was no remedy, self-preservation obliged the people to those severities, which they would not otherwise have been concerned in. Whether this poor man lived or died I cannot

tell, but it was reported that he had the plague upon him at that time ; and perhaps the people might report that to justify their usage of him ; but it was not unlikely that either he or his goods, or both, were dangerous, when his whole family had been dead of the distemper so little a while before.

I know that the inhabitants of the towns adjacent to London were much blamed for cruelty to the poor people that ran from the contagion in their distress, and many very severe things were done, as may be seen from what has been said ; but I cannot but say also, that where there was room for charity and assistance to the people, without apparent danger to themselves, they were willing enough to help and relieve them. But as every town were indeed judges in their own case, so the poor people who ran abroad in their extremities were often ill-used and driven back again into the town ; and this caused infinite exclamations and outcries against the country towns, and made the clamour very popular.

And yet more or less, maugre all the caution, there was not a town of any note within ten (or I believe twenty) miles of the city, but what was more or less infected, and had some died among them. I have heard the accounts of several ; such as they were reckoned up, as follows :—

In Enfield	32	Towns attacked by Divine justice.
Hornsey	58	
Stoke Newington	17	
Tottenham	42	
Edmonton	19	
Barnet and Hadley	43	
St. Albans	121	
Watford	45	
Uxbridge	117	
Hertford	90	
Ware	160	
Hoddesdon	30	
Waltham Abbey	23	
Epping	26	
Deptford	623	
Greenwich	631	
Eltham and Lewisham	85	
Croydon	61	
Brentwood	70	
Romford	109	

Barking about	200
Brentford	432
Kingston-upon-Thames	122
Staines	82
Chertsey	18
Windsor	103
(with others.)	cum aliis.

Another thing might render the country more strict with respect to the citizens, and especially with respect to the poor; and this was what I hinted at before, namely, that there was a seeming propensity, or a wicked inclination, in those that were infected to infect others.

Debates
among our
physicians.

There have been great debates among our physicians as to the reason of this: some will have it to be in the nature of the disease, and that it impresses every one that is seized upon by it with a kind of a rage and a hatred against their own kind, as if there were a malignity, not only in the distemper to communicate itself, but in the very nature of man, prompting him with evil will, or an evil eye, that as they say in the case of a mad dog, who, though the gentlest creature before of any of his kind, yet then will fly upon and bite any one that comes next him, and those as soon as any who have been most observed by him before.

Others placed it to the account of the corruption of human nature, who cannot bear to see itself more miserable than others of its own species, and has a kind of involuntary wish that all men were as unhappy or in as bad a condition as itself.

Others say it was only a kind of desperation, not knowing or regarding what they did, and consequently unconcerned at the danger or safety, not only of any body near them, but even of themselves also. And, indeed, when men are once come to a condition to abandon themselves, and be unconcerned for the safety or at the danger of themselves, it cannot be so much wondered that they should be careless of the safety of other people.

But I choose to give this grave debate a quite different turn, and answer it or resolve it all by saying that I do not grant the fact. On the contrary, I say that the thing is not really so, but that it was a general complaint raised by the people inhabiting the out-lying villages against the citizens, to justify, or at least excuse, those hardships and severities so much talked of, and in which complaints both sides may be said to have injured one

another ; that is to say, the citizens pressing to be received and harboured in time of distress, and with the plague upon them, complain of the cruelty and injustice of the country people, in being refused entrance, and forced back again with their goods and families ; and the inhabitants finding themselves so imposed upon, and the citizens breaking in as it were upon them, whether they would or no, complain that when they were infected, they were not only regardless of others, but even willing to infect them ; neither of which was really true, that is to say, in the colours they were described in.

But after all that was or could be done in these cases, the shutting up of houses, so as to confine those that were well with those that were sick, had very great inconveniences in it, and some that were very tragical, and which merited to have been considered if there had been room for it ; but it was authorized by a law, it had the public good in view, as the end chiefly aimed at, and all the private injuries that were done by the putting it in execution must be put to the account of the public benefit.

It is doubtful to this day whether, in the whole, it contributed anything to the stop of the infection, and, indeed, I cannot say it did ; for nothing could run with greater fury and rage than the infection did when it was in its chief violence ; though the houses infected were shut up as exactly and as effectually as it was possible. Certain it is, that if all the infected persons were effectually shut in, no sound person could have been infected by them, because they could not have come near them. But the case was this, and I shall only touch it here, namely, that the infection was propagated insensibly, and by such persons as were not visibly infected, who neither knew whom they infected, nor whom they were infected by.

A house in Whitechapel was shut up for the sake of one infected maid, who had only spots, not the tokens, come out upon her, and recovered ; yet these people obtained no liberty to stir, neither for air or exercise, forty days. Want of breath, fear, anger, vexation, and all the other griefs attending such an injurious treatment, cast the mistress of the family into a fever, and visitors came into the house and said it was the plague, though the physicians declared it was not ; however the family were obliged to begin their quarantine anew, on the report of the visitor or examiner, though their former quarantine wanted but a few days of being finished. This oppressed them so with anger and grief, and, as before, straitened them also so much as to

room, and for want of breathing and free air, that most of the family fell sick, one of one distemper, one of another, chiefly scorbutic ailments ; only one a violent cholic ; till after several prolongings of their confinement, some or other of those that came in with the visitors to inspect the persons that were ill, in hopes of releasing them, brought the distemper with them and infected the whole house, and all or most of them died, not of the plague, as really upon them before, but of the plague that those people brought them, who should have been careful to have protected them from it ; and this was a thing which frequently happened, and was indeed one of the worst consequences of shutting houses up.

I had about this time a little hardship put upon me, which I was at first greatly afflicted at, and very much disturbed about, though, as it proved, it did not expose me to any disaster ; and this was being appointed by the alderman of Portsoken ward one of the examiners of the houses in the precinct where I lived. We had a large parish, and had no less than eighteen examiners, as the order called us ; the people called us visitors. I endeavoured with all my might to be excused from such an employment, and used many arguments with the alderman's deputy to be excused ; particularly, I alleged, that I was against shutting up houses at all, and that it would be very hard to oblige me to be an instrument in that which was against my judgment, and which I did verily believe would not answer the end it was intended for ; but all the abatement I could get was only that whereas the officer was appointed by my lord mayor to continue two months, I should be obliged to hold it but three weeks, on condition nevertheless that I could then get some other sufficient house-keeper to serve the rest of the time for me, which was, in short, but a very small favour, it being very difficult to get any man to accept of such an employment that was fit to be entrusted with it.

It is true that shutting up of houses had one effect, which I am sensible was of moment, namely, it confined the distempered people, who would otherwise have been both very troublesome and very dangerous in their running about streets with the distemper upon them, which, when they were delirious, they would have done in a most frightful manner, and as indeed they began to do at first very much, till they were thus restrained ; nay, so very open they were, that the poor would go about and beg at people's doors, and say they had the plague upon them, and beg

rags for their sores, or both, or anything that delirious nature happened to think of.

A poor unhappy gentlewoman, a substantial citizen's wife, was (if the story be true) murdered by one of these creatures in Aldersgate-street, or that way. He was going along the street, raving mad to be sure, and singing; the people only said he was drunk, but he himself said he had the plague upon him, which, it seems, was true; and meeting this gentlewoman, he would kiss her. She was terribly frightened, as he was only a rude fellow, and she ran from him; but the street being very thin of people, there was nobody near enough to help her. When she saw he would overtake her, she turned and gave him a thrust so forcibly, he being but weak, and pushed him down backward; but very unhappily, she being so near, he caught hold of her, and pulled her down also; and getting up first, mastered her, and kissed her; and which was worst of all, when he had done, told her he had the plague, and why should not she have it as well as he? She was frightened enough before, being also young with child; but when she heard him say he had the plague, she screamed out, and fell down in a swoon, or in a fit, which, though she recovered a little, yet killed her in a very few days, and I never heard whether she had the plague or no.

Another infected person came and knocked at the door of a citizen's house, where they knew him very well. The servant let him in, and being told the master of the house was above, he ran up, and came into the room to them as the whole family was at supper: they began to rise up a little surprised, not knowing what the matter was, but he bid them sit still, he only came to take his leave of them. They asked him "Why, Mr. ———, where are you going?" "Going," says he, "I have got the sickness, and shall die to-morrow night." It is easy to believe, though not to describe, the consternation they were all in, the women and the man's daughters, which were but little girls, were frightened almost to death, and got up, one running out at one door and one at another, some down stairs and some up stairs, and, getting together as well as they could, locked themselves into their chambers and screamed out at the windows for help, as if they had been frightened out of their wits: the master, more composed than they, though both frightened and provoked, was going to lay hands upon him and throw him down stairs, being in a passion, but then considering a little the condition of the man, and the danger of touching him, horror seized

his mind, and he stood still like one astonished. The poor distempered man, all this while, being as well diseased in his brain as in his body, stood like one amazed. At length he turns round:—"Ay," says he, with all the seeming calmness imaginable, "is it so with you all! are you all disturbed at me? Why, then, I'll e'en go home and die there." And so he goes immediately down stairs. The servant that had let him in goes down after him with a candle, but was afraid to go past him and open the door, so he stood on the stairs to see what he would do; the man went and opened the door, and went out and flung the door after him. It was some while before the family recovered the fright, but as no ill consequence attended, they have had occasion since to speak of it (you may be sure) with great satisfaction. Though the man was gone, it was some time, nay, as I heard, some days, before they recovered themselves of the hurry they were in, nor did they go up and down the house with any assurance till they had burnt a great variety of fumes and perfumes in all the rooms, and made a great many smokes of pitch, of gunpowder, and of sulphur; all separately shifted, and washed their clothes, and the like: as to the poor man, whether he lived or died, I do not remember.

It is most certain that, if by the shutting up of houses the sick had not been confined, multitudes, who in the height of their fever were delirious and distracted, would have been continually running up and down the streets, and, even as it was, a very great number did so, and offered all sorts of violence to those they met, even just as a mad dog runs on and bites at every one he meets; nor can I doubt but that, should one of those infected diseased creatures have bitten any man or woman while the frenzy of the distemper was upon them, they (I mean the person so wounded) would as certainly have been incurably infected as one that was sick before and had the tokens upon him.

I heard of one infected creature, who, running out of his bed in his shirt in the anguish and agony of his swellings, of which he had three upon him, got his shoes on, and went to put on his coat, but the nurse resisting and snatching the coat from him, he threw her down, run over her, ran down stairs and into the street directly to the Thames in his shirt, the nurse running after him and calling to the watch to stop him; but the watchman frightened at the man, and afraid to touch him, let him go on; upon which he ran down to the Still-yard stairs, threw

away his shirt, and plunged into the Thames, and, being a good swimmer, swam quite over the river; and the tide being coming in, as they call it, that is, running westward, he reached the land not till he came about the Falcon stairs, where landing, and finding no people there, it being in the night, he ran about the streets there, naked as he was, for a good while, when it being by that time high water, he takes to the river again, and swam back to the Steel-yard, Upper Thames-street, landed, ran up the streets to his own house, knocking at the door, went up the stairs and into his bed again; and that this terrible experiment cured him of the plague, that is to say, that the violent motion of his arms and legs stretched the parts where the swellings he had upon him were, that is to say, under his arms and his groin, and caused them to ripen and break, and that the cold of the water abated the fever in his blood.

I have only to add, that I do not relate this, any more than some of the other, as a fact within my own knowledge, so as that I can vouch the truth of them, and especially that of the man being cured by the extravagant adventure, which I confess I do not think very possible, but it may serve to confirm the many desperate things which the distressed people falling into deliriums, and what we call light-headedness, were frequently run upon at that time, and how infinitely more such there would have been if such people had not been confined by the shutting up of houses; and this I take to be the best, if not the only good thing, which was performed by that severe method.

On the other hand, the complaints and the murmurings were very bitter against the thing itself.

Bitter complaints and murmuring of the people.

It would pierce the hearts of all that came by to hear the piteous cries of those infected people, who, being thus out of their understandings by the violence of their pain, or the heat of their blood, were either shut in, or perhaps tied in their beds and chairs, to prevent their doing themselves hurt, and who would make a dreadful outcry at their being confined, and at their being not permitted to die at large, as they called it, and as they would have done before.

This running of distempered people about the streets was very dismal, and the magistrates did their utmost to prevent it; but, as it was generally in the night, and always sudden, when such attempts were made, the officers could not be at hand to prevent it, and even when they got out in the day the officers appointed did not care to meddle with them, because, as they were all grievously infected to be sure when they were come to that

Magistrates prevent people running about the city.

height, so they were more than ordinarily infectious, and it was one of the most dangerous things that could be to touch them ; on the other hand, they generally ran on, not knowing what they did, till they dropped down stark dead, or till they had exhausted their spirits so as that they would fall, and then die in perhaps half an hour or an hour, and, which was most piteous to hear, they were sure to come to themselves entirely in that half-hour or hour, and then to make most grievous and piercing cries and lamentations in the deep afflicting sense of the condition they were in. There was much of it before the order for shutting up houses was strictly put in execution, for at first the watchmen were not so rigorous and severe as they were afterward in the keeping the people in ; that is to say, before they were (I mean some of them) severely punished for their neglect, failing in their duty and letting people who were under their care slip away, or conniving at their going abroad, whether sick or well. But after they saw the officers appointed to examine into their conduct were resolved to have them do their duty, or be punished for the omission, they were more exact, and the people were strictly restrained, which was a thing they took so ill, and bore so impatiently, that their discontents can hardly be described ; but there was an absolute necessity for it, that must be confessed, unless some other measures had been timely entered upon, and it was too late for that.

Had not this particular of the sick being restrained, as above, been our case at that time, London would have been the most dreadful place that ever was in the world ; there would, for aught I know, have as many people died in the streets as died in their houses ; for when the distemper was at its height it generally made them raving and delirious, and when they were so they would never be persuaded to keep in their beds but by force ; and many who were not tied threw themselves out of windows when they found they could not get leave to go out of their doors.

It was for want of people conversing one with another in this time of calamity that it was impossible any particular person could come at the knowledge of all the extraordinary cases that occurred in different families ; and, particularly, I believe it was never known to this day how many people in their deliriums drowned themselves in the Thames, and in the river which runs from the marshes by Hackney, which we generally called Ware river, or Hackney river. As to those which were set down in the weekly bill, they were indeed few ;

nor could it be known of any of those whether they drowned themselves by accident or not. But I believe I might reckon up more who, within the compass of my knowledge or observation, really drowned themselves in that year than are put down in the bill of all put together, for many of the bodies were never found who yet were known to be lost ; and the like in other methods of self-destruction. There was also one man in or about Whitecross-street burnt himself to death in his bed. Some said it was done by himself, others that it was by the treachery of the nurse that attended him ; but that he had the plague upon him was agreed by all.

It was a merciful disposition of Providence also, and which I have many times thought of at that time, that no fires, or no considerable ones at least, happened in the city during that year, which, if it had been otherwise, would have been very dreadful ; and either the people must have let them alone unquenched, or have come together in great crowds and throngs, unconcerned at the danger of the infection, not concerned at the houses they went into, at the goods they handled, or at the persons or the people they came among ; but so it was, that, excepting that in Cripplegate parish, and two or three little eruptions of fires, which were presently extinguished, there was no disaster of that kind happened in the whole year. They told us a story of a house in a place called Swan-alley, passing from Goswell-street near the end of Old-street into St. John's-street, that a family was infected there in so terrible a manner that every one of the house died ; the last person lay dead on the floor, and, as it is supposed, had laid herself all along to die just before the fire ; the fire, it seems, had fallen from its place, being of wood, and had taken hold of the boards and the joists they lay on, and burnt as far as just to the body, but had not taken hold of the dead body, though she had little more than her shift on, and had gone out of itself, not hurting the rest of the house, though it was a slight timber house. How true this might be I do not determine, but the city being to suffer severely the next year by fire, this year it felt very little of that calamity.

Merciful
disposition
of Provi-
dence.

Indeed, considering the deliriums which the agony threw people into, and how I have mentioned in their madness when they were alone, they did many desperate things, it was very strange there were no more disasters of that kind.

It has been frequently asked me, and I cannot say that I ever

knew how to give a direct answer to it, how it came to pass that so many infected people appeared abroad in the streets, at the same time that the houses which were infected were so vigilantly searched, and all of them shut up and guarded as they were.

I confess I know not what answer to give to this, unless it be this, that in so great and populous a city as this is, it was impossible to discover every house that was infected as soon as it was so, or to shut up all the houses that were infected ; so that people had the liberty of going about the streets, even where they pleased, unless they were known to belong to such and such infected houses.

It is true that, as several physicians told my Lord Mayor, the fury of the contagion was such at some particular times, and people sickened so fast, and died so soon, that it was impossible, and, indeed, to no purpose, to go about to inquire who was sick and who was well, or to shut them up with such exactness as the thing required ; almost every house in a whole street being infected, and in many places every person in some of the houses ; and that which was still worse, by the time that the houses were known to be infected, most of the persons infected would be stone dead, and the rest run away for fear of being shut up, so that it was to very small purpose to call them infected houses and shut them up ; the infection having ravaged, and taken its leave of the house, before it was really known that the family was any way touched.

Magistrates
power in-
sufficient.

This might be sufficient to convince any reasonable person that as it was not in the power of the magistrates, or of any human methods or policy, to prevent the spreading the infection, so that this way of shutting up of houses was perfectly insufficient for that end. Indeed it seemed to have no manner of public good in it, equal or proportionable to the grievous burthen that it was to the particular families that were so shut up ; and as far as I was employed by the public in directing that severity, I frequently found occasion to see that it was incapable of answering the end. For example, as I was desired, as a visitor or examiner, to inquire into the particulars of several families which were infected, we scarce came to any house where the plague had visibly appeared in the family but that some of the family were fled and gone. The magistrates would resent this, and charge the examiners with being remiss in their examination or inspection ; but by that means houses were long infected before it was

known. Now, as I was in this dangerous office but half the appointed time, which was two months, it was long enough to inform myself that we were no way capable of coming at the knowledge of the true state of any family, but by inquiring at the door, or of the neighbours. As for going into every house to search, that was a part no authority would offer to impose on the inhabitants, or any citizen would undertake, for it would have been exposing us to certain infection and death, and to the ruin of our own families as well as of ourselves; nor would any citizen of probity, and that could be depended upon, have stayed in the town, if they had been made liable to such a severity.

Seeing, then, that we could come at the certainty of things by no method but that of inquiry of the neighbours or of the family, and on that we could not justly depend, it was not possible but that the uncertainty of this matter would remain as above.

It is true masters of families were bound by the order to give notice to the examiner of the place wherein he lived, within two hours after he should discover it, of any person being sick in his house, that is to say, having signs of the infection; but they found so many ways to evade this, and excuse their negligence, that they seldom gave that notice till they had taken measures to have every one escape out of the house who had a mind to escape, whether they were sick or sound; and while this was so, it is easy to see that the shutting up of houses was no way to be depended upon as a sufficient method for putting a stop to the infection, because, as I have said elsewhere, many of those that so went out of those infected houses had the plague really upon them, though they might really think themselves sound; and some of these were the people that walked the streets till they fell down dead, not that they were suddenly struck with the distemper, as with a bullet that killed with the stroke, but that they really had the infection in their blood long before, only, that as it preyed secretly on their vitals, it appeared not till it seized the heart with a mortal power, and the patient died in a moment, as with a sudden fainting, or an apoplectic fit.

I know that some, even of our physicians, thought, for a time, that those people that so died in the streets were seized but that moment they fell, as if they had been touched by a stroke from heaven, as men are killed by a flash of lightning; but they found reason to alter their opinion afterward, for upon examining the bodies of such after they were dead, they always either had

tokens upon them, or other evident proofs of the distemper having been longer upon them than they had otherwise expected.

This often was the reason that, as I have said, we that were examiners were not able to come at the knowledge of the infection being entered into a house till it was too late to shut it up, and sometimes not till the people that were left were all dead. In Petticoat-lane two houses together were infected, and several people sick; but the distemper was so well concealed, the examiner, who was my neighbour, got no knowledge of it till notice was sent him that the people were all dead, and that the carts should call there to fetch them away. The two heads of the families concerted their measures, and so ordered their matters, as that when the examiner was in the neighbourhood, they appeared generally at a time, and answered, that is, lied for one another, or got some of the neighbourhood to say they were all in health, and perhaps knew no better, till death making it impossible to keep it any longer as a secret, the dead carts were called in the night to both the houses, and so it became public; but when the examiner ordered the constable to shut up the houses, there was nobody left in them but three people, two in one house, and one in the other, just dying, and a nurse in each house, who acknowledged that they had buried five before, that the houses had been infected nine or ten days, and that for all the rest of the two families, which were many, they were gone, some sick, some well, or whether sick or well, could not be known.

The great
red cross.

In like manner, at another house in the same lane, a man, having his family infected, but very unwilling to be shut up, when he could conceal it no longer, shut up himself; that is to say, he set the great red cross upon his door, with the words, —“*LORD, HAVE MERCY UPON US;*” and so deluded the examiner, who supposed it had been done by the constable, by order of the other examiner, for there were two examiners to every district or precinct. By this means he had free egress and regress into his house again, and out of it, as he pleased, notwithstanding it was infected, till at length his stratagem was found out, and then he, with the sound part of his family and servants, made off, and escaped; so they were not shut up at all.

These things made it very hard, if not impossible, as I have said, to prevent the spreading of an infection by the shutting up of houses, unless the people would think the shutting up of their houses no grievance, and be so willing to have it done as

that they would give notice duly and faithfully to the magistrates of their being infected as soon as it was known by themselves ; but as that cannot be expected from them, and the examiners cannot be supposed, as above, to go into their houses to visit and search, all the good of shutting up houses will be defeated, and few houses will be shut up in time, except those of the poor, who cannot conceal it, and of some people who will be discovered by the terror and consternation which the thing put them into.

I got myself discharged of the dangerous office I was in as soon as I could get another admitted, whom I had obtained for a little money to accept of it ; and so, instead of serving the two months, which was directed, I was not above three weeks in it ; and a great while too, considering it was in the month of August, at which time the distemper began to rage with great violence at our end of the town.

In the execution of this office, I could not refrain speaking my opinion among my neighbours, as to this shutting up the people in their houses, in which we saw most evidently the severities that were used, though grievous in themselves, had also this particular objection against them, namely, that they did not answer the end, as I have said, but that the distempered people went, day by day, about the streets, and it was our united opinion, that a method to have removed the sound from the sick, in case of a particular house being visited, would have been much more reasonable on many accounts, leaving nobody with the sick persons but such as should, on such occasions, request to stay, and declare themselves content to be shut up with them.

People shut
up in their
houses.

Our scheme for removing those that were sound from those that were sick, was only in such houses as were infected, and confining the sick was no confinement ; those that could not stir would not complain while they were in their senses, and while they had the power of judging ; indeed, when they came to be delirious and light-headed, then they would cry out of the cruelty of being confined ; but for the removal of those that were well, we thought it highly reasonable and just, for their own sakes, they should be removed from the sick, and that, for other people's safety, they should keep retired for awhile, to see that they were sound, and might not infect others ; and we thought twenty or thirty days enough for this.

Now, certainly, if houses had been provided on purpose for

those that were sound to perform this demi-quarantine in, they would have much less reason to think themselves injured in such a restraint than in being confined with infected people in the houses where they lived.

It is here, however, to be observed, that after the funerals became so many, that people could not toll the bell, mourn or weep, or wear black for one another, as they did before : no, nor so much as make coffins for those that died ; so after awhile the fury of the infection appeared to be so increased that, in short, they shut up no houses at all ; it seemed enough that all the remedies of that kind had been used till they were found fruitless, and that the plague spread itself with an irresistible fury ; so that, as the fire, the succeeding year, spread itself and burnt with such violence that the citizens, in despair, gave over their endeavours to extinguish it, so in the plague, it came at last to such violence that the people sat still looking at one another, and seemed quite abandoned to despair : whole streets seemed to be desolated, and not to be shut up only, but to be emptied of their inhabitants ; doors were left open, windows stood shattering with the wind in empty houses, for want of people to shut them : in a word, people began to give up themselves to their fears, and to think that all regulations and methods were in vain, and that there was nothing to be hoped for but an universal desolation ; and it was even in the height of this general despair, that it pleased God to stay his hand and to slacken the fury of the contagion, in such a manner as was even surprising, like its beginning, and demonstrated it to be his own particular hand, and that above, if not without the agency of means, as I shall take notice of it in its proper place.

But I must still speak of the plague as in its height, raging even to desolation, and the people under the most dreadful consternation, even as I have said, to despair. It is hardly credible to what excesses the passions of men carried them in this extremity of the distemper ; and this part, I think, was as moving as the rest. What could affect a man in his full power of reflection, and what could make deeper impressions on the soul, than to see a man, almost naked, and got out of his house, or perhaps out of his bed into the street, come out of Harrow-alley, a populous conjunction or collection of alleys, courts, and passages, in the Butcher-row, in Whitechapel, I say, what could be more affecting than to see this poor man come out into the open street, run dancing and singing, and making a thousand

antic gestures, with five or six women and children running after him, crying and calling upon him for the LORD'S sake to come back, and entreating the help of others to bring him back, but all in vain, nobody daring to lay a hand upon him or to come near him?

This was a most grievous and afflicting thing to me, who saw it all from my own windows; for all this while the poor afflicted man was, as I observed it, even then in the utmost agony of pain, having, as they said, two swellings upon him, which could not be brought to break or suppurate; but by laying strong caustics on them the surgeons had, it seems, hopes to break them, which caustics were then upon him burning his flesh as with a hot iron. I cannot say what became of this poor man, but I think he continued roving about in that manner till he fell down and died.

No wonder the aspect of the city itself was frightful, the usual concourse of people in the streets, and which used to be supplied from our end of the town, was abated; the Exchange was not kept shut, indeed, but it was no more frequented; the fires were lost, they had been almost extinguished for some days by a very smart and hasty rain: but that was not all,—some of the physicians insisted that they were not only no benefit, but injurious to the health of the people. This they made a loud clamour about, and complained to the Lord Mayor about it. On the other hand, others of the same faculty, and eminent too, opposed them, and gave their reasons why the fires were and must be useful to assuage the violence of the distemper. I cannot give a full account of their arguments on both sides; only this I remember, that they cavilled very much with one another; some were for fires, but that they must be made of wood and not coal, and of particular sorts of wood too, such as fir in particular, or cedar, because of the strong effluvia of turpentine; others were for coal, and not wood, because of the sulphur and bitumen; and others were for neither one or other. Upon the whole, the Lord Mayor ordered no more fires, and especially on this account, namely—that the plague was so fierce that they saw evidently it defied all means, and rather seemed to increase than decrease upon any application to check and abate it; and yet this amazement of the magistrates proceeded rather from want of being able to apply any means successfully, than from any unwillingness either to expose themselves or undertake the care and weight of business; for, to do them

Physicians
oppose each
other and
clamour
and com-
plain to the
Lord
Mayor.

justice, they neither spared their pains nor their persons : but nothing answered ; the infection raged, and the people were now terrified to the last degree, so that, as I may say, they gave themselves up, and, as I mentioned above, abandoned themselves to their despair.

Londoners
abandon
themselves
to despair.

But let me observe here, that when I say the people abandoned themselves to despair, I do not mean to what men call a religious despair, or a despair of their eternal state, but I mean a despair of their being able to escape the infection, or to outlive the plague, which they saw was so raging and so irresistible in its force, that indeed few people that were touched with it in its height, about August and September, escaped ; and, which is very particular, contrary to its ordinary operation, in June and July, and the beginning of August, when, as I have observed, many were infected, and continued so many days, and then went off, after having had the poison in their blood a long time ; but now, on the contrary, most of the people who were taken during the two last weeks in August and in the three first weeks in September, generally died in two or three days at the farthest, and many the very same day they were taken ; whether the dog-days, as our astrologers pretended to express themselves, the influence of the dog-star had that malignant effect ; or all those who had the seeds of infection before in them, brought it up to a maturity at that time altogether, I know not ; but this was the time when it was reported, that above 8000 people died in one night ; and they that would have us believe they more critically observed it, pretend to say that they all died within the space of two hours, viz., between the hours of one and three in the morning.

As to the suddenness of people dying at this time, more than before, there were innumerable instances of it, and I could name several in my own neighbourhood ; one family without the gates of the city, and not far from me, were all seemingly well on the Monday, being ten in family, that evening one maid and one apprentice were taken ill, and died the next morning ; when the other apprentice and two children were touched, whereof one died the same evening and the other two on Wednesday ; in a word, by Saturday at noon, the master, mistress, four children, and four servants were all gone, and the house left entirely empty, except an ancient woman, who came to take charge of the goods for the master of the family's brother, who lived not far off, and who had not been sick.

Many houses were then left desolate, all the people being carried away dead, and especially in an alley farther on the same side, beyond the gates, going in at the sign of Moses and Aaron, there were several houses together, which (they said) had not one person left alive in them, and some that died last in several of those houses were left a little too long before they were fetched out to be buried ; the reason of which was not, as some have written very untruly, that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead, but that the mortality was so great in the yard or alley that there was nobody left to give notice to the buriers or sextons that there were any dead bodies there to be buried. It was said (how true I know not), that some of those bodies were so corrupted and so rotten, that it was with difficulty they were carried ; and as the carts could not come any nearer than to the alley-gate in the High-street, it was so much the more difficult to bring them along ; but I am not certain how many bodies were then left. I am sure that ordinarily it was not so.

Public-house.

As I have mentioned how the people were brought into a condition to despair of life, and abandon themselves, so this very thing had a strange effect among us for three or four weeks, that is, it made them bold and venturous, they were no more shy of one another, or restrained within doors, but went anywhere and everywhere, and began to converse : one would say to another—"I do not ask you how you are, or say how I am ; it is certain we shall all go, so 'tis no matter who is sick or who is sound ;" and so they run desperately into any place or any company.

As it brought the people into public company, so it was surprising how it brought them to crowd into the churches ; they inquired no more into who they sat near to, or far from, what offensive smells they met with, or what condition the people seemed to be in, but looking upon themselves all as so many dead corpses, they came to the churches without the least caution, and crowded together as if their lives were of no consequence compared to the work which they came about there ; indeed, the zeal which they showed in coming, and the earnestness and affection they showed in their attention to what they heard, made it manifest what a value people would all put upon the worship of God if they thought every day they attended at the church that it would be their last. Nor was it without other strange effects, for it took away all manner of prejudice at, or scruple about, the person whom they found in the pulpit when

they came to the churches. It cannot be doubted but that many of the ministers of the parish churches were cut off among others in so common and dreadful a calamity ; and others had not courage enough to stand it, but removed into the country as they found means for escape ; as then some parish churches were quite vacant and forsaken, the people made no scruple of desiring such dissenters as had been a few years before deprived of their livings, by virtue of an act of parliament called the Act of Uniformity, to preach in the churches, nor did the church ministers in that case make any difficulty in accepting their assistance ; so that many of those whom they called silent ministers, had their mouths opened on this occasion, and preached publicly to the people.

Clergymen
cut off from
among the
people.

Clergymen
become
alarmed
and forsake
the citizens.

The act of
Uniformity.

Here we may observe, and I hope it will not be amiss to take notice of it, that a near view of death would soon reconcile men of good principles one to another, and that it is chiefly owing to our easy situation in life, and our putting these things far from us, that our breaches are fomented, ill blood continued, prejudices, breach of charity and of christian union so much kept and so far carried on among us as it is : another plague year would reconcile all these differences, a close conversing with death, or with diseases that threatened death, would scum off the gall from our tempers, remove the animosities among us, and bring us to see with differing eyes than those which we looked on things with before ; as the people who had been used to join with the church were reconciled at this time with the admitting the dissenters to preach to them ; so the dissenters, who, with an uncommon prejudice, had broken off from the communion of the church of England, were now content to come to their parish churches, and to conform to the worship which they did not approve of before ; but as the terror of the infection abated, those things all returned again to their less desirable channel, and to the course they were in before.

Necessity
for another
year of just
pestilence.

High
Churchmen
become
reconciled
with the
Dissenters.

I mention this but historically ; I have no mind to enter into arguments to move either or both sides to a more charitable compliance one with another ; I do not see that it is probable such a discourse would be either suitable or successful ; the breaches seem rather to widen, and tend to a widening further than to closing ; and who am I, that I should think myself able to influence either one side or other ? But this I may repeat again, that it is evident death will reconcile us all—on the other side the grave we shall be all brethren again ; in heaven,

Death will
reconcile us
all.

whither I hope we may come from all parties and persuasions, we shall find neither prejudice nor scruple ; there we shall be of one principle and of one opinion. Why we cannot be content to go hand in hand to the place where we shall join heart and hand without the least hesitation, and with the most complete harmony and affection ; I say, why we cannot do so here I can say nothing to, neither shall I say anything more of it, but that it remains to be lamented.

I could dwell a great while upon the calamities of this dreadful time, and go on to describe the objects that appeared among us every day, the dreadful extravagances which the distraction of sick people drove them into ; how the streets began now to be fuller of frightful objects, and families to be made even a terror to themselves ; but after I have told you, as I have above, that one man being tied in his bed, and finding no other way to deliver himself, set the bed on fire with his candle, which unhappily stood within his reach, and burnt himself in bed ; and how another, by the insufferable torment he bore, danced and sung naked in the streets, not knowing one ecstasy from another ; I say, after I have mentioned these things, what can be added more ? What can be said to represent the misery of these times more lively to the reader, or to give him a perfect idea of a more complicated distress ?

I must acknowledge that this time was terrible, that I was sometimes at the end of all my resolutions, and that I had not the courage that I had at the beginning. As the extremity brought other people abroad, it drove me home, and, except having made my voyage down to Blackwall and Greenwich, as I have related, which was an excursion, I kept afterwards very much within doors, as I had for about a fortnight before. I have said already that I repented several times that I had ventured to stay in town, and had not gone away with my brother and his family, but it was too late for that now ; and after I had retreated and stayed within doors a good while before my impatience led me abroad, then they called me, as I have said, to an ugly and dangerous office, which brought me out again ; but as that was expired while the height of the distemper lasted, I retired again, and continued close ten or twelve days more ; during which many dismal spectacles represented themselves in my view, out of my own windows, and in our own street, as that particularly from Harrow-alley, of the poor outrageous creature who danced and sung in his agony, and many others there were :

scarce a day or night passed over but some dismal thing or other happened at the end of that Harrow-alley, which was a place full of poor people, most of them belonging to the butchers, or to employments depending upon the butchery.

Sometimes heaps and throngs of people would burst out of the alley, most of them women, making a dreadful clamour, mixed or compounded of screeches, cryings, and calling one another, that we could not conceive what to make of it ; almost all the dead part of the night the dead-cart stood at the end of that alley, for if it went in it could not well turn again, and could go in but a little way. There, I say, it stood to receive dead bodies; and, as the church-yard was but a little way off, if it went away full it would soon be back again : it is impossible to describe the most horrible cries and noise the poor people would make at their bringing the dead bodies of their children and friends out to the cart, and by the number one would have thought there had been none left behind, or that there were people enough for a small city living in those places : several times they cried murder, sometimes fire ; but it was easy to perceive it was all distraction, and the complaints of distressed and distempered people.

I believe it was everywhere thus at that time, for the plague raged for six or seven weeks beyond all that I have expressed ; and came even to such a height that, in the extremity, they began to break into that excellent order, of which I have spoken so much in behalf of the magistrates, namely, that no dead bodies were seen in the streets, or burials in the daytime, for there was a necessity in this extremity to bear with its being otherwise for a little while.

False prophets,
cunning
men, and
such people
vanish.

One thing I cannot omit here, and indeed I thought it was extraordinary ; at least it seemed a remarkable hand of divine justice, viz., that all the predictors, astrologers, fortune-tellers, and what they called cunning men, conjurors, and the like, calculators of nativities, and dreamers of dreams, and such people, were gone and vanished, not one of them was to be found. I am verily persuaded that a great number of them fell in the heat of the calamity, having ventured to stay upon the prospect of getting great estates ; and indeed their gain was but too great for a time, through the madness and folly of the people ; but now they were silent, many of them went to their long home, not able to foretel their own fate, or to calculate their own nativities ; some have been critical enough to say that every one

of them died ; I dare not affirm that ; but this I must own, that I never heard of one of them that ever appeared after the calamity was over.

But to return to my particular observations during this dreadful part of the visitation. I have now come, as I have said, to the month of September, which was the most dreadful of its kind, I believe, that London ever saw ; for by all the accounts which I have seen of the preceding visitations which have been in London, nothing has been like it ; the number in the weekly bill amounting to almost 40,000 from the 22nd of August to the 26th of September, being but five weeks : the particulars of the bills are as follows, viz. :—

From August the 22nd to the 29th	. 7,496
To the 5th of September	. . . 8,252
To the 12th	. . . 7,690
To the 19th	. . . 8,297
To the 26th	. . . 6,460
	38,195

This was a prodigious number of itself, but if I should add the reasons which I have to believe that this account was deficient, and how deficient it was, you would with me make no scruple to believe that there died above ten thousand a week for all those weeks, one week with another, and a proportion for several weeks both before and after. The confusion among the people, especially within the city, at that time was inexpressible ; the terror was so great at last, that the courage of the people appointed to carry away the dead began to fail them ; nay, several of them died, although they had the distemper before and were recovered ; and some of them dropped down when they have been carrying the bodies even at the pitside, and just ready to throw them in ; and this confusion was greater in the city, because they had flattered themselves with the hopes of escaping, and thought the bitterness of death was past ; one cart, they told us, going up Shoreditch, was forsaken of the drivers, or being left to one man to drive, he died in the street, and the horses going on, overthrew the cart, and left the bodies, some thrown out here, some there, in a dismal manner ; another cart was, it seems, found in the great pit in Finsbury-fields, the driver being dead, or having been gone and abandoned it, and the horses running too near it, the cart fell in and drew

the horses in also. It was suggested that the driver was thrown in with it, and that the cart fell upon him, by reason his whip was seen to be in the pit among the bodies ; but that, I suppose, could not be certain.

In our parish of Aldgate the dead carts were several times, as I have heard, found standing at the churchyard gate, full of dead bodies, but neither bellman nor driver, nor any one else, with it ; neither in these nor in many other cases did they know what bodies they had in their cart, for sometimes they were let down with ropes out of balconies and out of windows ; and sometimes the bearers brought them to the cart, sometimes other people ; nor, as the men themselves said, did they trouble themselves to keep any account of the numbers.

Vigilance
of the city
magistrates
put to the
utmost
trial.

The vigilance of the magistrates was now put to the utmost trial, and it must be confessed, can never be enough acknowledged on this occasion also ; whatever expense or trouble they were at, two things were never neglected in the city or suburbs either.

First,—Provisions were always to be had in full plenty, and the price not much raised neither, hardly worth speaking.

Second,—No dead bodies lay unburied or uncovered ; and if one walked from one end of the city to another, no funeral, or sign of it, was to be seen in the day-time, except a little, as I have said above, in the three first weeks in September.

This last article, perhaps, will hardly be believed, when some accounts which others have published since that shall be seen, wherein they say that the dead lay unburied, which I am assured was utterly false ; at least, if it had been anywhere so, it must have been in houses where the living were gone from the dead, having found means, as I have observed, to escape, and where no notice was given to the officers ; all which amounts to nothing at all in the case in hand ; for this I am positive in, having myself been employed a little time in the direction of that part in the parish in which I lived, and where as great a desolation was made in proportion to the number of inhabitants as was anywhere, I say, I am sure that there were no dead bodies remained unburied ; that is to say, none that the proper officers knew of ; none for want of people to carry them off, and buriers to put them into the ground and cover them ; and this is sufficient to the argument ; for what might lie in houses and holes, as in Moses and Aaron alley, is nothing ; for it is most certain they were buried as soon as they were found. As

to the first article, namely, of provisions, the scarcity or dear-ness, though I have mentioned it before, and shall speak of it again ; yet I must observe here,

First,—The price of bread in particular was not much raised ; for in the beginning of the year, viz., in the first week in March, the penny wheaten loaf was ten ounces and a half ; and in the height of the contagion, it was to be had at nine ounces and a half, and never dearer, no, not all that season ; and about the beginning of November it was sold at ten ounces and a half again ; the like of which, I believe, was never heard of in any city under so dreadful a visitation before.

Second,—Neither was there (which I wondered much at) any want of bakers or ovens kept open to supply the people with bread ; but this was indeed alleged by some families, viz., that their maid-servants going to the bakehouses with their dough to be baked, which was then the custom, sometimes came home with the sickness, that is to say, the plague upon them.

In all this dreadful visitation there were, as I have said before, but two pest-houses made use of, viz., one in the fields beyond Old-street, and one in Westminster ; neither was there any compulsion used in carrying people thither ; indeed there was no need of compulsion in the case, for there were thousands of poor distressed people, who having no help, or conveniences, or supplies but of charity, would have been very glad to have been carried thither and been taken care of, which indeed was the only thing that, I think, was wanting in the whole public management of the city ; seeing nobody was here allowed to be brought to the pest-house but where money was given, or security for money, either at their introducing or upon their being cured and sent out ; for very many were sent out again whole, and very good physicians were appointed to those places, so that many people did very well there, of which I shall make mention again. The principal sort of people sent thither were, as I have said, servants, who got the distemper by going of errands to fetch necessities to the families where they lived ; and who, in that case, if they came home sick, were removed to preserve the rest of the house, and they were so well looked after there in all the time of the visitation, that there were but 156 buried in all at the London pest-house, and 159 at that of Westminster.

By having more pest-houses, I am far from meaning a forcing all people into such places. Had the shutting up of houses been

omitted, and the sick hurried out of their dwellings to pest-houses, as some proposed, it seems at that time, as well as since, it would certainly have been much worse than it was; the very removing the sick would have been a spreading of the infection, and the rather because that removing could not effectually clear the house where the sick person was of the distemper; and the rest of the family being then left at liberty, would certainly spread it among others.

The methods also in private families, which would have been universally used to have concealed the distemper, and to have concealed the persons being sick, would have been such that the distemper would sometimes have seized a whole family before any visitors or examiners could have known of it. On the other hand, the prodigious numbers which would have been sick at a time would have exceeded all the capacity of public pest-houses to receive them, or of public officers to discover and remove them.

This was well considered in those days, and I have heard them talk of it often. The magistrates had enough to do to bring people to submit to having their houses shut up, and many ways they deceived the watchmen and got out, as I have observed; but that difficulty made it apparent that they would have found it impracticable to have gone the other way to work; for they could never have forced the sick people out of their beds, and out of their dwellings: it must not have been my Lord Mayor's officers, but an army of officers, that must have attempted it; and the people on the other hand would have been enraged and desperate, and would have killed those that should have offered to have meddled with them, or with their children and relations, whatever had befallen them for it; so that they would have made the people, who, as it was, were in the most terrible distraction imaginable—I say, they would have made them stark mad; whereas the magistrates found it proper on several occasions to treat them with lenity and compassion, and not with violence and terror, such as dragging the sick out of their houses, or obliging them to remove themselves, would have been.

This leads me again to mention the time when the plague first began, that is to say, when it became certain that it would spread over the whole town, when, as I have said, the better sort of people first took the alarm, and began to hurry themselves out of town; it was true, as I observed in its place, that the throng was so great, and the coaches, horses, waggons, and carts

were so many, driving and dragging the people away, that it looked as if all the city was running away, and had any regulations been published that had been terrifying at that time, especially such as would pretend to dispose of the people otherwise than they would dispose of themselves, it would have put both the city and suburbs into the utmost confusion.

But the magistrates wisely caused the people to be encouraged, made very good bye-laws for the regulating the citizens, keeping good order in the streets, and making everything as eligible as possible to all sorts of people.

In the first place, the Lord Mayor and the sheriffs, the court of aldermen, and a certain number of the common councilmen, or their deputies, came to a resolution and published it; viz.—“That they would not quit the city themselves, but that they would be always at hand for the preserving good order in every place, and for the doing justice on all occasions; as also for the distributing the public charity to the poor; and, in a word, for the doing the duty and discharging the trust reposed in them by the citizens to the utmost of their power.”

The Lord Mayor, sheriffs, and court of aldermen, resolve not to quit the city.

In pursuance of these orders the Lord Mayor, sheriffs, &c., held councils every day more or less for making such dispositions as they found needful for preserving the civil peace; and though they used the people with all possible gentleness and clemency, yet all manner of presumptuous rogues, such as thieves, house-breakers, plunderers of the dead or of the sick, were duly punished, and several declarations were continually published by the Lord Mayor and court of aldermen against such.

The Lord Mayor, &c., hold councils daily.

Also all constables and churchwardens were enjoined to stay in the city upon severe penalties, or to depute such able and sufficient housekeepers as the deputy aldermen or common councilmen of the precinct should approve, and for whom they should give security; and also security, in case of mortality, that they would forthwith constitute other constables in their stead.

Constables and churchwardens bound in severe penalties not to quit the city.

These things re-established the minds of the people very much, especially in the first of their fright, when they talked of making so universal a flight, that the city would have been in danger of being entirely deserted of its inhabitants, except the poor; and the country of being plundered and laid waste by the multitude. Nor were the magistrates deficient in performing their part as boldly as they promised it; for my Lord Mayor and the sheriffs were continually in the streets, and at

Great devotion of the Lord Mayor and sheriffs towards the citizens.

places of the greatest danger, and though they did not care for having too great a resort of people crowding about them, yet in emergent cases they never denied the people access to them, and heard with patience all their grievances and complaints; my Lord Mayor had a low gallery built on purpose in his hall, where he stood a little removed from the crowd when any complaint came to be heard, that he might appear with as much safety as possible.

Likewise the proper officers, called my Lord Mayor's officers, constantly attended in their turns, as they were in waiting; and if any of them were sick or infected, as some of them were, others were instantly employed to fill up and officiate in their places, till it was known whether the other should live or die.

In like manner, the sheriffs and aldermen did in their several stations and wards, where they were placed by office, and the sheriff's officers or serjeants were appointed to receive orders from the respective aldermen in their turn, so that justice was executed in all cases without interruption. In the next place, it was one of their particular cares to see the orders for the freedom of the markets observed; and in this part either the Lord Mayor, or one or both of the sheriffs, were every market-day on horseback to see their orders executed, and to see that the country people had all possible encouragement and freedom in their coming to the markets and going back again, and that no nuisances or frightful objects should be seen in the streets to terrify them or make them unwilling to come. Also the bakers were taken under particular order, and the Master of the Bakers' Company was, with his courts of assistants, directed to see the order of my Lord Mayor for their regulation put in execution, and the due assize of bread, which was weekly appointed by my Lord Mayor, observed, and all the bakers were obliged to keep their ovens going constantly, on pain of losing the privileges of a freeman of the city of London.

The bakers
placed
undor
proper
restraint.

By this means bread was always to be had in plenty, and as cheap as usual, as I said above; and provisions were never wanting in the markets, even to such a degree that I often wondered at it, and reproached myself with being so timorous and cautious in stirring abroad, when the country people came freely and boldly to market, as if there had been no manner of infection in the city, or danger of catching it.

It was indeed one admirable piece of conduct in the said magistrates, that the streets were kept constantly clear and free

from all manner of frightful objects, dead bodies, or any such things as were indecent or unpleasant, unless where anybody fell down suddenly or died in the streets, as I have said above, and these were generally covered with some cloth or blanket, or removed into the next churchyard till night: all the needful works that carried terror with them, that were both dismal and dangerous, were done in the night; if any diseased bodies were removed, or dead bodies buried, or infected clothes burnt, it was done in the night; and all the bodies which were thrown into the great pits in the several churchyards or burying-grounds, as has been observed, were so removed in the night, and everything was covered and closed before day, so that in the day-time there was not the least signal of the calamity to be seen or heard of, except what was to be observed from the emptiness of the streets, and sometimes from the passionate outcries and lamentations of the people out at their windows, and from the numbers of houses and shops shut up.

Nor was the silence and emptiness of the street so much in the city as in the out-parts, except just at one particular time, when, as I have mentioned, the plague came east, and spread over all the city: it was indeed a merciful disposition of God, that as the plague began at one end of the town first, as has been observed at large, so it proceeded progressively to other parts, and did not come on this way or eastward till it had spent its fury in the west part of the town; and so as it came on one way it abated another; for example:

It began at St. Giles's and the Westminster end of the town, and it was in its height in all that part by about the middle of July, viz., in St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, St. Andrew's, Holborn, St. Clement's Dances, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and in Westminster: the latter end of July it decreased in those parishes, and, coming east, it increased prodigiously in Cripplegate, St. Sepulchre's, St. James's, Clerkenwell, and St. Bride's and Aldersgate. While it was in all these parishes, the city and all the parishes of Southwark side of the water, and all Stepney, Whitechapel, Aldgate, Wapping, and Ratcliff, were very little touched; so that people went about their business unconcerned, carried on their trades, kept open their shops, and conversed freely with one another in all the city, the east and north-east suburbs, and in Southwark, almost as if the plague had not been among us.

Even when the north and north-west suburbs were fully

infected, viz. Cripplegate, Clerkenwell, Bishopsgate, and Shoreditch, yet still all the rest were tolerably well: for example :—

From the 25th of July to the 1st of August the bill stood thus of all diseases :—

St. Giles's, Cripplegate	554
St. Sepulchre's	250
Clerkenwell	103
Bishopsgate	116
Shoreditch	110
Stepney Parish	127
Aldgate	92
Whitechapel	104
All the 97 Parishes within the walls	228
All the Parishes in Southwark	205

1,889

So that, in short, there died more that week in the two parishes of Cripplegate and St. Sepulchre's by 48, than in all the city, all the east suburbs, and all the Southwark parishes put together: this caused the reputation of the city's health to continue all over England, and especially in the counties and markets adjacent, from whence our supply of provisions chiefly came, even much longer than that health itself continued; for when the people came into the streets from the country by Shoreditch and Bishopsgate, or by Old-street and Smithfield, they would see the out-streets empty, and the houses and shops shut, and the few people that were stirring there walk in the middle of the streets; but when they came within the city, there things looked better, and the markets and shops were open, and the people walking about the streets as usual, though not quite so many; and this continued till the latter end of August and the beginning of September.

But then the case altered quite, the distemper abated in the west and north-west parishes, and the weight of the infection lay on the city and the eastern suburbs, and the Southwark side, and this in a frightful manner.

Then indeed the city began to look dismal, shops to be shut, and the streets desolate; in the high street indeed necessity made people stir abroad on many occasions; and there would be in the middle of the day a pretty many people, but in the mornings and evenings scarce any to be seen even there, no, not in Cornhill and Cheapside.

These observations of mine were abundantly confirmed by the weekly bills of mortality for those weeks, an abstract of which, as they respect the parishes which I have mentioned, and as they make the calculations I speak of very evident, take as follows :

The weekly bill which makes out this decrease of the burials in the west and north side of the city, stands thus :—

St. Giles's, Cripplegate	456
St. Giles's-in-the-Fields	140
Clerkenwell	77
St. Sepulchre's	214
St. Leonard, Shoreditch	183
Stepney Parish	716
Aldgate	623
Whitechapel	582
In the 97 Parishes within the walls	1,498
In the 8 Parishes on Southwark side	1,636
	6,070

Here is a strange change of things indeed, and a sad change it was, and had it held for two more months than it did, very few people would have been left alive : but then such, I say, was the merciful disposition of God, that when it was thus the west and north part, which had been so dreadfully visited at first, grew, as you see, much better : and as the people disappeared here, they began to look abroad again there ; and the next week or two altered it still more, that is, more to the encouragement of the other part of the town ; for example :—

From the 19th of September to the 26th.

St. Giles's, Cripplegate	277
St. Giles's-in-the-Fields	119
Clerkenwell	76
St. Sepulchre's	193
St. Leonard, Shoreditch	146
Stepney Parish	616
Aldgate	496
Whitechapel	346
In the 97 Parishes within the walls	1,268
In the 8 Parishes on Southwark side	1,390
	4,927

From the 26th of September to the 3rd of October :—

St. Giles's, Cripplegate	196
St. Giles's-in-the-Fields	95
Clerkenwell	48
St. Sepulchre's	137
St. Leonard, Shoreditch	128
Stepney Parish	674
Aldgate	372
Whitechapel	328
In the 97 Parishes within the walls	1,149
In the 8 Parishes on Southwark side	1,201
	4,328

And now the misery of the city, and of the said east and south parts, was complete indeed; for as you see the weight of the distemper lay upon those parts, that is to say, the city, the eight parishes over the river, with the parishes of Aldgate, Whitechapel, and Stepney, and this was the time that the bills came up to such a monstrous height as that I mentioned before; and that eight or nine, and, as I believe, ten or twelve thousand a week, died; for it is my settled opinion, that they never could come at any just account of the numbers, for the reasons which I have given already.

An eminent
physician
publishes
in Latin.

Nay, one of the most eminent physicians, who has since published in Latin an account of those times, and of his observations, says, that in one week there died twelve thousand people, and that particularly there died four thousand in one night; though I do not remember that there ever was any such particular night so remarkably fatal as that such a number died in it: however, all this confirms what I have said above of the uncertainty of the bills of mortality, &c. of which I shall say more hereafter.

And here let me take leave to enter again, though it may seem a repetition of circumstances, into a description of the miserable condition of the city itself, and of those parts where I lived at this particular time: the city and those other parts, notwithstanding the great numbers of people that were gone into the country, was vastly full of people, and perhaps the fuller, because people had for a long time a strong belief that the plague would not come into the city nor into Southwark, no, nor into Wapping or Ratcliff at all; nay, such was the assurance of the people on that head, that many removed from the suburbs

on the west and north sides into those eastern and south sides, as for safety, and, as I verily believe, carried the plague amongst them there, perhaps sooner than they would otherwise have had it.

Here also I ought to leave a further mark for the use of posterity, concerning the manner of people's infecting one another, namely, that it was not the sick people only from whom the plague was immediately received by others that were sound, but the well. To explain myself: by the sick people I mean those who were known to be sick, had taken their beds, had been under cure, or had swellings and tumours upon them, and the like; these everybody could beware of, they were either in their beds or in such condition as could not be concealed.

By the well I mean such as had received the contagion, and had it really upon them and in their blood, yet did not show the consequences of it in their countenances, nay, even were not sensible of it themselves, as many were not for several days. These breathed death in every place and upon everybody who came near them; nay, their very clothes retained the infection, their hands would infect the things they touched, especially if they were warm and sweaty, and they were generally apt to sweat too.

Now it was impossible to know these people, nor did they sometimes, as I have said, know themselves to be infected: these were the people that so often dropped down and fainted in the streets; for oftentimes they would go about the streets to the last, till on a sudden they would sweat, grow faint, sit down at a door, and die. It is true, finding themselves thus, they would struggle hard to get home to their own doors, or at other times would be just able to go into their houses and die instantly; other times they would go about till they had the very tokens come out upon them, and yet not know it, and would die in an hour or two after they came home, but be well as long as they were abroad. These were the dangerous people; these were the people of whom the well people ought to have been afraid; but then, on the other side, it was impossible to know them.

And this is the reason why it is impossible in a visitation to prevent the spreading of the plague by the utmost human vigilance, viz., that it is impossible to know the infected people from the sound; or that the infected people should perfectly know themselves. I knew a man who conversed freely in London all the season of the plague in 1665, and kept about him an antidote

or cordial, on purpose to take when he thought himself in any danger, and he had such a rule to know, or have warning of the danger by, as indeed I never met with before or since; how far it may be depended on I know not. He had a wound in his leg, and whenever he came among any people that were not sound, and the infection began to affect him, he said he could know it by that signal, *viz.*, that his wound in his leg would smart, and look pale and white; so as soon as ever he felt it smart it was time for him to withdraw, or to take care of himself, taking his drink, which he always carried about him for that purpose. Now it seems he found his wound would smart many times when he was in company with such who thought themselves to be sound, and who appeared so to one another; but he would presently rise up, and say publicly,—“Friends, here is somebody in the room that has the plague;” and so would immediately break up the company. This was indeed a faithful monitor to all people, that the plague is not to be avoided by those that converse promiscuously in a town infected, and people have it when they know it not, and that they likewise give it to others when they know not that they have it themselves; and in this case shutting up the well or removing the sick will not do it, unless they can go back and shut up all those that the sick had conversed with, even before they knew themselves to be sick, and none knows how far to carry that back, or where to stop; for none knows when, or where, or how they may have received the infection, or from whom.

This I take to be the reason which makes so many people talk of the air being corrupted and infected, and that they need not be cautious of whom they converse with, for that the contagion was in the air. I have seen them in strange agitations and surprises on this account. “I have never come near any infected body!” says the disturbed person. “I have conversed with none but sound healthy people, and yet I have gotten the distemper!”—“I am sure I am struck from heaven,” says another, and he falls to the serious part. Again, the first goes on exclaiming, “I have come near no infection, or any infected person: I am sure it is in the air: we draw in death when we breathe, and therefore it is the hand of God; there is no withstanding it.” And this at last made many people, being hardened to the danger, grow less concerned at it, and less cautious towards the latter end of the time, and when it was come to its height, than they were at first; then, with a kind

of a Turkish predestinarianism, they would say, if it pleased God to strike them it was all one whether they went abroad or stayed at home, they could not escape it, and therefore they went boldly about, even into infected houses and infected company, visited sick people, and, in short, lay in the beds with their wives or relations when they were infected, and what was the consequence but the same that is the consequence in Turkey, and in those countries where they do those things; namely, that they were infected too, and died by hundreds and thousands?

Turkish
predesti-
narianism.

I would be far from lessening the awe of the judgments of God, and the reverence to his Providence, which ought always to be on our minds on such occasions as these: doubtless the visitation itself is a stroke from heaven upon a city, or country, or nation where it falls; a messenger of his vengeance, and a loud call to that nation, or country, or city, to humiliation and repentance, according to that of the prophet Jeremiah, xviii. 7, 8, "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and destroy it: if that nation against whom I have pronounced turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them." Now to prompt due impressions of the awe of God on the minds of men on such occasions, and not to lessen them, it is that I have left those minutes upon record.

Prophet
Jeremiah.

I say, therefore, I reflect upon no man for putting the reason of those things upon the immediate hand of God, and the appointment and direction of his Providence; nay, on the contrary, there were many wonderful deliverances of persons from infection, and deliverances of persons when infected, which intimate singular and remarkable Providence in the particular instances to which they refer: and I esteem my own deliverance to be one next to miraculous, and do record it with thankfulness.

But when I am speaking of the plague as a distemper arising from natural causes, we must consider it as it was really propagated by natural means, nor is it at all the less a judgment for its being under the conduct of human causes and effects; for as the divine power has formed the whole scheme of nature, and maintains nature in its course, so the same power thinks fit to let his own actings with men, whether of mercy or judgment, to go on in the ordinary course of natural causes, and he is pleased to act by those natural causes as the ordinary means;

excepting and reserving to himself nevertheless a power to act in a supernatural way when he sees occasion. Now it is evident that, in the case of an infection, there is no apparent extraordinary occasion for supernatural operation, but the ordinary course of things appears sufficiently armed, and made capable of all the effects that heaven usually directs by a contagion. Among these causes and effects this of the secret conveyance of infection, imperceptible and unavoidable, is more than sufficient to execute the fierceness of divine vengeance, without putting it upon supernaturals and miracles.

The acute, penetrating nature of the disease itself was such, and the infection was received so imperceptibly, that the most exact caution could not secure us while in the place; but I must be allowed to believe, and I have so many examples fresh in my memory, to convince me of it, that I think none can resist their evidence; I say, I must be allowed to believe, that no one in this whole nation ever received the sickness or infection but who received it in the ordinary way of infection from somebody, or the clothes, or touch, or stench of somebody that was infected before.

The manner of its coming first to London proves this also, viz., by goods brought over from Holland, and brought thither from the Levant; the first breaking of it out in a house in Long Acre, where those goods were carried and first opened; its spreading from that house to other houses by the visible unwary conversing with those who were sick, and the infecting the parish officers who were employed about persons dead, and the like. These are known authorities for this great foundation point, that it went on and proceeded from person to person, and from house to house, and no otherwise. In the first house that was infected there died four persons; a neighbour, hearing the mistress of the first house was sick, went to visit her, and went home and gave the distemper to her family, and died, and all her household. A minister called to pray with the first sick person in the second house, was said to sicken immediately and die, with several more in his house. Then the physicians began to consider, for they did not at first dream of a general contagion; but the physicians being sent to inspect the bodies, they assured the people that it was neither more or less than the plague, with all its terrifying particulars, and that it threatened an universal infection, so many people having already conversed with the sick or distempered, and having, as might be supposed,

received infection from them, that it would be impossible to put a stop to it.

Here the opinion of the physicians agreed with my observation afterwards, namely, that the danger was spreading insensibly; for the sick could infect none but those that came within reach of the sick person, but that one man, who may have really received the infection, and knows it not, but goes abroad and about as a sound person, may give the plague to a thousand people, and they to greater numbers in proportion, and neither the person giving the infection, nor the persons receiving it, know anything of it, and perhaps not feel the effects of it for several days after.

Physicians
agree with
De Foe.

For example:—Many persons in the time of this visitation never perceived that they were infected till they found, to their unspeakable surprise, the tokens come out upon them, after which they seldom lived six hours; for those spots they called the tokens were really gangrene spots, or mortified flesh in small knobs as broad as a little silver penny, and hard as a piece of callus or horn; so that when the disease was come up to that length, there was nothing could follow but certain death, and yet, as I said, they knew nothing of their being infected, nor found themselves so much as out of order till those mortal marks were upon them; but everybody must allow that they were infected in a high degree before, and must have been so some time, and consequently their breath, their sweat, their very clothes, were contagious for many days before.

This occasioned a vast variety of cases, which physicians would have much more opportunity to remember than I; but some came within the compass of my observation or hearing, of which I shall name a few.

A certain citizen who had lived safe and untouched till the month of September, when the weight of the distemper lay more in the city than it had done before, was mighty cheerful, and something too bold, as I think it was, in his talk of how secure he was, how cautious he had been, and how he had never come near any sick body: says another citizen (a neighbour of his) to him one day, "Do not be too confident, Mr. —, it is hard to say who is sick and who is well; for we see men alive and well, to outward appearance, one hour, and dead the next."—"That is true," says the first man, for he was not a man presumptuously secure, but had escaped a long while, and men, as I have said above, especially in the city, began to be over easy on that

score. "That is true," says he, "I do not think myself secure; but I hope I have not been in company with any person that there has been any danger in."—"No!" says his neighbour, "was not you at the Bull Head tavern, in Gracechurch street, with Mr. —, the night before last?"—"Yes," says the first, "I was; but there was nobody there that we had any reason to think dangerous." Upon which his neighbour said no more, being unwilling to surprise him; but this made him more inquisitive, and as his neighbour appeared backward, he was the more impatient, and, in a kind of warmth, says he aloud, "Why, he is not dead, is he?" Upon which his neighbour still was silent, but cast up his eyes, and said something to himself; at which the first citizen turned pale, and said no more but this, "Then I am a dead man too," and went home immediately, and sent for a neighbouring apothecary to give him something preventive, for he had not yet found himself ill; but the apothecary opening his breast, fetched a sigh, and said no more but this, "Look up to God;" and the man died in a few hours.

Now let any man judge, from a case like this, if it is possible for the regulations of magistrates, either by shutting up the sick or removing them, to stop an infection which spreads itself from man to man even while they are perfectly well and insensible of its approach, and may be so for many days.

Opinion of
physicians
as to
quarantine.

It may be proper to ask here how long it may be supposed men might have the seeds of the contagion in them before it discovered itself in this fatal manner, and how long they might go about seemingly whole, and yet be contagious to all those that came near them. I believe the most experienced physicians cannot answer this question directly any more than I can; and something an ordinary observer may take notice of, which may pass their observation. The opinion of physicians abroad seems to be, that it may lie dormant in the spirits, or in the blood-vessels, a very considerable time; why else do they exact a quarantine of those who come into their harbours and ports from suspected places? Forty days is, one would think, too long for nature to struggle with such an enemy as this and not conquer it or yield to it; but I could not think by my own observation that they can be infected, so as to be contagious to others, above fifteen or sixteen days at furthest; and on that score it was, that when a house was shut up in the city, and any one had died of the plague, but nobody appeared to be ill in the family for sixteen or eighteen days after, they were not so

strict but that they would connive at their going privately abroad; nor would people be much afraid of them afterwards, but rather think they were fortified the better, having not been vulnerable when the enemy was in their own house; but we sometimes found it had lain much longer concealed.

Upon the foot of all these observations I must say, that, though Providence seemed to direct my conduct to be otherwise, yet it is my opinion, and I must leave it as a prescription, viz., that the best physic against the plague is to run away from it. I know people encourage themselves by saying, God is able to keep us in the midst of danger, and able to overtake us when we think ourselves out of danger; and this kept thousands in the town, whose carcases went into the great pits by cart-loads; and who, if they had fled from the danger, had, I believe, been safe from the disaster; at least, 'tis probable they had been safe.

And were this very fundamental only duly considered by the people on any future occasion of this or the like nature, I am persuaded it would put them upon quite different measures for managing the people from those that they took in 1665, or than any that have been taken abroad, that I have heard of; in a word, they would consider of separating the people into smaller bodies, and removing them in time further from one another, and not let such a contagion as this, which is indeed chiefly dangerous to collected bodies of people, find a million of people in a body together, as was very near the case before, and would certainly be the case if it should ever appear again.

The plague, like a great fire, if a few houses only are contiguous where it happens, can only burn a few houses; or if it begins in a single, or, as we call it, a lone house, can only burn that lone house where it begins; but if it begins in a close-built town or city, and gets ahead, there its fury increases, it rages over the whole place, and consumes all it can reach.

I could propose many schemes on the foot of which the government of this city, if ever they should be under the apprehension of such another enemy (God forbid they should), might ease themselves of the greatest part of the dangerous people that belong to them; I mean such as the begging, starving, labouring poor, and among them chiefly those who, in a case of siege, are called the useless mouths; who being then prudently, and to their own advantage, disposed of, and the wealthy inhabitants disposing of themselves and of their servants and children, the city and its adjacent parts would be so

effectually evacuated that there would not be above a tenth part of its people left together for the disease to take hold upon : but suppose them to be a fifth part, and that two hundred and fifty thousand people were left, and if it did seize upon them, they would by their living so much at large be much better prepared to defend themselves against the infection, and be less liable to the effects of it than if the same number of people lived close together in one smaller city, such as Dublin, or Amsterdam, or the like.

It is true hundreds, yea thousands, of families fled away at this last plague, but then of them many fled too late, and not only died in their flight, but carried the distemper with them into the countries where they went, and infected those whom they went among for safety ; which confounded the thing and made that be a propagation of the distemper which was the best means to prevent it ; and this too is an evidence of it, and brings me back to what I only hinted at before, but must speak more fully to here, namely, that men went about apparently well many days after they had the taint of the disease in their vitals, and after their spirits were so seized as that they could never escape it ; and that all the while they did so they were dangerous to others. I say this proves that so it was, for such people infected the very towns they went through, as well as the families they went among ; and it was by that means that almost all the great towns in England had the distemper among them more or less ; and always they would tell you such a Londoner or such a Londoner brought it down.

It must not be omitted, that when I speak of those people who were really thus dangerous, I suppose them to be utterly ignorant of their own condition ; for if they really knew their circumstances to be such as indeed they were, they must have been a kind of wilful murderers, if they would have gone abroad among healthy people, and it would have verified indeed the suggestions which I mentioned above, and which I thought seemed untrue, viz., that the infected people were utterly careless as to giving the infection to others, and rather forward to do it than not ; and I believe it was partly from this very thing that they raised that suggestion, which I hope was not really true in fact.

I confess no particular case is sufficient to prove a general, but I could name several people within the knowledge of some of their neighbours and families yet living, who showed the contrary

to an extreme. One man, the master of a family in my neighbourhood, having had the distemper, he thought he had it given him by a poor workman whom he employed, and whom he went to his house to see, or went for some work that he wanted finished, and he had some apprehensions even while he was at the poor workman's door, but did not discover it fully ; but the next day it discovered itself, and he was taken very ill ; upon which he immediately caused himself to be carried into an out-building which he had in his yard, and where there was a chamber over a workshop, the man being a brazier ; here he lay, and here he died, and would be tended by none of his neighbours, but by a nurse from abroad, and would not suffer his wife, nor children, nor servants, to come up into his room, lest they should be infected, but sent them his blessing and prayers for them by the nurse, who spoke it to them at a distance, and all this for fear of giving them the distemper, and without which, he knew, as they were kept up, they could not have it.

And here I must observe also, that the plague, as I suppose all distempers do, operated in a different manner on differing constitutions ; some were immediately overwhelmed with it, and it came to violent fevers, vomitings, insufferable head-aches, pains in the back, and so up to ravings and ragings with those pains ; others with swellings and tumours in the neck, or groin, or arm-pits, which, till they could be broke, put them into insufferable agonies and torment ; while others, as I have observed, were silently infected, the fever preying upon their spirits insensibly, and they seeing little of it till they fell into swooning, and faintings, and death, without pain.

Defoe's
description
of the
pestilence.

I am not physician enough to enter into the particular reasons and manner of these differing effects of one and the same distemper, and of its differing operation in several bodies ; nor is it my business here to record the observations which I really made, because the doctors themselves have done that part much more effectually than I can do, and because my opinion may in some things differ from theirs ; I am only relating what I know, or have heard, or believe, of the particular cases, and what fell within the compass of my view, and the different nature of the infection as it appeared in the particular cases which I have related ; but this may be added too, that though the former sort of those cases, namely, those openly visited, were the worst for themselves as to pain, I mean those that had such fevers, vomitings, headaches, pains, and swellings, because they died in

such a dreadful manner, yet the latter had the worst state of the disease, for in the former they frequently recovered, especially if the swellings broke, but the latter was inevitable death; no cure, no help, could be possible, nothing could follow but death; and it was worse also to others, because, as above, it secretly, and unperceived by others, or by themselves, communicated death to those they conversed with, the penetrating poison insinuating itself into their blood in a manner which it is impossible to describe, or indeed conceive.

Pestilence
of two
kinds.

This infecting and being infected, without so much as it being known to either person, is evident from two sorts of cases, which frequently happened at that time; and there is hardly anybody living who was in London during the infection, but must have known several of the cases of both sorts.

First.—Fathers and mothers have gone about as if they had been well, and have believed themselves to be so, till they have insensibly infected and been the destruction of their whole families: which they would have been far from doing, if they had the least apprehensions of their being unsound and dangerous themselves. A family, whose story I have heard, was thus infected by the father, and the distemper began to appear upon some of them, even before he found it upon himself; but upon searching more narrowly, it appeared he had been infected some time, and as soon as he found that his family had been poisoned by himself, he went distracted, and would have laid violent hands upon himself, but was kept from that by those who looked to him, and in a few days he died.

Second.—The other particular is, that many people having been well to the best of their own judgment, or by the best observation which they could make of themselves for several days, and only finding a decay of appetite, or a light sickness upon their stomachs; nay, some whose appetite has been strong, and even craving, and only a light pain in their heads, have sent for physicians to know what ailed them, and have been found, to their great surprise, at the brink of death, the tokens upon them, or the plague grown up to an incurable height.

An uncon-
scious
destroyer
of life.

It was very sad to reflect how such a person as this last mentioned above, had been a walking destroyer, perhaps for a week or fortnight before that; how he had ruined those that he would have hazarded his life to save, and had been breathing death upon them, even perhaps in his tender kissing and embracings of his own children: yet thus certainly it was, and often has

been, and I could give many particular cases where it has been so ; if then, the blow is thus insensibly striking ; if the arrow flies thus unseen, and cannot be discovered ; to what purpose are all the schemes for shutting up or removing the sick people ? those schemes cannot take place but upon those that appear to be sick, or to be infected ; whereas there are among them, at the same time, thousands of people who seem to be well, but are all that while carrying death with them into all companies which they come into.

The arrow of Divine pestilence flies unseen.

This frequently puzzled our physicians, and especially the apothecaries and surgeons, who knew not how to discover the sick from the sound ; they all allowed that it was really so, that many people had the plague in their very blood, and preying upon their spirits, and were in themselves but walking putrefied carcasses, whose breath was infectious, and their sweat poison ; and yet were as well to look on as other people, and even knew it not themselves : I say, they all allowed that it was really true in fact, but they knew not how to propose a discovery.

Physicians, apothecaries, and surgeons puzzled.

My friend, Dr. Heath, was of opinion, that it might be known by the smell of their breath ; but then, as he said, who durst smell to that breath for his information ? since to know it, he must draw the stench of the plague up into his own brain, in order to distinguish the smell ! I have heard, it was the opinion of others, that it might be distinguished by the party's breathing upon a piece of glass, where the breath condensing, there might living creatures be seen by a microscope, of strange, monstrous, and frightful shapes, such as dragons, snakes, serpents, and devils, horrible to behold ; but this I very much question the truth of, and we had no microscopes at that time, as I remember, to make the experiment with.

Dr. Heath's opinion.

It was the opinion also of another learned man that the breath of such a person would poison and instantly kill a bird ; not only a small bird, but even a cock or hen, and that if it did not immediately kill the latter, it would cause them to be rousy, as they call it ; particularly that if they had laid any eggs at that time they would be all rotten ; but those are opinions which I never found supported by any experiments, or heard of others that had seen it ; so I leave them as I find them, only with this remark, namely, that I think the probabilities are very strong for them.

An opinion of a learned man.

Some have proposed that such persons should breathe hard upon warm water, and they would leave an unusual scum

upon it, or upon several other things, especially such as are of a glutinous substance, and are apt to receive a scum and support it.

But from the whole I found that the nature of this contagion was such, that it was impossible to discover it at all, or to prevent its spreading from one to another, by any human skill.

Here was indeed one difficulty, which I could never thoroughly get over to this time, and which there is but one way of answering that I know of, and it is this, viz., the first person that died of the plague was on December 20th, or thereabouts, 1664, and in or about Long Acre; whence the first person had the infection was generally said to be from a parcel of silks imported from Holland, and first opened in that house.

The distemper
broke out
in April.

But after this we heard no more of any person dying of the plague, or of the distemper being in that place, till the 9th of February, which was about seven weeks after, and then one more was buried out of the same house: then it was hushed, and we were perfectly easy as to the public for a great while; for there were no more entered in the weekly bill to be dead of the plague till the 22nd of April, when there were two more buried, not out of the same house, but out of the same street; and, as near as I can remember, it was out of the next house to the first; this was nine weeks asunder, and after this we had no more till a fortnight, and then it broke out in several streets, and spread every way. Now the question seems to lie thus:—Where lay the seeds of the infection all this while? how came it to stop so long, and not stop any longer? Either the distemper did not come immediately by contagion from body to body, or if it did, then a body may be capable to continue infected, without the disease discovering itself, many days, nay, weeks together, even; not a quarantine of days only, but a soixantaine, not only forty days, but sixty days, or longer.

Frost does
not control
pestilence.

It is true, there was, as I observed at first, and is well known to many yet living, a very cold winter, and a long frost, which continued three months, and this, the doctors say, might check the infection; but then the learned must allow me to say, that if, according to their notion, the disease was, as I may say, only frozen up, it would, like a frozen river, have returned to its usual force and current when it thawed, whereas the principal recess of this infection, which was from February to April, was after the frost was broken, and the weather mild and warm.

But there is another way of solving all this difficulty, which I

think my own remembrance of the thing will supply ; and that is, the fact is not granted, namely, that there died none in those long intervals, viz., from the 20th December to the 9th of February, and from thence to the 22nd of April. The weekly bills are the only evidence on the other side, and those bills were not of credit enough, at least with me, to support an hypothesis, or determine a question, of such importance as this ; for it was our received opinion at that time, and I believe upon very good grounds, that the fraud lay in the parish officers, searchers, and persons appointed to give account of the dead, and what diseases they died of ; and as people were very loth at first to have the neighbours believe their houses were infected, so they gave money to procure, or otherwise procured, the dead persons to be returned as dying of other distempers ; and this I know was practised afterwards in many places, I believe, I might say in all places where the distemper came, as will be seen by the vast increase of the numbers placed in the weekly bills under other articles of diseases during the time of the infection ; for example, in the months of July and August, when the plague was coming on to its highest pitch, it was very ordinary to have from a thousand to twelve hundred, nay, to almost fifteen hundred a week, of other distempers : not that the numbers of those distempers were really increased to such a degree ; but the great number of families and houses where really the infection was, obtained the favour to have their dead be returned of other distempers, to prevent the shutting up their houses. For example :—

Weekly
bills of the
distemper.

Dead of other diseases beside the Plague.

From the 18th to the 25th July	942
To the 1st of August	1,004
To the 8th	1,213
To the 15th	1,439
To the 22nd	1,331
To the 29th	1,394
To the 5th of September	1,264
To the 12th	1,056
To the 19th	1,132
To the 26th	927

Now it was not doubted but the greatest part of these, or a great part of them, were dead of the plague, but the officers were prevailed with to return them as above, and the numbers

of some particular articles of distempers discovered, is as follows :—

Several descrip- tions of distemper.	From the 1st to	8th Aug. to 15th, to 22nd, to 29th.			
	Fever . . .	314	353	348	383
	Spotted Fever . .	174	190	166	165
	Surfeit . . .	85	87	74	99
	Teeth . . .	90	113	111	133
		663	743	699	780
	From Aug. 29th to Sept. 5th, to 12th, to 19th, to 26th.				
	Fever . . .	364	332	309	268
	Spotted Fever . .	157	97	101	65
	Surfeit . . .	68	45	49	36
	Teeth . . .	138	128	121	112
		727	602	580	481

There were several other articles which bore a proportion to these, and which it is easy to perceive were increased on the same account, as aged, consumptions, vomitings, imposthumes, gripes, and the like, many of which were not doubted to be infected people; but as it was of the utmost consequence to families not to be known to be infected, if it was possible to avoid it, so they took all the measures they could to have it not believed; and if any died in their houses to get them returned to the examiners, and by the searchers, as having died of other distempers.

This, I say, will account for the long interval which, as I have said, was between the dying of the first persons that were returned in the bill to be dead of the plague, and the time when the distemper spread openly, and could not be concealed.

Besides, the weekly bills themselves, at that time, evidently discover the truth; for, while there was no mention of the plague, and no increase after it had been mentioned, yet it was apparent that there was an increase of those distempers which bordered nearest upon it; for example, there were eight, twelve, seventeen of the spotted fever in a week when there were none or but very few of the plague; whereas before one, three, or four, were the ordinary weekly numbers of that distemper. Likewise, as I observed before, the burials increased weekly in that particular parish, and the parishes adjacent, more than in

Weekly
bills dis-
cover the
truth.

any other parish, although there were none set down of the plague; all which tell us that the infection was handed on, and the succession of the distemper really preserved, though it seemed to us at that time to be ceased, and to come again in a manner surprising.

It might be also that the infection might remain in other parts of the same parcel of goods which at first it came in, and which might not be perhaps opened, or at least not fully, or in the clothes of the first infected person; for I cannot think that anybody could be seized with the contagion in a fatal and mortal degree for nine weeks together, and support his state of health so well as even not to discover it to himself; yet, if it were so, the argument is the stronger in favour of what I am saying, namely, that the infection is retained in bodies apparently well, and conveyed from them to those they converse with, while it is known to neither the one nor the other.

Defoe's
opinion as
to the
contagion.

Great were the confusions at that time upon this very account; and when people began to be convinced that the infection was received in this surprising manner from persons apparently well, they began to be exceeding shy and jealous of every one that came near them. Once on a public day, whether a Sabbath day or not I do not remember, in Aldgate church, in a pew full of people, on a sudden, one fancied she smelt an ill smell; immediately she fancies the plague was in the pew, whispers her notion or suspicion to the next, then rises and goes out of the pew; it immediately took with the next, and so to them all; and every one of them, and of the two or three adjoining pews, got up and went out of the church, nobody knowing what it was offended them, or from whom.

Sudden
exit of
persons
from
Aldgate
Church.

This immediately filled everybody's mouths with one preparation or another, such as the old women directed, and some, perhaps, as physicians directed, in order to prevent infection by the breath of others; insomuch, that if we came to go into a church when it was anything full of people, there would be such a mixture of smells at the entrance, that it was much more strong, though perhaps not so wholesome, than if you were going into an apothecary's or druggist's shop; in a word, the whole church was like a smelling-bottle. In one corner it was all perfumes, in another aromatics, balsamics, and a variety of drugs and herbs; in another salts and spirits, as every one was furnished for their own preservation; yet I observed that after people were possessed, as I have said, with the belief or rather assurance.

Churches
are highly
perfumed.

Churches
and
meeting-
houses not
closed
during the
pestilence.

Courage of
the people
in attend-
ing the
service of
the Divine
King.

Physicians
decide
there is
danger in
seemingly
sound as
well as the
sick people.

of the infection being thus carried on by persons apparently in health, the churches and meeting-houses were much thinner of people than at other times before that they used to be; for this is to be said of the people of London, that during the whole time of the pestilence, the churches or meetings were never wholly shut up, nor did the people decline coming out to the public worship of God, except only in some parishes when the violence of the distemper was more particularly in that parish at that time, and even then no longer than it continued to be so.

Indeed nothing was more strange than to see with what courage the people went to the public service of God, even at that time when they were afraid to stir out of their own houses upon any other occasion; this I mean before the time of desperation, which I have mentioned already; this was a proof of the exceeding populousness of the city at the time of the infection, notwithstanding the great numbers that were gone into the country at the first alarm, and that fled out into the forests and woods when they were farther terrified with the extraordinary increase of it. For when we came to see the crowds and throngs of people which appeared on the Sabbath-days at the churches, and especially in those parts of the town where the plague was abated, or where it was not yet come to its height, it was amazing. But of this I shall speak again presently. I return, in the meantime, to the article of infecting one another at first. Before people came to right notions of the infection, and of infecting one another, people were only shy of those that were really sick: a man with a cap upon his head, or with clothes round his neck, which was the case of those that had swellings there, such was indeed frightful; but when we saw a gentleman dressed, with his band on, and his gloves in his hand, his hat upon his head, and his hair combed, of such we had not the least apprehensions, and people conversed a great while freely, especially with their neighbours and such as they knew. But when the physicians assured us that the danger was as well from the sound, that is, the seemingly sound, as the sick, and that those people who thought themselves entirely free, were oftentimes the most fatal; and that it came to be generally understood that people were sensible of it, and of the reason of it; then, I say, they began to be jealous of everybody, and a vast number of people locked themselves up, so as not to come abroad into any company at all, nor suffer any that had been abroad in promiscuous company to come into their houses, or near them; at least, not so near them

as to be within the reach of their breath, or of any smell from them; and when they were obliged to converse at a distance with strangers, they would always have preservatives in their mouths, and about their clothes, to repel and keep off the infection.

It must be acknowledged that when people began to use these cautions, they were less exposed to danger, and the infection did not break into such houses so furiously as it did into others before, and thousands of families were preserved (speaking with due reserve to the direction of divine Providence) by that means.

But it was impossible to beat anything into the heads of the poor; they went on with the usual impetuosity of their tempers, full of outcries and lamentations when taken, but madly careless of themselves, fool-hardy and obstinate, while they were well. Where they could get employment they pushed into any kind of business, the most dangerous and the most liable to infection; and if they were spoken to, their answer would be,—“I must trust to God for that: if I am taken, then I am provided for, and there is an end of me;” and the like; or thus,—“Why, what must I do? I cannot starve; I had as good have the plague as perish for want. I have no work; what could I do? I must do this or beg.” Suppose it was burying the dead, or attending the sick, or watching infected houses, which were all terrible hazards; but their tale was generally the same. It is true, necessity was a justifiable, warrantable plea, and nothing could be better; but their way of talk was much the same where the necessities were not the same. This adventurous conduct of the poor was that which brought the plague among them in a most furious manner, and this, joined to the distress of their circumstances, when taken, was the reason why they died so by heaps; for I cannot say I could observe one jot of better husbandry among them—I mean the labouring poor—while they were all well and getting money, than there was before, but as lavish, as extravagant, and as thoughtless for to-morrow as ever; so that when they came to be taken sick, they were immediately in the utmost distress, as well for want as for sickness, as well for lack of food as lack of health.

Poor people
very diffi-
cult to deal
with.

The misery of the poor I had many occasions to be an eye-witness of, and sometimes also of the charitable assistance that some pious people daily gave to such, sending them relief and supplies both of food, physic, and other help, as they found they wanted; and indeed it is a debt of justice due to the temper of

Private
people dis-
tribute
much alms,
&c., to the
distressed.

the people of that day, to take notice here, that not only great sums, very great sums of money, were charitably sent to the Lord Mayor and aldermen for the assistance and support of the poor distempered people, but abundance of private people daily distributed large sums of money for their relief, and sent people about to inquire into the condition of particular distressed and visited families, and relieved them ; nay, some pious ladies were so transported with zeal in so good a work, and so confident in the protection of Providence in discharge of the great duty of charity, that they went about in person distributing alms to the poor, and even visiting poor families, though sick and infected, in their very houses, appointing nurses to attend those that wanted attending, and ordering apothecaries and surgeons, the first to supply them with drugs or plasters, and such things as they wanted, and the last to lance and dress the swellings and tumours, where such were wanting ; giving their blessing to the poor in substantial relief to them, as well as hearty prayers for them.

I will not undertake to say, as some do, that none of those charitable people were suffered to fall under the calamity itself ; but this I may say, that I never knew any one of them that miscarried, which I mention for the encouragement of others in case of the like distress ; and doubtless, if they that give to the poor lend to the Lord, and he will repay them ; those that hazard their lives to give to the poor, and to comfort and assist the poor in such misery as this, may hope to be protected in the work.

A prodigious
number of
people
saved from
perishing.

Nor was this charity so extraordinarily eminent only in a few ; but (for I cannot lightly quit this point) the charity of the rich, as well in the city and suburbs as from the country, was so great, that, in a word, a prodigious number of people, who must otherwise have perished for want as well as sickness, were supported and subsisted by it ; and though I could never, nor I believe any one else, come to a full knowledge of what was so contributed, yet I do believe that, as I heard one say that was a critical observer of that part, there was not only many thousand pounds contributed, but many hundred thousand pounds, to the relief of the poor of this distressed afflicted city ; nay, one man affirmed to me that he could reckon up above one hundred thousand pounds a week, which was distributed by the churchwardens at the several parish vestries, by the Lord Mayor and the aldermen in the several wards and precincts, and by the particular direction

of the court and of the justices respectively in the parts where they resided ; over and above the private charity distributed by pious hands in the manner I speak of ; and this continued for many weeks together.

I confess this is a very great sum ; but if it be true that there was distributed in the parish of Cripplegate only, seventeen thousand eight hundred pounds in one week to the relief of the poor, as I heard reported, and which I really believe was true, the other may not be improbable.

It was doubtless to be reckoned among the many signal good providences which attended this great city, and of which there were many other worth recording ; I say this was a very remarkable one, that it pleased God thus to move the hearts of the people in all parts of the kingdom so cheerfully to contribute to the relief and support of the poor at London ; the good consequences of which were felt many ways, and particularly in preserving the lives and recovering the health of so many thousands, and keeping so many thousands of families from perishing and starving.

Singular
good provi-
dences
attended
the great
city.

And now I am talking of the merciful disposition of Providence in this time of calamity, I cannot but mention again, though I have spoken several times of it already on other accounts, I mean that of the progression of the distemper ; how it began at one end of the town, and proceeded gradually and slowly from one part to another, and like a dark cloud that passes over our heads, which, as it thickens and overcasts the air at one end, clears up at the other end : so, while the plague went on raging from west to east, as it went forwards east it abated in the west, by which means those parts of the town which were not seized, or who were left, and where it had spent its fury, were (as it were) spared to help and assist the other ; whereas, had the distemper spread itself over the whole city and suburbs at once, raging in all places alike, as it has done since in some places abroad, the whole body of the people must have been overwhelmed, and there would have died twenty thousand a day, as they say there did at Naples, nor would the people have been able to have helped or assisted one another.

Merciful
disposition
of the
Great King.

For it must be observed, that where the plague was in its full force, there indeed the people were very miserable, and the consternation was inexpressible. But a little before it reached even to that place, or presently after it was gone, they were quite another sort of people, and I cannot but acknowledge that there

was too much of that common temper of mankind to be found among us all at that time, namely, to forget the deliverance when the danger is past; but I shall come to speak of that part again.

It must not be forgot here to take some notice of the state of trade during the time of this common calamity, and this with respect to foreign trade, as also to our home trade.

Foreign
nations
afraid of
England.

As to foreign trade, there needs little to be said; the trading nations of Europe were all afraid of us; no port of France, or Holland, or Spain, or Italy, would admit our ships or correspond with us; indeed we stood on ill terms with the Dutch, and were in a furious war with them, though but in a bad condition to fight abroad, who had such dreadful enemies to struggle with at home.

Mercantile
affairs
brought to
a full stop.

Our merchants were accordingly at a full stop, their ships could go nowhere, that is to say, to no place abroad: their manufactures and merchandise, that is to say, of our growth, would not be touched abroad, they were as much afraid of our goods as they were of our people; and indeed they had reason, for our woollen manufactures are as retentive of infection as human bodies, and, if packed up by persons infected, would receive the infection and be as dangerous to the touch as a man would be that was infected; and, therefore, when any English vessel arrived in foreign countries, if they did take the goods on shore, they always caused the bales to be opened and aired in places appointed for that purpose; but from London they would not suffer them to come into port, much less to unload their goods, upon any terms whatever; and this strictness was especially used with them in Spain and Italy; in Turkey, and the islands of the Arches indeed, as they are called, as well those belonging to the Turks as to the Venetians, they were not so very rigid; in the first there was no obstruction at all, and four ships which were then in the river loading for Italy, that is for Leghorn and Naples, being denied pratique, as they call it, went on to Turkey, and were freely admitted to unlade their cargo without any difficulty, only that when they arrived there some of their cargo was not fit for sale in that country, and other parts of it being consigned to merchants at Leghorn, the captains of the ships had no right nor any orders to dispose of the goods, so that great inconveniences followed to the merchants. But this was nothing but what the necessity of affairs required, and the merchants of Leghorn and Naples having notice

given them, sent again from thence to take care of the effects, which were particularly consigned to those ports, and to bring back in other ships such as were improper for the markets at Smyrna and Scanderoon.

The inconveniences in Spain and Portugal were still greater ; for they would by no means suffer our ships, especially those from London, to come into any of their ports, much less to unlade. There was a report that one of our ships having by stealth delivered her cargo, among which were some bales of English cloth, cotton, kerseys, and such-like goods, the Spaniards caused all the goods to be burnt, and punished the men with death who were concerned in carrying them on shore. This I believe was in part true, though I do not affirm it ; but it is not at all unlikely, seeing the danger was really very great, the infection being so violent in London.

Spain and
Portugal
very timid
of con-
tagion.

I heard likewise that the plague was carried into those countries by some of our ships, and particularly to the port of Faro, in the kingdom of Algarve, belonging to the King of Portugal ; and that several persons died of it there, but it was not confirmed.

On the other hand, though the Spaniards and Portuguese were so shy of us, it is most certain that the plague, as has been said, keeping at first much at that end of the town next Westminster, the merchandising part of the town, such as the city and the waterside, was perfectly sound, till at least the beginning of July ; and the ships in the river till the beginning of August ; for, to the 1st of July, there had died but seven within the whole city, and but 60 within the liberties ; but one in all the parishes of Stepney, Aldgate, and Whitechapel, and but two in all the eight parishes of Southwark ; but it was the same thing abroad, for the bad news was gone over the whole world, that the city of London was infected with the plague ; and there was no inquiring there how the infection proceeded, or at which part of the town it was begun or was reached to.

Besides, after it began to spread, it increased so fast, and the bills grew so high all on a sudden, that it was to no purpose to lessen the report of it, or endeavour to make the people abroad think it better than it was, the account which the weekly bills gave in was sufficient ; and that there died two thousand to three or four thousand a week, was sufficient to alarm the whole trading part of the world, and the following time being so dreadful also in the very city itself, put the whole world, I say, upon their guard against it.

The whole
trading
community
alarmed.

Incorrect
reports
spread in
Portugal.

You may be sure also that the report of these things lost nothing in the carriage ; the plague was itself very terrible, and the distress of the people very great, as you may observe of what I have said ; but the rumour was infinitely greater, and it must not be wondered that our friends abroad, as my brother's correspondents in particular were told there, namely, in Portugal and Italy, where he chiefly traded, that in London there died twenty thousand in a week ; that the dead bodies lay unburied by heaps ; that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead, or the sound to look after the sick ; that all the kingdom was infected likewise, so that it was an universal malady, such as was never heard of in those parts of the world ; and they could hardly believe us when we gave them an account how things really were, and how there was not above one-tenth part of the people dead ; that there were five hundred thousand left that lived all the time in the town ; that now the people began to walk the streets again, and those who were fled to return ; there was no miss of the usual throng of people in the streets, except as every family might miss their relations and neighbours, and the like ; I say, they could not believe these things ; and if inquiry were now to be made in Naples, or in other cities on the coast of Italy, they would tell you there was a dreadful infection in London so many years ago, in which, as above, there died twenty thousand in a week, &c., just as we have had it reported in London that there was a plague in the city of Naples in the year 1656, in which there died twenty thousand people in a day, of which I have had very good satisfaction that it was utterly false.

False report
as to the
number of
deaths in
Naples.

Extrava-
gant reports
prejudicial
to trade.

But these extravagant reports were very prejudicial to our trade, as well as unjust and injurious in themselves, for it was a long time after the plague was quite over before our trade could recover itself in those parts of the world ; and the Flemings and Dutch, but especially the last, made very great advantages of it, having all the market to themselves, and even buying our manufactures in the several parts of England where the plague was not, and carrying them to Holland and Flanders, and from thence transporting them to Spain and to Italy, as if they had been of their own making.

The Dutch
detected
and
punished.

But they were detected sometimes and punished, that is to say, their goods confiscated, and ships also ; for if it was true that our manufactures, as well as our people, were infected, and that it was dangerous to touch or to open and receive the smell

[illegible][illegible]

It is to be observed that while the greater number of nations in Council in the nineteenth century were under a very general trade embargo to the maritime countries and to our own shores because of attacking the towns of Gloucester, Dartmouth, and Hull on the east of England, situated in Channel waters, and being the headquarters of the maritime commerce for several centuries since the trade with Ireland was as a whole, on the west of Ireland the towns of Bristol and Exeter were the ports of Plymouth, and the free advantage to Spain, to the Channel to Guinea, and to the West Indies, and particularly to London, but as the plague spread itself every way after it had been in London to such a degree as it was in August and September as all or more of those cities and towns were infected first or last, and then trade was, as it were, under a general embargo, or at a full stop, as I shall observe farther when I speak of our home trade.

One thing, however, must be observed, that as to ships coming in from abroad, as many you may be sure did, some who were out in all parts of the world a considerable while before, and some who, when they went out, knew nothing of an infection, or at least, of one so terrible; these came up the river boldly, and delivered their cargoes as they were obliged to do, except just in the two months of August and September, when the weight of the

1. 1960-1961
 2. 1962-1963
 3. 1964-1965
 4. 1966-1967
 5. 1968-1969
 6. 1970-1971
 7. 1972-1973

infection lying, as I may say, all below bridge, nobody durst appear in business for a while ; but, as this continued but for a few weeks, the homeward bound ships, especially such whose cargoes were not liable to spoil, came to an anchor for a time short of the Pool,* or fresh water part of the river, even as low as the river Medway, where several of them ran in, and others lay at the Nore, and in the Hope below Gravesend ; so that, by the latter end of October, there was a very great fleet of homeward bound ships to come up, such as the like had not been known for many years.

Corn and coal trade carried on to advantage for Londoners.

Two particular trades were carried on by water-carriage all the while of the infection, and that with little or no interruption, very much to the advantage and comfort of the poor distressed people of the city, and those were the coasting trade for corn, and the Newcastle trade for coals.

The first of these was particularly carried on by small vessels from the port of Hull, and other places in the Humber, by which great quantities of corn were brought in from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire ; the other part of this corn trade was from Lynn in Norfolk, from Wells, and Burnham, and from Yarmouth, all in the same county ; and the third branch was from the river Medway, and from Milton, Feversham, Margate, and Sandwich, and all the other little places and ports round the coast of Kent and Essex.

There was also a very good trade from the coast of Suffolk, with corn, butter, and cheese. These vessels kept a constant course of trade, and without interruption came up to that market still known by the name of Brewer's Quay, by the Tower, where they supplied the city plentifully with corn, when land carriage began to fail, and when the people began to be sick of coming from many places in the country.

Prudence and conduct of the Lord Mayor.

This also was much of it owing to the prudence and conduct of the Lord Mayor, who took such care to keep the masters and seamen from danger when they came up, causing their corn to be bought off at any time they wanted a market (which, however, was very seldom), and causing the corn-factors immediately to unlade and deliver the vessels laden with corn, that they had very little occasion to come out of their ships or vessels, the

* That part of the river where the ships lie up when they come home is called the Pool, and takes in all the river on both sides of the water, from the Tower to Cuckold's Point, and Limehouse.

money being always carried on board to them, and put into a pail of vinegar before it was carried.

The second trade was that of coals from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, without which the city would have been greatly distressed; for not in the streets only, but in private houses and families, great quantities of coals were then burnt, even all the summer long, and when the weather was hottest, which was done by the advice of the physicians. Some, indeed, opposed it, and insisted that to keep the houses and rooms hot was a means to propagate the distemper, which was a fermentation and heat already in the blood; that it was known to spread and increase in hot weather, and abate in cold, and therefore they alleged that all contagious distempers are the worse for heat, because the contagion was nourished and gained strength in hot weather, and was, as it were, propagated in heat.

Physicians
advise coal
fires to be
burnt in
the hottest
weather.

Other said, they granted that heat in the climate might propagate infection, as sultry hot weather fills the air with vermin, and nourishes innumerable numbers and kinds of venomous creatures, which breed in our food, in the plants, and even in our bodies, by the very stench of which infection may be propagated; also, that heat in the air, or heat of weather, as we ordinarily call it, makes bodies relax and faint, exhausts the spirits, opens the pores, and makes us more apt to receive infection or any evil influence, be it from noxious, pestilential vapours, or any other thing in the air; but that the heat of fire, and especially of coal fires, kept in our houses or near us, had quite a different operation, the heat being not of the same kind, but quick and fierce, tending not to nourish but to consume and dissipate all those noxious fumes which the other kind of heat rather exhaled and stagnated than separated and burnt up; besides, it was alleged that the sulphureous and nitrous particles that are often found to be in the coal, with that bituminous substance which burns, all assist to clear and purge the air, and render it wholesome and safe to breathe in, after the noxious particles (as above) are dispersed and burnt up.

The latter opinion prevailed at that time, and as I must confess, I think, with good reason, and the experience of the citizens confirmed it, many houses which had constant fires kept in the rooms having never been infected at all; and I must join my experience to it, for I found the keeping of good fires kept our rooms sweet and wholesome, and I do verily believe made our whole family so, more than would otherwise have been.

De Foe's report of the coal trade.

But I return to the coals as a trade. It was with no little difficulty that this trade was kept open, and particularly because, as we were in an open war with the Dutch at that time, the Dutch capers at first took a great many of our collier ships, which made the rest cautious, and made them to stay to come in fleets together; but after some time the capers were either afraid to take them, or their masters, the States, were afraid they should, and forbade them, lest the plague should be among them, which made them fare the better.

For the security of those northern traders, the coal ships were ordered by my Lord Mayor not to come up into the Pool above a certain number at a time, and ordered lighters and other vessels, such as the woodmongers, that is the wharf-keepers or coal-sellers, furnished, to go down and take out the coals as low as Deptford and Greenwich, and some farther down.

Others delivered great quantities of coals in particular places, where the ships could come to the shore, as at Greenwich, Blackwall, and other places, in vast heaps, as if to be kept for sale, but they were fetched away after the ships which brought them were gone; so that the seamen had no communication with the river men, nor so much as came near one another.

Yet all this caution could not effectually prevent the distemper getting among the colliery, that is to say, among the ships, by which a great many seamen died of it; and that which was still worse was, that they carried it down to Ipswich and Yarmouth, to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and other places on the coast; where, especially at Newcastle and at Sunderland, it carried off a great number of people.

Unusual consumption of coals in London.

The making so many fires as above did indeed consume an unusual quantity of coals; and that upon one or two stops of the ships coming up, whether by contrary weather or by the interruption of enemies I do not remember, but the price of coals was exceedingly dear, even as high as £4 a chaldron, but it soon abated when the ships came in, and as afterwards they had a freer passage, the price was very reasonable all the rest of that year.

No expense spared by the Corporation of London for the good of the inhabitants.

The public fires which were made on these occasions, as I have calculated it, must necessarily have cost the city about 200 chaldrons of coals a week, if they had continued, which was indeed a very great quantity, but as it was thought necessary, nothing was spared; however, as some of the physicians cried them down, they were not kept a-light above four or five days. The fires were ordered thus:—

One at the Custom House, one at Billingsgate, one at Queenhithe, and one at the Three Cranes; one in Blackfriars, and one at the gate of Bridewell; one at the corner of Leadenhall-street, and Gracechurch; one at the north, and one at the south gate of the Royal Exchange; one at Guildhall, and one at Blackwell-hall gate; one at the Lord Mayor's door in St. Helen's, one at the west entrance into St. Paul's, and one at the entrance into Bow church. I do not remember whether there were any at the City gates, but one at the Bridge foot there was, just by St. Magnus church.

Disposition
of fires in
the City.

I know some have quarrelled since that at the experiment, and said that there died the more people because of those fires; but I am persuaded those that say so offer no evidence to prove it, neither can I believe it on any account whatever.

It remains to give some account of the state of trade at home in England during this dreadful time, and particularly as it relates to the manufactures and the trade in the city. At the first breaking out of the infection there was, as it is easy to suppose, a very great fright among the people, and consequently a general stop of trade, except in provisions and necessities of life; and even in those things, as there was a vast number of people fled, and a very great number always sick, besides the number which died, so there could not be above two-thirds, if above one half, of the consumption of provisions in the city as used to be.

It pleased God to send a very plentiful year of corn and fruit, but not of hay or grass; by which means bread was cheap by reason of the plenty of corn; flesh was cheap, by reason of the scarcity of grass, but butter and cheese were dear for the same reason; and hay in the market, just beyond Whitechapel bars, was sold at £4. per load; but that affected not the poor. There was a most excessive plenty of all sorts of fruit, such as apples, pears, plums, cherries, grapes; and they were the cheaper, because of the want of people; but this made the poor eat them to excess, and this brought them into fluxes, griping of the guts, surfeits, and the like, which often precipitated them into the plague.

Bountiful
goodness of
the Great
King.

But come to matters of trade:—First, foreign exportation being stopped, or at least very much interrupted, and rendered difficult, a general stop of all those manufactures followed of course, which were usually brought for exportation; and though sometimes merchants abroad were importunate for goods, yet little was sent, the passages being so generally stopped, that the

English ships would not be admitted, as is said already, into their port.

General stoppage of manufactures and trade in England.

This put a stop to the manufactures that were for exportation in most parts of England, except in some outports, and even that was soon stopped, for they all had the plague in their turn; but though this was felt all over England, yet, what was still worse, all intercourse of trade for home consumption of manufactures, especially those which usually circulated through the Londoners' hands, was stopped at once, the trade of the city being stopped.

All kinds of handicrafts in the city, &c., tradesmen, and mechanics, were, as I have said before, out of employ, and this occasioned the putting off and dismissing an innumerable number of journeymen and workmen of all sorts, seeing nothing was done relating to such trades, but what might be said to be absolutely necessary.

Honour of the City of London will be regarded for many ages.

This caused the multitude of single people in London to be unprovided for; as also of families whose living depended upon the labour of the heads of those families; I say, this reduced them to extreme misery; and I must confess it is for the honour of the city of London, and will be for many ages, as long as this is to be spoken of, that they were able to supply with charitable provision the wants of so many thousands of those as afterwards fell sick, and were distressed; so that it may be safely averred that nobody perished for want, at least, that the magistrates had any notice given them of.

The manufacturers and people suffer severely all over England.

This stagnation of our manufacturing trade in the country would have put the people there to much greater difficulties, but that the master workmen, clothiers, and others, to the uttermost of their stocks and strength, kept on making their goods to keep the poor at work, believing that as soon as the sickness should abate, they would have a quick demand in proportion to the decay of their trade at that time: but as none but those masters that were rich could do thus, and that many were poor and not able, the manufacturing trade in England suffered greatly, and the poor were pinched all over England by the calamity of the city of London only.

It is true that the next year made them full amends by another terrible calamity upon the city; so that the city by one calamity impoverished and weakened the country, and by another calamity, even terrible too of its kind, enriched the country, and made them again amends: for an infinite quantity of household stuff, wearing apparel, and other things,

besides whole warehouses filled with merchandize and manufactures, such as come from all parts of England, were consumed in the fire of London, the next year after this terrible visitation : it is incredible what a trade this made all over the whole kingdom, to make good the want, and to supply that loss : so that, in short, all the manufacturing hands in the nation were set on work, and were little enough for several years to supply the market and answer the demands ; all foreign markets also were empty of our goods, by the stop which had been occasioned by the plague, and before an open trade was allowed again ; and the prodigious demand at home falling in, joined to make a quick vent for all sorts of goods ; so that there never was known such a trade all over England for the time, as was in the first seven years after the plague, and after the fire of London.

London
destroyed
by fire after
the pestilence.

It remains now that I should say something of the merciful part of this terrible judgment. The last week in September, the plague being come to its crisis, its fury began to assuage. I remember my friend Dr. Heath, coming to see me the week before, told me he was sure that the violence of it would assuage in a few days ; but when I saw the weekly bill of that week, which was the highest of the whole year, being eight thousand two hundred and ninety-seven of all diseases, I upbraided him with it, and asked him what he had made his judgment from ? his answer, however, was not so much to seek, as I thought it would have been. "Look you," says he, "by the number which are at this time sick and infected, there should have been twenty thousand dead the last week instead of eight thousand, if the inveterate mortal contagion had been as it was two weeks ago ; for then it ordinarily killed in two or three days, now not under eight or ten, and then not above one in five recovered ; whereas, I have observed, that now not above two in five miscarry, and observe it from me, the next bill will decrease, and you will see many more people recover than used to do ; for though a vast multitude are now everywhere infected, and as many every day fall sick, yet there will not so many die as there did, for the malignity of the distemper is abated ; adding that he began now to hope, nay, more than hope, that the infection had passed its crisis, and was going off ;" and accordingly so it was," for the next week being, as I said, the last in September, the bill decreased almost two thousand.

Dr. Heath's
report of
the abate-
ment of the
pestilence.

It is true, the plague was still at a frightful height, and the next bill was no less than six thousand four hundred and sixty,

Divine
abatement
of the
pestilence.

and the next to that five thousand seven hundred and twenty ; but still my friend's observation was just, and it did appear the people did recover faster, and more in number, than they used to do ; and, indeed, if it had not been so, what had been the condition of the city of London ? for, according to my friend, there were not fewer than sixty thousand people at that time infected, whereof, as above, twenty thousand four hundred and seventy-seven died, and near forty thousand recovered ; whereas, had it been as it was before, fifty thousand of that number would very probably have died, if not more, and fifty thousand more would have sickened ; for, in a word, the whole mass of people began to sicken, and it looked as if none would escape.

But this remark of my friend's appeared more evident in a few weeks more ; for the decrease went on, and another week in October it decreased one thousand eight hundred and forty-three ; so that the number dead of the plague was but two thousand six hundred and sixty-five ; and the next week it decreased one thousand four hundred and thirteen more, and yet it was seen plainly that there was abundance of people sick, nay, abundance more than ordinary, and abundance fell sick every day, but (as above) the malignity of the disease abated.

People
become
incautious.

Such is the precipitant disposition of our people, whether it is so or not all over the world, that is none of my particular business to inquire : but I saw it apparently here, that as upon the first fright of the infection they shunned one another, and fled from one another's houses, and from the city, with an unaccountable, and, as I thought, unnecessary fright : so, now, upon this notion spreading, (viz.) that the distemper was not so catching as formerly, and that if it was caught, it was not so mortal, and seeing abundance of people, who really fell sick, recover again daily ; they took to such a precipitant courage, and grew so entirely regardless of themselves, and of the infection, that they made no more of the plague than of an ordinary fever, nor indeed so much ; they not only went boldly into company with those who had tumours and carbuncles upon them, that were running, and consequently contagious, but ate and drank with them, nay, went into their houses to visit them, and even, as I was told, into their very chambers where they lay sick.

This I could not see rational ; my friend Dr. Heath allowed, and it was plain to experience, that the distemper was as catching as ever, and as many fell sick, but only he alleged that so many of those that fell sick did not die ; but I think that while

many did die, and that at best the distemper itself was very terrible, the sores and swellings very tormenting, and the danger of death not left out of the circumstance of sickness, though not so frequent as before; all those things, together with the exceeding tediousness of the cure, the loathsomeness of the disease, and many other articles, were enough to deter any man living from a dangerous mixture with the sick people, and make them almost as anxious to avoid the infection as before.

Nay, there was another thing which made the mere catching of the distemper frightful, and that was the terrible burning of the caustics, which the surgeons laid on the swellings to bring them to break and to run; without which, the danger of death was very great, even to the last; also the insufferable torment of the swellings, which, though it might not make people raving and distracted, as they were before, and as I have given several instances of already, yet they put the patient to inexpressible torment; and those that fell into it, though they did escape with life, yet they made bitter complaints of those that had told them there was no danger, and sadly repented their rashness and folly in venturing to run into the reach of it.

Nor did this unwary conduct of the people end here, for a great many that thus cast off their cautions suffered more deeply still: and though many escaped, yet many died; and, at least, it had this public mischief attending it, that it made the decrease of burials slower than it would otherwise have been; for as this notion ran like lightning through the city, and the people's heads were possessed with it, even as soon as the first great decrease in the bills appeared, we found that the two next bills did not decrease in proportion; the reason I take to be the people's running so rashly into danger, giving up all their former cautions and care, and all the shyness which they used to practise, depending that the sickness would not reach them, or that if it did they should not die.

The physicians opposed this thoughtless humour of the people with all their might, and gave out printed directions, spreading them all over the city and suburbs, advising the people to continue reserved, and to use still the utmost caution in their ordinary conduct, notwithstanding the decrease of the distemper, terrifying them with the danger of bringing a relapse upon the whole city, and telling them how such a relapse might be more fatal and dangerous than the whole visitation that had been already, with many arguments and reasons to explain and prove that part to them, and which are too long to repeat here.

People
rashly run
into danger

Physicians
oppose the
thoughtless
humour of
the people.

People im-
penetrable
by any new
terrors.

But it was all to no purpose, the audacious creatures were so possessed with the first joy, and so surprised with the satisfaction of seeing a vast decrease in the weekly bills, that they were impenetrable by any new terrors, and would not be persuaded but that the bitterness of death was passed ; and it was to no more purpose to talk to them than to an east wind ; but they opened shops, went about streets, did business, and conversed with anybody that came in their way to converse with, whether with business or without, neither inquiring of their health or so much as being apprehensive of any danger from them, though they knew th emnot to be sound.

This imprudent rash conduct cost a great many their lives, who had with great care and caution shut themselves up, and kept retired as it were from all mankind, and had by that means, under God's providence, been preserved through all the heat of that infection.

Rash and
foolish
conduct of
the people
taken
notice of
by the
clergy.

This rash and foolish conduct of the people went so far, that the ministers took notice to them of it, and laid before them both the folly and danger of it ; and this checked it a little, so that they grew more cautious ; but it had another effect, which they could not check, for as the first rumour had spread, not over the city only, but into the country, it had the like effect, and the people were so tired with being so long from London, and so eager to come back, that they flocked to town without fear or forecast, and began to show themselves in the streets, as if all the danger was over : it was indeed surprising to see it, for though there died still from a thousand to eighteen hundred a week, yet the people flocked to town as if all had been well.

The consequence of this was that the bills increased again four hundred the very first week in November ; and, if I might believe the physicians, there were above three thousand fell sick that week, most of them new comers too.

One John Cock, a barber in St. Martin's-le-Grand, was an eminent example of this, I mean of the hasty return of the people when the plague was abated. This John Cock had left the town with his whole family, and locked up his house, and was gone into the country, as many others did, and finding the plague so decreased in November, that there died but nine hundred and five per week of all diseases, he ventured home again. He had in his family ten persons, that is to say, himself and wife, five children, two apprentices, and a maid-servant. He had not been returned to his house above a week, and began to open his shop and carry on his trade, but the distemper broke out in his family,

and within about five days they all died except one, that is to say, himself, his wife, all his five children, and his two apprentices, and only the maid remained alive.

But the mercy of God was greater to the rest than we had reason to expect; for the malignity, as I have said, of the distemper was spent, the contagion was exhausted, and also the wintry weather came on apace, and the air was clear and cold, with some sharp frosts; and this increasing still, most of those that had fallen sick recovered, and the health of the city began to return: there were indeed some returns of the distemper, even in the month of December, and the bills increased near a hundred, but it went off again, and so in a short while things began to return to their own channel; and wonderful it was to see how populous the city was again all on a sudden, so that a stranger could not miss the numbers that were lost, neither was there any miss of the inhabitants as to their dwellings; few or no empty houses were to be seen, or if there were some there was no want of tenants for them.

The Great King checks the scourge.

I wish I could say that, as the city had a new face, so the manners of the people had a new appearance: I doubt not but there were many that retained a sincere sense of their deliverance, and that were heartily thankful to that sovereign hand that had protected them in so dangerous a time; it would be very uncharitable to judge otherwise in a city so populous, and where the people were so devout as they were here in the time of the visitation itself; but, except what of this was to be found in particular families and faces, it must be acknowledged that the general practice of the people was just as it was before, and very little difference was to be seen.

People of London repeat the immorality.

Some, indeed, said things were worse, that the morals of the people declined from this very time; that the people, hardened by the danger they had been in, like seamen after a storm is over, were more wicked and more stupid, more bold and hardened in their vices and immoralities, than they were before; but I will not carry it so far neither; it would take up a history of no small length to give a particular of all the gradations by which the course of things in this city came to be restored again, and to run in their own channel as they did before.

Some parts of England were now infected as violently as London had been; the cities of Norwich, Peterborough, Lincoln, Colchester, and other places were now visited; and the magistrates of London began to set rules for our conduct as to corres-

ponding with those cities: it is true, we could not pretend to forbid their people coming to London, because it was impossible to know them asunder, so, after many consultations, the Lord Mayor and court of aldermen were obliged to drop it: all they could do was to warn and caution the people not to entertain in their houses, or converse with, any people who they knew came from such infected places.

Ingratitude
of the
Londoners
towards the
Lord Mayor
and alder-
men.

But they might as well have talked to the air, for the people of London thought themselves so plague-free now that they were past all admonitions; they seemed to depend upon it that the air was restored, and that the air was, like a man that had had the small-pox, not capable of being infected again. This revived the notion that the infection was all in the air, that there was no such thing as contagion from the sick people to the sound; and so strongly did this whimsy prevail among people, that they ran altogether promiscuously, sick and well; not the Mahometans, who, prepossessed with the principle of predestination, value nothing of contagion, let it be in what it will, could be more obstinate than the people of London; they that were perfectly sound, and came out of the wholesome air, as we call it, into the city, made nothing of going into the same houses and chambers, nay, even into the same beds, with those that had the distemper upon them, and were not recovered.

Return of
the pes-
tilence
give phy-
sicians
more work
than ever.

Some, indeed, paid for their audacious boldness with the price of their lives; an infinite number fell sick, and the physicians had more work than ever, only with this difference, that more of their patients recovered, that is to say, they generally recovered; but certainly there were more people infected and fell sick now, when there did not die above a thousand or twelve hundred a week, than there was when there died five or six thousand a week; so entirely negligent were the people at that time in the great and dangerous case of health and infection, and so ill were they able to take or accept the advice of those who cautioned them for their good.

Entire
families
swept away.

The people being thus returned, as it were in general, it was very strange to find, that, in their inquiring after their friends, some whole families were so entirely swept away that there was no remembrance of them left; neither was anybody to be found to possess or show any title to that little they had left; for, in such cases, what was to be found was generally embezzled and purloined, some gone one away, some another.

It was said such abandoned effects came to the king as the

universal heir, upon which we are told, and I suppose it was in part true, that the king granted all such as deodands to the Lord Mayor and court of aldermen of London, to be applied to the use of the poor, of whom there were very many; for it is to be observed that, though the occasions of relief and the objects of distress were very many more in the time of the violence of the plague than now after all was over, yet the distress of the poor was more now a great deal than it was then, because all the sluices of general charity were now shut; people supposed the main occasion to be over, and so stopped their hands, whereas particular objects were still very moving, and the distress of those that were poor was very great indeed.

Though the health of the city was now very much restored, yet foreign trade did not begin to stir, neither would foreigners admit our ships into their ports for a great while; as for the Dutch, the misunderstandings between our court and them had broken out into a war the year before, so that our trade that way was wholly interrupted; but Spain and Portugal, Italy and Barbary, as also Hamburgh, and all the ports in the Baltic, these were all shy of us a great while, and would not restore trade with us for many months.

Our mis-
under-
standing
with the
Dutch
break out
into war.

The distemper sweeping away such multitudes, as I have observed, many, if not all, of the out-parishes were obliged to make new burying-grounds, besides that I have mentioned in Bunhill-fields, some of which were continued, and remain in use to this day; but others were left off, and—which, I confess, I mention with some reflection—being converted into other uses, or built upon afterwards, the dead bodies were disturbed, abused, dug up again, some even before the flesh of them was perished from the bones, and removed, like dung or rubbish, to other places. Some of those which came within the reach of my observations are as follows:—

Parochial
disturbers
of the
dead.

First. A piece of ground beyond Goswell-street, near Mount-mill, being some of the remains of the old lines or fortifications of the city, where abundance were buried promiscuously from the parishes of Aldersgate, Clerkenwell, and even out of the city. This ground, as I take it, was since made a physic garden, and after that has been built upon.

Second. A piece of ground just over the Black Ditch, as it was then called, at the end of Hollowell-lane, in Shoreditch parish; it has since been made a yard for keeping hogs and for other ordinary uses, but is quite out of use as a burying-ground.

Sir Robt.
Clayton's
grant of
land from
King
Charles II.

Third. The upper end of Hand-alley, in Bishopsgate-street, which was then a green field, and was taken in particularly for Bishopsgate parish, though many of the carts out of the city brought their dead thither also, particularly out of the parish of St. Allhallows on the Wall: this place I cannot mention without much regret. It was, as I remember, about two or three years after the plague was ceased that Sir Robert Clayton came to be possessed of the ground; it was reported, how true I know not, that it fell to the king for want of heirs, all those who had any right to it being carried off by the pestilence, and that Sir Robert Clayton obtained a grant of it from King Charles II. But however he came by it, certain it is the ground was let out to build on, or built upon by his order. The first house built upon it was a large fair house, still standing, which faces the street, or way, now called Hand-alley, which, though called an alley, is as wide as a street: the houses in the same row with that house northward are built on the very same ground where the poor people were buried, and the bodies, on opening the ground for the foundations, were dug up, some of them remaining so plain to be seen that the women's skulls were distinguished by their long hair, and of others the flesh was not quite perished; so that the people began to exclaim loudly against it, and some suggested that it might endanger a return of the contagion: after which the bones and bodies, as fast as they came at them, were carried to another part of the same ground, and thrown altogether into a deep pit, dug on purpose, which now is to be known, in that it is not built on, but is a passage to another house at the upper end of Rose-alley, just against the door of a meeting-house, which has been built there many years since; and the ground is palisadoed off from the rest of the passage in a little square; there lie the bones and remains of near two thousand bodies, carried by the dead-carts to their grave in that one year.

Fourth. Besides this, there was a piece of ground in Moorfields, by the going into the street which is now called Old Bethlem, which was enlarged much, though not wholly taken in, on the same occasion.

De Foo's
place of
burial.

N.B. The author of this journal lies buried in that very ground, being at his own desire, his sister having been buried there a few years before.

Fifth. Stepney parish, extending itself from the east part of London to the north, even to the very edge of Shoreditch churchyard, had a piece of ground taken in to bury their dead

close to the said churchyard ; and which, for that very reason, was left open, and is since, I suppose, taken into the same churchyard: and they had also two other burying-places in Spital-fields, one where since a chapel or tabernacle has been built for ease to this great parish, and another in Petticoat-lane.

There were no less than five other grounds made use of for the parish of Stepney at that time ; one where now stands the parish church of St. Paul, Shadwell, and the other where now stands the parish church of St. John at Wapping, both which had not the names of parishes at that time, but were belonging to Stepney parish.

I could name many more, but these coming within my particular knowledge, the circumstance I thought made it of use to record them : from the whole, it may be observed that they were obliged in this time of distress to take in new burying-grounds in most of the out-parishes for laying the prodigious numbers of people which died in so short a space of time ; but why care was not taken to keep those places separate from ordinary uses, that so the bodies might rest undisturbed, that I cannot answer for, and must confess I think it was wrong ; who were to blame I know not.

Parishes obliged to take in new burial grounds.

I should have mentioned that the Quakers had at that time also a burying-ground set apart to their use, which they still make use of, and they had also a particular dead-cart to fetch their dead from their houses ; and the famous Solomon Eagle, who, as I mentioned before, had predicted the plague as a judgment, and run naked through the streets, telling the people that it was come upon them to punish them for their sins, had his own wife died the very next day of the plague, and was carried one of the first in the Quakers' dead-cart to their new burying-ground.

The Quaker's burial ground.

Solomon Eagle the Quaker predicted the plague as a judgment.

I might have thronged this account with many more remarkable things which occurred in the time of the infection, and particularly what passed between the Lord Mayor and the court, which was then at Oxford, and what directions were from time to time received from the government for their conduct on this critical occasion. But really the court concerned themselves so little, and that little they did was of so small import, that I do not see it of much moment to mention any part of it here, except that of appointing a monthly fast in the city, and the sending the royal charity to the relief of the poor, both which I have mentioned before.

The court concerned itself very little about the welfare of the people.

Neglectful
and
cowardly
physicians !
Medical
deserters !
Doctors to
be let !

Clerical
deserters !

Pulpits to
be let !

Great was the reproach thrown upon those physicians who left their patients during the sickness, and now they came to town again nobody cared to employ them ; they were called deserters, and frequently bills were set up upon their doors, and written, " Here is a doctor to be let ! " so that several of those physicians were fain for a while to sit still and look about them, or at least, remove their dwellings and set up in new places and among new acquaintance : the like was the case with the clergy, whom the people were indeed very abusive to, writing verses and scandalous reflections upon them, setting upon the church door — " Here is a pulpit to be let ! " or, sometimes, to be sold, which was worse.

The late
Act of
Indemnity.

It was not the least of our misfortunes that, with our infection, when it ceased, there did not cease the spirit of strife and contention, slander and reproach, which was really the great troubler of the nation's peace before : it was said to be the remains of the old animosities which had so lately involved us all in blood and disorder. But as the late Act of Indemnity had laid asleep the quarrel itself, so the government had recommended family and personal peace upon all occasions to the whole nation.

Disagree-
ment
between
churchmen
and presby-
terians.

Faithful
dissenting
ministers
harshly
treated by
church
ministers.

But it could not be obtained, and particularly after the ceasing of the plague in London, when any one that had seen the condition which the people had been in, and how they caressed one another at that time, promised to have more charity for the future, and to raise no more reproaches : I say, any one that had seen them then would have thought they would have come together with another spirit at last. But, I say, it could not be obtained ; the quarrel remained, the church and the presbyterians were incompatible : as soon as the plague was removed the dissenting ousted ministers, who had supplied the pulpits which were deserted by the incumbents, retired ; they could expect no other but that they should immediately fall upon them and harass them with their penal laws, accept their preaching while they were sick, and persecute them as soon as they were recovered again ; this even we that were of the church thought was hard, and could by no means approve of it.

A bigoted
church
unsafe
without
protection
of the
state.

Ministers of
the Church
of England

But it was the government, and we could say nothing to hinder it ; we could only say it was not our doing, and we could not answer for it.

On the other hand, the dissenters reproached those ministers of the church with going away and deserting their charge, abandoning the people in their danger, and when they had most

need of comfort, and the like; this we could by no means approve, for all men have not the same faith and the same courage, and the Scripture commands us to judge the most favourably and according to charity.

charged
with
neglect of
duty.

A plague is a formidable enemy, and is armed with terrors that every man is not sufficiently fortified to resist, or prepared to stand the shock against. It is very certain that a great many of the clergy, who were in circumstances to do it, withdrew, and fled for the safety of their lives; but it is true, also, that a great many of them stayed, and many of them fell in the calamity, and in the discharge of their duty.

It is true some of the dissenting turned out ministers stayed, and their courage is to be commended and highly valued, but these were not abundance; it cannot be said that they all stayed, and that none retired into the country, any more than it can be said of the church clergy that they all went away; neither did all those that went away go without substituting curates and others in their places to do the offices needful, and to visit the sick as far as it was practicable; so that, upon the whole, an allowance of charity might have been made on both sides, and we should have considered, that such a time as this of 1665 is not to be paralleled in history, and that it is not the stoutest courage that will always support men in such cases: I had not said this, but had rather chosen to record the courage and religious zeal of those of both sides, who did hazard themselves for the service of the poor people in their distress, without remembering that any failed in their duty on either side, but the want of temper among us has made the contrary to this necessary; some that stayed, not only boasting too much of themselves, but reviling those that fled, branding them with cowardice, deserting their flocks, and acting the part of the hireling, and the like. I recommend it to the charity of all good people to look back, and reflect duly upon the terrors of the time, and whoever does so will see that it is not an ordinary strength that could support it; it was not like appearing in the head of an army, or charging a body of horse in the field; but it was charging Death itself on his pale horse: to stay was indeed to die, and it could be esteemed nothing less, especially as things appeared at the latter end of August and the beginning of September, and as there was reason to expect them at that time; for no man expected, and, I dare say, believed, that the distemper would take so sudden a turn as it did, and fall immediately two

Some dis-
senting
ministers
desert their
duty.

De Foe's
advice to
the church
clergy and
the dis-
senters.

thousand in a week, when there was such a prodigious number of people sick at that time as it was known there was ; and then it was that many shifted away that had stayed most of the time before.

Besides, if God gave strength to some more than to others, was it to boast of their ability to abide the stroke, and upbraid those that had not the same gift and support, or ought they not rather to have been humble and thankful, if they were rendered more useful than their brethren ?

I think it ought to be recorded to the honour of such men, as well clergy as physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, magistrates, and officers of every kind, as also all useful people, who ventured their lives in discharge of their duty, as most certainly all such as stayed did to the last degree, and several of all these kinds did not only venture, but lost their lives on that sad occasion.

De Foe's record of honourable and courageous men who sacrificed their lives in the service of their Great King.

I was once making a list of all such, I mean of all those professions and employments who thus died, as I call it, in the way of their duty ; but it was impossible for a private man to come at a certainty in the particulars ; I only remember, that there died sixteen clergymen, two aldermen, five physicians, thirteen surgeons, within the city and liberties before the beginning of September : but this being, as I said before, the great crisis and extremity of the infection, it can be no complete list. As to inferior people, I think there died six and forty constables and headboroughs in the two parishes of Stepney and Whitechapel ; but I could not carry my list on, for when the violent rage of the distemper in September came upon us, it drove us out of all measures ; men did then no more die by tale and by number, they might put out a weekly bill and call them seven or eight thousand, or what they pleased ; it is certain they died by heaps, and were buried by heaps, that is to say, without account ; and if I might believe some people, who were more abroad and more conversant with those things than I, though I was public enough for one that had no more business to do than I had, I say if I may believe them, there was not many less buried those three first weeks in September than twenty thousand per week ; however, the others aver the truth of it, yet I rather choose to keep to the public account ; seven and eight thousand per week is enough to make good all that I have said of the terror of those times ; and it is much to the satisfaction of me that write, as well as those that read, to be able to say, that everything is set down with moderation, and rather within compass than beyond it.

Upon all these accounts I say I could wish, when we were recovered, our conduct had been more distinguished for charity and kindness in remembrance of the past calamity, and not so much in valuing ourselves upon our boldness in staying, as if all men were cowards that fly from the hand of God, or that those who stay do not sometimes owe their courage to their ignorance, and despising the hand of their Maker, which is a criminal kind of desperation and not a true courage.

I cannot but leave it upon record, that the civil officers, such as constables, headboroughs, Lord Mayor's and sheriffs' men, as also parish officers, whose business it was to take charge of the poor, did their duties in general with as much courage as any, and perhaps with more, because their work was attended with more hazards, and lay more among the poor, who were more subject to be infected, and in the most pitiful plight when they were taken with the infection; but then it must be added too, that a great number of them died, indeed it was scarce possible it should be otherwise.

Record of
courageous
conduct of
civil affairs,
&c.

I have not said one word here about the physic or preparations that we ordinarily made use of on this terrible occasion, I mean we that went frequently abroad up and down street, as I did; much of this was talked of in the books and bills of our quack doctors, of whom I have said enough already. It may, however, be added, that the College of Physicians were daily publishing several preparations, which they had considered of in the process of their practice, and which being to be had in print, I avoid repeating them for that reason.

College of
Physicians
publish pre-
parations.

One thing I could not help observing,—what befel one of the quacks, who published that he had a most excellent preservative against the plague, which whoever kept about them, should never be infected, or liable to infection; this man, who we may reasonably suppose did not go abroad without some of this excellent preservative in his pocket, yet was taken by the distemper, and carried off in two or three days.

I am not of the number of the physic-haters or physic-despisers; on the contrary, I have often mentioned the regard I had to the dictates of my particular friend Dr. Heath; but yet I must acknowledge I made use of little or nothing, except, as I have observed, to keep a preparation of strong scent to have ready, in case I met with anything of offensive smells, or went too near any burying-place or dead body.

De Foe's
caution
against the
pestilence.

Neither did I do, what I know some did, keep the spirits

q

A learned physician becomes a sot for life.

always high and hot with cordials, and wine, and such things, and which, as I observed, one learned physician used himself so much to, that he could not leave them off when the infection was quite gone, and so became a sot for all his life after.

Medical prescription during the pestilence.

I remember my friend the doctor used to say, that there was a certain set of drugs and preparations, which were all certainly good and useful in the case of an infection ; out of which, or with which, physicians might make an infinite variety of medicines, as the ringers of bells make several hundred different rounds of music by the changing and order of sound but in six bells ; and that all these preparations shall be really very good ; therefore, said he, I do not wonder that so vast a throng of medicines is offered in the present calamity ; and almost every physician prescribes or prepares a different thing, as his judgment or experience guides him ; but, says my friend, let all the prescriptions of all the physicians in London be examined ; and it will be found, that they are all compounded of the same things, with such variations only as the particular fancy of the doctor leads him to ; so that, says he, every man judging a little of his own constitution and manner of his living, and circumstances of his being infected, may direct his own medicines out of the ordinary drugs and preparations. Only that, says he, some recommend one thing as most sovereign, and some another ; some, says he, think that Pill. Ruff. which is called itself the Anti-pestilential Pill, is the best preparation that can be made ; others think, that Venice Treacle is sufficient of itself to resist the contagion, and I, says he, think as both these think, *viz.*, that the first is good to take beforehand to prevent it, and the last, if touched, to expel it. According to this opinion, I several times took Venice Treacle, and a sound sweat upon it, and thought myself as well fortified against the infection as any one could be fortified by the power of physic.

As for quackery and mountebank, of which the town was so full, I listened to none of them, and observed, often since, with some wonder, that for two years after the plague, I scarcely ever heard of one of them about town. Some fancied they were all swept away in the infection to a man, and were for calling it a particular mark of God's vengeance upon them, for leading the poor people into the pit of destruction, merely for the lucre of a little money they got by them ; but I cannot go that length neither ; that abundance of them died is certain, many of them came within the reach of my own knowledge ; but that all of

them were swept off I much question ; I believe rather they fled into the country, and tried their practices upon the people there, who were in apprehension of the infection before it came among them.

This, however, is certain, not a man of them appeared for a great while in or about London. There were, indeed, several doctors, who published bills, recommending their several physical preparations for cleansing the body, as they call it, after the plague, and needful, as they said, for such people to take, who had been visited and had been cured ; whereas I must own, I believe that it was the opinion of the most eminent physicians of that time, that the plague was itself a sufficient purge ; and that those who escaped the infection needed no physic to cleanse their bodies of any other things ; the running sores, the tumours, &c., which were broken and kept open by the direction of the physicians, having sufficiently cleansed them ; and that all other distempers, and causes of distempers, were effectually carried off that way ; and as the physicians gave this as their opinion, wherever they came, the quacks got little business.

There were, indeed, several little hurries which happened after the decrease of the plague, and which, whether they were contrived to fright and disorder the people, as some imagined, I cannot say, but sometimes we were told the plague would return by such a time ; and the famous Solomon Eagle, the naked Quaker I have mentioned, prophesied evil tidings every day ; and several others telling us, that London had not been sufficiently scourged, and the sorer and severer strokes were yet behind ; had they stopped there, or had they descended to particulars, and told us that the city should the next year be destroyed by fire ; then, indeed, when we had seen it come to pass, we should not have been to blame to have paid more than common respect to their prophetic spirits, at least, we should have wondered at them, and have been more serious in our inquiries after the meaning of it, and whence they had the foreknowledge ; but as they generally told us of a relapse into the plague, we have had no concern since that about them ; yet by those frequent clamours, we were all kept with some kind of apprehensions constantly upon us ; and if any died suddenly, or if the spotted fevers at any time increased, we were presently alarmed ; much more if the number of the plague increased ; for, to the end of the year, there were always between two and

The naked
Quaker
Solomon
Eagle pro-
phesied evil
tidings.

three hundred of the plague. On any of these occasions, I say, we were alarmed anew.

Certain
butchers
punished
by the Lord
Mayor.

Those who remember the city of London before the fire, must remember, that there was then no such place as that we now call Newgate market ; but in the middle of the street, which is now called Blow-bladder-street, and which had its name from the butchers, who used to kill and dress their sheep there (and who it seems had a custom to blow up their meat with pipes to make it look thicker and fatter than it was, and were punished there for it by the Lord Mayor), I say, from the end of the street towards Newgate, there stood two long rows of shambles for the selling meat.

It was in those shambles, that two persons falling down dead, as they were buying meat, gave rise to a rumour that the meat was all infected, which, though it might affright the people, and spoil the market for two or three days, yet it appeared plainly afterwards, that there was nothing of truth in the suggestion ; but nobody can account for the possession of fear when it takes hold of the mind.

However, it pleased God, by the continuing of the winter weather, so to restore the health of the city, that by February following, we reckoned the distemper quite ceased, and then we were not easily frightened again.

Abundance
of per-
fumes, &c.,
prescribed
by phy-
sicians.

There was still a question among the learned, which at first perplexed the people a little, and that was in what manner to purge the houses and goods where the plague had been, and how to render those habitable again which had been left empty during the time of the plague. Abundance of perfumes and preparations were prescribed by physicians, some of one kind and some of another, in which the people who listened to them put themselves to a great, and indeed, in my opinion, to an unnecessary expense ; and the poorer people, who only set open their windows night and day, burnt brimstone, pitch, and gunpowder, and such things, in their rooms, did as well as the best ; nay, the eager people, who, as I said above, came home in haste, and at all hazards, found little or no inconvenience in their houses, nor in the goods, and did little or nothing to them.

However, in general, prudent, cautious people did enter into some measures for airing and sweetening their houses, and burnt perfumes, incense, benjamin, resin, and sulphur, in their rooms close shut up, and then let the air carry it all out with a blast of gunpowder ; others caused large fires to be made all

day and all night, for several days and nights. By the same token that two or three were pleased to set their houses on fire, and so effectually sweetened them by burning them down to the ground; as particularly one at Ratcliff, one in Holborn, and one at Westminster, besides two or three that were set on fire, but the fire was happily got out again before it went far enough to burn down the houses; and one citizen's servant, I think it was in Thames-street, carried so much gunpowder into his master's house, for clearing it of the infection, and managed it so foolishly, that he blew up part of the roof of the house. But the time was not fully come that the city was to be purged with fire, nor was it far off, for within nine months more I saw it all lying in ashes; when, as some of our quacking philosophers pretend, the seeds of the plague were entirely destroyed, and not before; a notion too ridiculous to speak off here, since, had the seeds of the plague remained in the houses, not to be destroyed but by fire, how has it been that they have not since broken out; seeing all those buildings in the suburbs and liberties, all in the great parishes of Stepney, Whitechapel, Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, Cripplegate, and St. Giles's, where the fire never came, and where the plague raged with the greatest violence, remain still in the same condition they were in before.

Opinion of
quacking
philo-
sophers.

But to leave these things just as I found them, it was certain that those people who were more than ordinarily cautious of their health, did take particular directions for what they called seasoning of their houses, and abundance of costly things were consumed on that account, which, I cannot but say, not only seasoned those houses as they desired, but filled the air with very grateful and wholesome smells, which others had the share of the benefit of, as well as those who were at the expenses of them.

And yet after all, though the poor came to town very precipitantly, as I have said, yet I must say the rich made no such haste. The men of business, indeed, came up, but many of them did not bring their families to town till the spring came on, and that they saw reason to depend upon it that the plague would not return.

The court, indeed, came up soon after Christmas, but the nobility and gentry, except such as depended upon and had employment under the administration, did not come so soon.

I should have taken notice here that, notwithstanding the

The fleet
free from
the scourge
of the
Mighty
King.

Hot war
with the
Dutch in
which they
got
worsted.

Nothing
but the
omnipotent
power of
the Great
King could
avert the
entire an-
nihilation
of the
people.

violence of the plague in London and other places, yet it was very observable that it was never on board the fleet ; and yet for some time there was a strange press in the river, and even in the streets, for seamen to man the fleet ; but it was in the beginning of the year when the plague was scarce begun, and not at all come down to that part of the city where they usually press for seamen ; and though a war with the Dutch was not at all grateful to the people at that time, and the seamen went with a kind of reluctance into the service, and many complained of being dragged into it by force, yet it proved in the event a happy violence to several of them, who had probably perished in the general calamity, and who, after the summer service was over, though they had cause to lament the desolation of their families, who, when they came back, were many of them in their graves ; yet they had room to be thankful that they were carried out of the reach of it, though so much against their wills. We indeed had a hot war with the Dutch that year, and one very great engagement at sea, in which the Dutch were worsted ; but we lost a great many men, and some ships. But, as I observed, the plague was not in the fleet, and when they came to lay up the ships in the river, the violent part of it began to abate.

I would be glad if I could close the account of this melancholy year with some particular examples historically ; I mean of the thankfulness to God our preserver for our being delivered from this dreadful calamity. Certainly the circumstances of the deliverance, as well as the terrible enemy we were delivered from, called upon the whole nation for it ; the circumstances of the deliverance were indeed very remarkable, as I have in part mentioned already, and particularly the dreadful condition which we were all in when we were, to the surprise of the whole town, made joyful with the hope of a stop to the infection.

Nothing but the immediate finger of God, nothing but omnipotent power, could have done it. The contagion despised all medicine, death raged in every corner ; and had it gone on as it did then, a few weeks more would have cleared the town of all and everything that had a soul. Men everywhere began to despair—every heart failed them for fear—people were made desperate through the anguish of their souls—and the terrors of death sat in the very faces and countenances of the people.

In that very moment, when we might very well say, Vain was the help of man ; I say, in that very moment it pleased God, with a most agreeable surprise, to cause the fury of it to abate,

even of itself, and the malignity declining, as I have said, though infinite numbers were sick, yet fewer died; and the very first week's bill decreased one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, a vast number indeed.

It is impossible to express the change that appeared in the very countenances of the people that Thursday morning when the weekly bill came out. It might have been perceived in their countenances that a secret surprise and smile of joy sat on everybody's face; they shook one another by the hands in the streets who would hardly go on the same side of the way with one another before! Where the streets were not too broad they would open their windows and call from one house to another, and ask how they did, and if they had heard the good news, that the plague was abated; some would return, when they said good news? and ask, what good news? and when they answered that the plague was abated, and the bills decreased almost two thousand, they would cry out, God be praised; and would weep aloud for joy, telling them they had heard nothing of it; and such was the joy of the people, that it was, as it were, life to them from the grave. I could almost set down as many extravagant things done in the excess of their joy as of their grief; but that would be to lessen the value of it.

People cry
with a loud
voice
praises to
the Divine
King for
his mercy.

I must confess myself to have been very much dejected just before this happened; for the prodigious numbers that were taken sick the week or two before, besides those that died, was such, and the lamentations were so great everywhere, that a man must have seemed to have acted even against his reason if he had so much as expected to escape; and as there was hardly a house but mine in all my neighbourhood but what was infected, so, had it gone on, it would not have been long that there would have been any more neighbours to be infected; indeed, it is hardly credible what dreadful havoc the last three weeks had made; for if I might believe the person whose calculations I always found very well grounded, there were not less than thirty thousand people dead, and near one hundred thousand fallen sick, in the three weeks I speak of; for the number that sickened was surprising, indeed it was astonishing, and those whose courage upheld them all the time before sunk under it now.

In the middle of their distress, when the condition of the city of London was so truly calamitous, just then it pleased God, as it were, by his immediate hand, to disarm this enemy; the

poison was taken out of the sting : it was wonderful : even the physicians themselves were surprised at it : wherever they visited they found their patients better, either they had sweated kindly, or the tumours were broke, or the carbuncles went down, and the inflammations round them changed colour, or the fever was gone, or the violent head-ache was assuaged, or some good symptom was in the case ; so that in a few days everybody was recovering ; whole families that were infected and down, that had ministers praying with them, and expected death every hour, were revived and healed, and none died at all out of them.

The pestilence assuaged by the secret invisible hand of the Mighty King.

Nor was this by any new medicine found out, or new method of cure discovered, or by any experience in the operation which the physicians or surgeons attained to ; but it was evidently from the secret invisible hand of Him that had at first sent this disease as a judgment upon us ; and, let the atheistic part of mankind call my saying what they please, it is no enthusiasm ; it was acknowledged at that time by all mankind : the disease was enervated, and its malignity spent, and let it proceed from whencesoever it will, let the philosophers search for reasons in nature to account for it by, and labour as much as they will to lessen the debt they owe to their Maker ; those physicians who had the least share of religion in them, were obliged to acknowledge that it was all supernatural, that it was extraordinary, and that no account could be given of it.

If I should say that this is a visible summons to us all to thankfulness, especially we that were under the terror of its increase, perhaps it may be thought by some, after the sense of the thing was over, an officious canting of religious things, preaching a sermon instead of writing a history ; making myself a teacher instead of giving my observations of things ; and this restrains me very much from going on here, as I might otherwise do ; but if ten lepers were healed, and but one returned to give thanks, I desire to be as that one, and to be thankful for myself.

Nor will I deny but there were abundance of people who, to all appearance, were very thankful at that time ; for their mouths were stopped, even the mouths of those whose hearts were not extraordinarily long affected with it ; but the impression was so strong at that time that it could not be resisted, no, not by the worst of the people.

It was a common thing to meet people in the street that were strangers, and that we knew nothing at all of, expressing their

surprise. Going one day through Aldgate, and a pretty many people being passing and repassing, there comes a man out of the end of the Minories, and looking a little up the street and down, he throws his hands abroad, "Lord, what an alteration is here ! Why, last week, I came along here, and hardly anybody was to be seen." Another man, I heard him, adds to his words, "'Tis all wonderful, 'tis all a dream."—"Blessed be God," says a third man, "and let us give thanks to him, for 'tis all his own doing." Human help and human skill were at an end. These were all strangers to one another : but such salutations as these were frequent in the street every day ; and in spite of a loose behaviour, the very common people went along the streets, giving God thanks for their deliverance.

Salutations
made by
men as they
passed
through the
streets to
the Divine
King.

It was now, as I said before, the people had cast off all apprehensions, and that too fast ; indeed we were no more afraid now to pass by a man with a white cap upon his head, or with a cloth wrapped round his neck, or with his leg limping, occasioned by the sores in his groin, all which were frightful to the last degree but the week before ; but now the street was full of them, and these poor recovering creatures, give them their due, appeared very sensible of their unexpected deliverance ; and I should wrong them very much if I should not acknowledge, that I believe many of them were really thankful ; but I must own, that for the generality of the people it might too justly be said of them, as was said of the children of Israel, after their being delivered from the host of Pharaoh, when they passed the Red Sea, and looked back and saw the Egyptians overwhelmed in the water, viz. That they sang his praise, but they soon forgot his works.

I can go no further here ; I should be counted censorious, and perhaps unjust, if I should enter into the displeasing work of reflecting, whatever cause there was for it, upon the unthankfulness and return of all manner of wickedness among us, which I was so much an eye-witness of myself ; I shall conclude the account of this calamitous year, therefore, with a coarse but sincere stanza of my own, which I placed at the end of my ordinary memorandums, the same year they were written :—

A dreadful Plague in London was
In the year sixty-five,
Which swept an hundred thousand souls
Away—yet I alive !

KINGDOM OF THE DIVINE KING.

HEAVEN.

For we know that if our earthly house of *this* tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.—2 Cor. v. 1.

There is a world above,
Where sorrow is unknown ;
A long eternity of love,
Form'd for the good alone ;
And faith beholds the dying here
Transplanted to that glorious sphere.—*Montgomery.*

Every Christian friend that goes before us from this world is a ransomed spirit, waiting to welcome us in heaven. Every gem which death rudely tears away from us here, is a glorious jewel for ever shining there.—*President Edwards.*

Few mercies call for more thankfulness than a friend safe in heaven.—*Hamilton.*

Where that innumerable throng
Of saints and angels mingle song ;
Think what a Sabbath there shall be—
The Sabbath of eternity.—*T. Greenfield.*

In my Father's house are many mansions : if it *were* not so I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you.—John xiv. 2.

Oh ! sweet abode of peace and love,
Where pilgrims, freed from toil are blest.—*Kelly.*

A man may go to heaven without health, without riches, without honours, without learning, without friends ; but he can never get there without Christ.—*Dyer.*

There, like streams that feed the garden,
Pleasures without end shall flow ;
For the Lord, your faith rewarding,
All the bounty shall bestow.—*Cowper.*

Fair distant land ! could mortal eyes
But half its charms explore,
How would our spirits long to rise
And dwell on earth no more !—*Steel.*

Heaven is a day without a cloud to darken it, and without a night to end it.—*J. Mason.*

Endless pleasure, pain excluding,
Sickness there no more can come ;
There, no fear of woe intruding
Sheds o'er heaven a moment's gloom.—*Collyer.*

Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.—1 Cor. ii. 9.

AN EXPOSITION OF SIGNS AND WONDERS.

And I will show wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath ; blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke.—Acts of the Apostles ii. 18.

AN EARTHQUAKE

To the Editor of *The Times*.

SIR,—On Friday last, the 14th instant, an extraordinary phenomenon occurred, which you may think worthy of notice. About four o'clock, p.m. a loud report was heard similar to the explosion of a powder magazine, and at the same instant the ground shook with considerable violence, the concussion being felt throughout the villages of Sedgehill and Knoyle (situated in South Wilts), and causing much alarm. In my own house bells were set ringing, chairs and crockery were shaken, and the servants ran in various directions, some to the cellar, thinking the noise proceeded thence ; others to the stables, supposing they had fallen. A lady, whose residence is situated on a hill a mile hence, concluded a part of her house had given way, and was so much shaken in her chair that, to use her own words, "she thought she was going through the floor." A young lady on a visit in the same house, and who had experienced the shock of an earthquake in Jersey, had no doubt of the nature of the recent phenomenon. In one cottage, having a firm brick flooring, the bricks were moved up, and my daughter, with a companion, happening to be gathering flowers at the time in a hanging copse-wood, and consequently stooping near the ground, felt the movement of the earth most sensibly. I have no doubt what-

The late
earthquake
in South
Wilts.

ever of our having felt the shock of an earthquake; and a groom who was engaged at the time in the stables, and who, from having been some time in the West Indies, is familiar with such phenomena, assures me there can be no question on the subject. At first, he was of opinion that a violent earthquake had taken place in some distant country, of which we felt the vibration; but as I have not heard that it was felt in England; beyond this valley, I am induced to conclude it was a local phenomenon. The soil of the valley is clay, with a sub-stratum of ironstone.

I enclose my card, and am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

March 17, 1856.

M. M. J.

AWFUL EARTHQUAKE AT JAPAN.

Liverpool, 28th March, 1856.

The advices per the *Baltic* convey the intelligence of a dreadful earthquake, by which the town of Jeddo, in the island of Japan, was completely destroyed. The news was brought to San Francisco by the schooner *Page*, and the following are the particulars:—

Terrible
visitation
of the
Great King
upon
admirers
and wor-
shippers of
idols.

On the 11th of November, at ten o'clock p.m., a violent earthquake occurred at Jeddo, which destroyed one hundred thousand dwellings, fifty-four temples, and thirty thousand inhabitants. Fire broke out at the same time in thirty different parts of the city. The earth opened and closed over thousands of buildings, with their occupants. The shock was severe at Simoda.

The late
earthquake
in Japan.

Japanese
forewarned
of ven-
geance, and
many
escape from
it.

Although the distance from Jeddo to Simoda is but sixty miles, it appears that no official account of the earthquake had been received at the latter place at the time of the sailing of the schooner *Page*, Dec. 10. The news was obtained through the Dutch interpreter. The Japanese seemed to attach but little importance to the catastrophe. The inhabitants of the portion of the city destroyed were forewarned of the disaster, and many of them escaped. The buildings of Jeddo are chiefly of one story, and constructed of very light material. The temples of worship, however, are lofty, and in some instances are constructed of heavy masonry.

Jeddo, according to the best authorities, is the second capital of the empire, being the residence of the military emperor. It

is located on the north-east coast of the island of Nippon, and contains a population of a million and a-half of souls. It is stated to be enclosed by a trench, and intersected by numerous canals and branches of a river, navigable for vessels of a moderate burden. It has a fortified palace, with very extensive grounds, many noble residences profusely ornamented with sculpture and paintings, several large religious temples, and other public edifices. It also contained the Imperial library, composed of 150,000 volumes. The houses are mostly one story in height, but being generally built of wood, are subject to frequent destruction by fire; certain it is, that of the 100,000 dwellings demolished by the recent convulsion, a large proportion of them fell a prey to the flames.

Destruction
of 100,000
dwellings
and 54
infidel
temples.

Earthquakes are not unfrequent at Japan. We need scarcely refer to the one in the bay of Simoda a little more than a year ago, during which the Russian frigate *Diana* was wrecked. In 1596 a number of Japanese cities were destroyed, and many thousand persons perished. Indeed, that quarter of the globe has afforded the most extraordinary instances of the phenomenon on record. In 1662 an earthquake at Pekin buried 200,000 persons, and at the same place, about 70 years later, 100,000 were swallowed up.

Two earth-
quakes in
China
swallow up
300,000
people.

EXTRAORDINARY METEOR.

To the Editor of *The Times*.

SIR,—Perhaps one of the most extraordinary meteors that ever appeared in England was seen from two independent stations in the parish of Beeston yesterday (Friday), at 3 h. 57 min. p.m., and, of course, in broad daylight. Had this phenomenon occurred at night time, it would have been a glorious object.

Extraor-
dinary
appearance
of a meteor
in England.

The following particulars may be relied upon :—"The meteor moved nearly perpendicularly down, inclining to east. It was first seen as a circular body, of about half the apparent diameter of the sun, being accompanied by a stream of light; afterwards it increased to almost the diameter of the sun, and then burst into fragments, with an explosion. The report of the explosion was from 1 sec. to 3 sec. after the meteor had disappeared, and resembled distant thunder. The meteor passed over about 15 deg. of space, disappearing 30 deg. E. of N., at an altitude of about 10 deg.; duration, 3 sec. It was very brilliant, shining with a somewhat yellow light. Soon afterwards, near the

Explosion
of a Meteor
resembled
distant
thunder.

E. J. Lowe's
astronomical
account of
the meteor
seen from
parish of
Beeston.

spot where it had disappeared, a band of prismatic colours was visible, being 2 deg. wide and 5 deg. in length. This phenomenon when first perceived was as brilliant as a rainbow, but soon faded, finally disappearing in about 5 min. Clouds were dispersed over the sky, from behind one of which the meteor appeared, afterwards vanishing behind another. The prismatic colours were seen upon clouds, or shining through them.

"The difference of position as seen from two stations half a mile asunder, together with the report from the explosion occurring within 1 sec. and 3 sec., makes it probable that it fell within a mile of this place, most likely north of the Beeston Observatory, and north-west of the Highfield-house Observatory. Search will be made for meteoric fragments, and possibly with good chance of success.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Observatory, Beeston, October 29, 1856.

E. J. LOWE.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have ascertained that it was well seen from Beeston by Mr. W. Felkin, jun., who has kindly given me these additional interesting particulars:—"The meteor at first moved much more obliquely than afterwards; it three times burst into fragments, and was distinctly observed to pass beneath a cloud.

VOLCANIC ERUPTION IN THE SANDWICH ISLES.

A terrible
Volcano in
the
Sandwich
Islands.

THE volcano on Owyhee is in a state of unusual activity. It has been playing the mischief for the last six months. A stream of liquid lava is flowing from its crater from three to seven miles wide, downward a distance of seventy miles, filling gulches, destroying forests, running its fiery track across rivers, &c., and still it flows on. The flow of lava is now within a few miles of one of the most lovely villages and valuable harbours on the whole group of islands. The destruction of both appears inevitable.—*Morning Star*, 14th April, 1856.

CROMWELL'S SOLDIER'S BIBLE.

[From the *American Watchman and Reflector*.]

Massa-
chusetts
Bible
Society.

In the report of Governor Washburn's speech at the late annual meeting of the Massachusetts Bible Society, there

occurs the following statement, viz. :—“ Go to the time of Cromwell. Observe the causes which made Cromwell and the Commonwealth. In the army, every man had a Bible in his knapsack, and daily read it, and sung the praises of God ; and the result was the like of what has been seen in the history of Puritanism.”

Observe the causes which made Cromwell and the Commonwealth. History of Puritanism.

His Excellency's statement is substantially correct, and the *spirit* of his speech is entirely so. But it is not literally in accordance with historical accuracy to assert that the soldiers carried the Bible in their *knapsacks*, nor was it the *whole* Bible with which the army was furnished. “The Soldier's Pocket Bible” consisted of appropriate selections from the Scriptures, printed in a pamphlet form. It was generally buttoned between the coat and vest, next to the heart, proving, perhaps, sometimes a defence from the weapons of the enemies of their bodies, as well as from the wicked one who sought to subdue their souls.

The Soldier's Pocket Bible.

But very few copies of this curious Bible have been preserved. A brief description of it, therefore, may not be uninteresting to our readers. It was printed on a single sheet, folded in the 16mo. form, and making sixteen pages. The whole title-page is worth copying, as it presents a fair and by no means extravagant specimen of the great titles to little books which prevailed about the time of the English Commonwealth. It was printed within a neat border, and read as follows :—

THE SOULDIER'S POCKET BIBLE.

Containing the most (if not all) those places contained in Holy Scripture, which doe shew the qualifications of his inner man, that is a fit Souldier to fight the Lord's battels, both before fight, in the fight, and after the fight ;

Which Scriptures are reduced to severall heads, and fitly applied to the Souldiers severall occasions, and so may supply the want of the whole Bible, which a Souldier cannot conveniently carry about him :

And may bee also usefull for any Christian to meditate upon, now, in this miserable time of Warre.

IMPRIMATUR.

Edm. Calamy.

This Book of the Law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou maist observe to doe according to all that is written therein, for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and have good successe.

Book of Josh. i. 8.

Printed at London by G. B. and R. W. for G. C. 1643.

The selections from Scripture are divided into eighteen chapters, each with an appropriate heading to indicate the class of passages contained therein. A few examples of these headings or titles will sufficiently show their general character :—

1. A Souldier must not doe wickedly.
2. A Souldier must be valiant for God's cause.
3. A Souldier must pray before he goe to fight.

Cromwell's
entire con-
fidence in a
superin-
tending
Providence.

Throughout the work there is manifested entire confidence in a superintending Providence, yet no encouragement is given to the soldiers to neglect any proper personal efforts or material means for accomplishing their ends; nothing at variance with the standing order, "To trust in the Lord, and keep their powder dry."

As to peace
societies.

Since peace societies have become popular, the question has often been put, with the confident expectation of the negative answer, "Is the profession of a soldier consistent with obedience to the precepts of Christian love enjoined in the gospels?" Cromwell's whole chapter on this subject is short, and we copy it entire :—

A soldier must love his enemies as they are his enemies, and hate them as they are God's enemies.

St. Matt.
v. 44.
2 Chron.
xix. 2.

Matt. v. 44. But I say unto you, love your enemies.
2 Chron. xix. 2. Wouldest thou help the wicked, and love them that hate the Lord?

Psalm
cxxxix. 21,
22.

Ps. cxxxix. 21, 22. Doe not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee, and do not I earnestly contend with them that rise up against thee? I hate them with an unfeigned hatred, as they were mine utter enemies.

A difference
of opinion
as to the
character of
Cromwell.

There will probably continue to be, as there always has been, a difference of opinion respecting the honesty, integrity, and sincerity of Cromwell. But one thing is pretty well settled—viz., whatever his character and conduct may have become after he gained the dazzling heights of political power, he *commenced* his career a devout and true man: and his army was largely composed of good men, filled with a desire to promote the glory of God and the welfare of the country.

Officers
raised from
the ranks
superior to
those of
aristocratic
breed.

Cromwell's cousin, the celebrated John Hampden, once began to upbraid him for selecting such men for his soldiers, and compared them with those of the king's army. "Your troops," said he, "are most of them old decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and theirs are gentlemen's

younger sons and persons of good quality. And do you think that the mean spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of spirit, and, take it not ill what I say, of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still." Hampden, however, was convinced by a short conversation with Cromwell, good men made better soldiers than mere gentlemen; as he has himself written:—"I accordingly raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did. And from that day forward they never were beaten; but, whenever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually."

Wild-cat-sowing aristocrats compared with Cromwell's good men.

Those persons who are fond of tracing coincidences, and pressing comparisons to their extreme limits, may find a wonderful instance of cause and effect in the fact, that the success of Cromwell's army commenced immediately on the publication of "The Soldier's Pocket Bible;" and they never after lost a battle!

It does not lessen the force of Governor Washburn's remarks, nor weaken the theory which he so ably and eloquently supported, if we admit that, in the latter years of his life, Cromwell lost his reverence for the Scriptures and lived in violation of some of its plainest commands. On the contrary, it shows that the burden of the Hebrew prophet to the ancient king who slighted the word of God, has a wider application: "Therefore, behold I, even I, will utterly forget you, and I will forsake you, and I will bring an everlasting reproach upon you, and a perpetual shame, which shall not be forgotten. He shall have none to sit upon the throne; and his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost."

The Hebrew Prophet. Jeremiah xxiii. 39, 40. xxxvi. 30

Impartial history has recorded the facts relating to the Protector's death, the brief authority of his weak son, and the fate that befel the dead body of the once almost omnipotent Cromwell. The parallel between Jehoiakim, King of Judah, and Oliver, Lord Protector of England, is sufficiently apparent, and needs no comment.—*Morning Advertiser*, 31st Jan., 1856.

Parallel between the King of Judah and Oliver, Lord Protector of England.

TO THE UNITED PATRIOTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND HER
DEPENDENCIES.

GREEN is the spot and ever fair the sky
Where the great world's Leonidases die.
The mouldering ruin and the hoary shrine
Are consecrated by the light divine
Which great men shed :—where'er their feet have trod
'Tis hallowed ground, bright with the smile of God !
Great men ? How many covet such a name
Who leave no trophy of their worth to fame !
How many have deserved yet won it not,
Herding and struggling with the common lot.
But when a nation for a patriot cries
Great Nature speaks—and Nature's God supplies.
Creation has no landmarks where rude birth
Is severed from the right divine to win
A glorious name. A quiet nook of earth,
A hamlet nestled from the world's wild din
By bold and rugged mountains, roaring floods,
Valleys and breezy leas and grand old woods,
Have fostered in their silent solitude
Great spirits who have won a nation's trust,
In freedom's van the first and foremost stood,
And crumpled impious monarchies to dust.
Great fortunes make great names, great titles make
Great vassalage, great heroes overtake
Great honours, and great evils make great men.
'Twas thus through all the past, and will be so
To future generations :—for the power
Which conquered evil in its strongest hour,
The arm puissant of all-sovereign Right,
Which hurled corruption to its regal den,
And laid oppression and oppressors low,
Sprang from the hidden, yet colossal, might
Of some untitled spirit, who awoke
The nation's heart as though an angel spoke.

J. W. KING.

GREAT BRITAIN.

HESPER of empires—freedom's queenliest home,
Land of Caractacus and that god-world
Of Mind and Martyrdom which crusht and hurled
Old Darkness to her doom—may, from the womb
Of thy unreach'd desires, a Saviour come,
And with Promethean might arouse and move
All Powers and men to righteousness and love,
And strike the Neros of the nations dumb.
The world awaits such Nazarene to fan
Her faith in the enfranchisement of man ;—

Not to uphold a suicidal cause,
 Charred with the sickly creeds of Ichabod—
 But to restore Creation's trampled laws,
 And the true worship of the Living God !

O England ! thou hast riches in thy heart
 'Treasured for glorious purpose. Thou hast been
 Proclaimed the favoured one of Heaven—the queen
 Of empires, Freedom's home, and Ocean's chart,
 Directing Truth and Art to distant lands,
 Bearing thy treasures to their barren strands.
 Heaven grant, dear land, thou may be favoured still,
 That Wrong may find no shelter on thy soil ;
 That grasping usurers may never fill
 Their gaping coffers from oppression's spoil ;
 Nor tyrants dare to rear their haughty domes
 And lord it o'er thy people's hearts and homes.
 Justice and Truth are ministers of Heaven,
 Wrong and Oppression infamies of Hell.
 For Might, thy thrones and altars have been riven ;
 For Right, thy Sydneys and thy Hampdens fell.

— J. W. KING.

WAR.

BLOOD is the price which ever has been paid
 For Truth and Liberty, for Crowns and Creeds ;
 Earth has oft wept, nations have been dismayed
 At Power's imperious, dark, and direful deeds ;
 And many a land, once glorious in its might,
 Now knows nor arts, nor wealth, nor freedom's light.
 Where art thou, Hellas, cradle of the great ?
 Where thou fair land of once imperial Rome ?
 Say, quartered Poland, altar of the brave—
 The Cossack's dread, yet everlasting hate !
 Speak bartered Hungary from thy living tomb, —
 Why does the cypress o'er the sceptre wave ?
 Alas ! thou sorrowest in despotic night ;
 Thy soil is rich with blood of bravest men,
 Thy children are in bondage, and woe's blight
 Is on thy heart. But thou shalt rise again,
 And shake thy fetters off, with all the lands
 Awaiting Heaven's good hour. For Truth must reign
 Upon the earth. Even now Oppression stands
 On Ruin's brink, and death sweeps on amain.
 Look up with hopeful hearts, heroic host,
 Till God's good time shall gladden all your ways
 Oh, sunny Italy ! thou art not lost,
 A few more throes, a few more stormy days,
 And thou shalt burst thy Papal yoke, and aid
 Thy shackled, weeping sisters to arise
 From out the dust, and crown the sacrifice
 With love and glory that will never fade !

J. W. KING.

R 2

THE FIRE-SPIRIT.

SUGGESTED BY THE DESTRUCTION OF COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE.

Aristocratic
and genteel
revellers.

HURRAH ! hurrah ! for the Carnival,
The jest and the laughter—the masque and the ball !
Light-hearted revellers, merry men all,
Hurrah ! hurrah ! for your Carnival !

Holding your orgies from midnight to noon,
Shaming with riot the glimpse of the moon,
Soaring the day till the sun stands aloof,
Profaning the anthem that rolls to the roof ;
Hurrah ! hurrah ! for the Carnival,
The glare and the glitter—the masque and the ball !
Sport-loving rioters, merry men all,
Hurrah ! hurrah ! for your Carnival !

I will fling ye a brand that shall dazzle with light
The bounding boards ye have trodden to-night ;
Ye have juggled, and mimicked, and played out your *rôle*,
Ye shall dance by my torchlight to wind up the whole.
Hurrah ! hurrah ! for the Carnival,
The music and mumming—the masque and the ball !
Rant-loving revellers, merry men all,
Hurrah ! hurrah ! for your Carnival !

Ho ! ho ! Tramp, tramp go the hurrying feet—
Hark,—hark to the rush in the crowded street !
But wilder, and fiercer, and madder the rout
Shall resound through these walls ere my flames be crushed out.
Hurrah ! hurrah ! for the Carnival,
The rushing and crushing—the masque and the ball !
Storm-loving rioters, merry men all,
Hurrah ! hurrah ! for your Carnival !

Fled—fled are the harpers, and hushed is their tuning,
And trampled the women, all shrieking and swooning ;
Amid crackling and crashing more loud grows the roar—
Ho ! leap to the portal and batter the door !
Hurrah ! hurrah ! for the Carnival,
The gnashing and walling—the masque and the ball !
Self-loving revellers, merry men all,
Hurrah ! hurrah ! for your Carnival !

Look up ! the blue ether still bends over all,
Yet the wreaths of my smoke may ere long be your pall ;
To show ye—degraded !—one glimpse of the sky
Mid your palsy of horror, my flames leap on high.
Hurrah ! hurrah ! for the Carnival,
The groaning and writhing—the masque and the ball !
Sin-loving rioters, merry men all,
Hurrah ! hurrah ! for your Carnival !

Hence ! Away in your folly, go scathless and free ;
 They are purer than childhood that gambol with me :
 Speed away like the wind from the flash of my ire,
 Nor venture to bathe in my fountain of fire.

Hurrah ! hurrah ! for the Carnival,
 The seething and burning—the masque and the ball !
 Show-loving revellers, merry-men all,
 Hurrah ! hurrah ! for your Carnival !

The black night is ended ; the pure dawn shall rise
 With a flush on its brow, and rebuke in its eyes ;
 While yon flame-blasted walls where my corpse-lights still dance,
 Shall stand cowering in shame 'neath the Fire-Spirit's glance !

Hurrah ! hurrah ! for the Carnival,
 The wreck and the ruin—the masque and the ball ;
 Stone-hearted rioters, merry men all,
 Hurrah ! hurrah ! for your Carnival !—E. L. HERVEY.

Illustrated London News, March 22, 1856.

AN EXPOSITION OF DREAMS.

“And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh : and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams.”—Acts of the Apostles, ii. 17.

We have heard of three instances of persons now alive, who declare that they hold continual intercourse with their deceased partners. One of these is a naval officer, whom the author of the book lately published, called “The Unseen World,” appears to be acquainted with. The second is a professor in a college in America, a man of eminence and learning, and full of activity and energy ; yet he assured a friend of mine that he received constant visits from his departed wife, which afforded him great satisfaction. The third is from a lady in this country. She is united to a second husband, has been extremely happy in both marriages, and declares that she receives frequent visits from her first. Oberlin, the good pastor of Ban de la Roche, asserted the same thing himself. His wife came to him frequently after her death ; was seen by the rest of his household as well as himself ; and warned him beforehand of many events that occurred. Mrs. Matthews relates, in the memoirs of her husband, that he was one night in bed, and unable to sleep

Extraordi-
 nary
 dreams of
 people.

from the excitement that continued some time after acting ; when, hearing a rustling by the side of the bed, he looked out, and saw his first wife, who was then dead, standing by the bedside, dressed as when alive. She smiled, and bent forward, as if to take his hand ; but in his alarm, he threw himself out on the floor to avoid her contact, and was found by the landlord in a fit. On the same night, at the same hour, the present Mrs. Matthews, who was far away from him, received a similar visit from her predecessor, whom she had known when alive. She was quite awake, and in her terror seized the bell-rope to summon assistance, which gave way, and she fell with it in her hand to the ground.—*Night-side of Nature, taken from the Morning Chronicle, 18th March, 1856.*

The
Durham
Chronicle's
record of a
dream.

The *Durham Chronicle*, contains the following statement in reference to the Burnopfield murder, the trial for which Richard Rayne and John Cain was postponed on Thursday last, to the next Durham assizes :—“In reference to this case we have to place on record a circumstance of a very remarkable and affecting nature, which, however it may be accounted for or disbelieved, is nevertheless perfectly true. Mr. Stirling's parents, who, it will be remembered, resided in Kirkintilloch, near Glasgow, have been in Durham during the assizes, attending the court, for the purpose of hearing the trial of the alleged murderers of their unfortunate son, and the statement which we subjoin is from Mr. Stirling himself. On the night of the 1st of November, the day on which the murder was committed, Mrs. Stirling had a remarkable, and what she termed a fearful, dream. She dreamt that some parties were outside of the house intending to break into it. In a short time a man with dark complexion and dark dress looked in upon her at the window, presented a gun, and discharged it at her. At this juncture she awoke in great trepidation ; and since then the dream—most strongly impressed upon her mind by the fact of her son's murder, intelligence of which would not reach her until six or seven days later than the dream—has ever been vivid in her recollection. Mrs. Stirling accompanied her husband to Durham, for the purpose, as we have said, of being present at the trial. She expressed a great desire to see the two men who were accused of the murder, and for that purpose visited the prison on Wednesday. Several men were walking in the yard at the time, including Cain, Rayne, a turnkey, and

three or four others. Immediately on perceiving Rayne, without being told the name of any of the men, she recognised in him the features of the man whom she saw in her dream fire through the window at her, pointed him out, and burst into tears. Mrs. Stirling still expresses her positive conviction with respect to Rayne."—*Illustrated London News*, 15th March, 1856.

A murderer recognised by the agency of a dream.

MESSAGE TO THE UNITED PATRIOTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND HER DEPENDENCIES.

BRETHREN,—Although I momentarily expect to be robbed of my liberty, by permission granted under usurped unconstitutional power of a salaried servant of the people, "His Honour Vice-Chancellor SIR W. PAGE WOOD, Knight," much constitutional good I trust will arise therefrom, therefore maintain your dignified forbearance.

Message to patriots posted on the walls of Great Britain, &c. Unconstitutional proceedings of Vice-Chancellor Wood.

You may now gradually, without ostentation, hold forth, continuing ever watchful and prepared for events.

That the fatherless, the widow, the afflicted, the aged, the oppressed, the poor, and the artizan, may not suffer from the approaching subversion, you are to avoid bubble banks and other scheming companies, which are daily rising up under the protection of a legislative act. It is advisable that you select such safe banks as the Bank of London, in Threadneedle-street, (where no depreciation arises,) for your spare capital, placing it at usury, with ten days' notice of withdrawal. Use diligent caution, and enquire into the proprietary and management of such established banks as you may select; whereby you protect your capital, secure interest, and render a national service, by affording the means for increased legitimate commerce and industrial pursuits during a crisis, should one arise.

Patriots to be watchful and prepared for events. Bubble banks and scheming companies to be avoided. The Bank of London a safe bank for the people.

It having been resolved, at the last meeting of your advocates, that the people's paper, the *Morning Advertiser*, shall be adopted as the organ for communicating with you, they have to request your diligence in perusing its columns; as it has with only one exception, and will continue to represent the sentiments of the people of Great Britain and her dependencies. Should that important article contained in its columns of the 10th inst. have escaped your attention, you are requested to refer thereto. It is on the subject of that dangerous secret

Dangerous secret societies in England of the Pope of Rome.

The association for the subversion of England.

Inglorious and disgraceful peace. Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Israel to be re-established as nations.

Instructions to patriots.

society, ordered and sanctioned by His Holiness the Pope of Rome, "The Association for the Conversion of England." Were it called "The papistical Association for the Subversion of the British Constitution," it would be better implied. Keep before you the records of the deeds perpetrated in the days of your forefathers, by "Bloody Queen Mary," and the "atrocious Papist King James the Second." The peace, so ingloriously and disgracefully concluded, without the approval or desire of the people, having been built upon a foundation of sand, great shall be the fall thereof, and upon its ruins there shall arise a great and glorious war,—such as never before arose,—which shall have for its end the re-establishment of Hungary, Italy, Poland and Israel, as nations.

You are not to communicate politically with me through the post-office, but for the present through private and indirect sources; and in the event of my being imprisoned in the Bastille of the High Court of Chancery, I have made arrangements with our brethren, Messrs. Gregory, Chinery and Co., 25, Birchin Lane, Lombard Street, to receive communications for me.

The first volume of our work, titled, "Public Opinion and Record of Educated, Titled, and Talented Perpetrators of Crime and Injustice," will shortly be ready for delivery; meantime, believe me,

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY, V.P.,

And an Advocate for the People.

5 A.M., 17th day of April, 1856.

THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL.

To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*.

Decided tone of the people's newspaper.

The sham peace.

SIR,—The decided tone of your leading article of Friday last has produced a great sensation. For some weeks now the public have hardly known what to think. The sham peace was made, by inimitable art, to look so like a real one, that, in spite of common sense, the doubtful and timorous, who compose so large a part of society, began to think there might be something in it. But the occurrences of these few days mark

the turn of affairs, and show more plainly the certainty, which no clear-sighted politician could ever doubt, that society cannot remain balanced on the wrong end, as it is proposed to be kept by the Paris parchment. Formalities and ceremonies are not to be allowed a permanent installation in the place of realities. If Providence has permitted such a curious set of seemingly strengthening coincidences to take place in the very nick of time, it has been only to show the more completely the mockery and vanity of selfish rulers presuming to take the fate of nations into their hands. This, if we look wisely at it, is the deep and impressive lesson to be learned from the Imperial Baby scene. And, if we look, with intelligent eyes at history, we will find many similar instances of this curious way of the workings of fate.

The Great King permits seemingly strengthening coincidences.

Imperial Baby scene.

The Austrian encroachment on Italy—the occurrence of the anti-Maynooth vote at this time—the agitation of the Neapolitan question, and the growing suspicion of the conduct of Lord Palmerston, from whom many hoped so much, and, indeed, every circumstance of our political condition, argues a coming change along with the stormy incidents, too certain to attend it. But destiny must be fulfilled.

Austrian encroachments on Italy, &c. Growing suspicion of the conduct of Lord Palmerston.

Will Lord Palmerston not be so bold as to cast to the winds any antecedents which fetter him in the promotion of the real interests of the people, and lead them, as he could so effectually do, to popular success? Let him disclaim all secrecy in the management of affairs, and, no matter what part of his former conduct may have been to blame, the people will freely forgive him for the atonement he makes, and for the good he doubtless wished on many occasions to do. If not, we must seek for other leaders. It is time for trifling to cease, when such interests are at stake.

Advice for Lord Palmerston.

The Government will not longer be permitted to trifle with the people.

You have allowed me to write a good deal, at different critical times, in your columns, and I confess I was one of those who wished to see Lord Palmerston get a fair trial. He has had it; and he has at least brought matters to a crisis, for good or evil, as no one else could have done. We have now to deal with the crisis he has helped to produce; and, if we are not to have his help through it, we must look for those who will give it heartily.

The people of England must find rulers of capacity.

I know how crowded with important matters your columns are; but I venture to hope that those who held opinions favourable to his Lordship's trial as Premier, will be listened to, when

they express the feelings which accurate observation of his course in it has produced on their minds. To wait till the peace is formally published is unnecessary; we all know what it is.

I remain, Sir, yours, &c.,

21st April, 1856.

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

COMING EVENTS CASTING THEIR SHADOWS BEFORE.

To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser*.

Morning Advertiser
the advocate of
patriotism.

The Times, Post, Morning Herald, and Morning Chronicle shorn of their patriotic strength.

SIR,—Although it is, of course, absolute folly for any one to pretend to say what the issue of the Peace Conferences will be, and quite as absurd not to recognise in what is going on in Paris a higher hand than any merely human one, there are still very important considerations for every party to the proposed treaty, which it will not do for journalists to neglect or ignore. But alas! it has always happened lately that our press—free, as it is called—has in great part failed us when most required; and now we have the astonishing spectacle presented to us at this imminent crisis of affairs, of only one of our powerful daily journals calling and keeping the attention of its readers to the real bearings of the question, and to the vastness of the interests at stake. One need hardly say that it is the *Morning Advertiser*, which alone does this great duty to the public; while the *Times*, *Post*, *Herald*, and *Chronicle*, and the rest of the less influential papers, have, with an absurd reserve, shorn themselves of their patriotic strength, and of the power they might have had to benefit the country, by preserving a ridiculous silence on the whole subject. They seem not to be aware how a few powerful articles approved of, as they would be, by the general sentiment, would strengthen the hands of Lord Clarendon, and give weight, even in the cabinet of Emperors, to our just demands. If the rather *dilettante* successor to the Bonaparte *prestige* and name is encouraged to make a delusive clap-trap shout of peace herald in the promised *accouchement* of the Empress, and thus make a sort of clever point in the eyes of a versatile metropolis, and if the real interests of the people of both countries are sacrificed to such a

gingerbread achievement, this nation will have mostly to thank its press and their submissive silence for the results.

It is owing to this characteristic boldness and sound judgment which you have displayed, as compared with the other journals, that we cannot take up a provincial or foreign paper in which we do not see quotations from its columns, when there are none from those of its contemporaries. For, how, if they neglect to do the work of journalism, and either from fear, favour, or ill-timed reserve, fail to comment on the subject which is uppermost in every one's mind, can they expect to be read with care, interest, or confidence? It is not only quotations from the *Morning Advertiser* that we find in all the papers, but the telegraph wires are set to work every morning as soon as your columns can be purchased, to convey to the country and abroad, and as far on the way to America as they can, the leading views and intelligence which you furnish, while the same attention is seldom afforded to the other papers. Some may claim as the reason for this the earlier and exclusive intelligence of the *Morning Advertiser*; but it seems to me to be equally owing to the boldness and guaranteed impartiality of its leading views, which make it the scientific expression—if one may be allowed the phrase—of the voice of the people.

Provincial and foreign journals quote from the *Morning Advertiser*.

Telegraph wires set to work with the voice of the *Morning Advertiser*.

But however this may be, there are certain obvious indications of the nature of the projected peace, to which it would be most unpatriotic for Englishmen to shut their eyes. If peace is made now, the people of this country will be burthened for many years with a most cumbrous system of expensive government. In times of peace the tendency of society is to add to the habits of luxury and ostentation, which render the condition of so many of the people that of slavish indigence. The foundation of sound religion, as well as of political science, is to be laid only in an approach to a more just equality of condition than prevails just now. And the present rulers of kingdoms and rival empires may rest assured of this,—that if by a feigned peace they secure an extension of their lease of power for a term of years, they only contrive a means of rendering their fall, and the cession of their ridiculous pomp and state, more signal and aggravating to themselves. The Russian power, to which they in fact defer, by a peace formed just now, is a creation of that peculiar kind that, if suffered to continue at all, it will certainly encroach either openly or insidiously on its neighbours. There can, therefore, be no assured peace nor rest for the world, till

Projected peace unpatriotic for Englishmen.

Timely warning to rulers and governors.

Russia
shuts up a
vast portion
of the
world's
surface
against
nations.

the Russian idea is overcome, and till the absolute power of a single despotic will be prevented from shutting up so vast a portion, or indeed any portion at all, of the earth's surface from the free access of men of all nations. We have not yet conquered Russia a hair's breadth, but rather given her a glory and standing for her obstinate resistance, which she will know well how to use for the future and continued enslavement of a Europe which has been submitted to her arts.

England
receding to
a second-
rate power.

No one should doubt that this is her aim, and that unless we resist her now we prepare for ourselves a perilous subjection of our liberties and even property to her control. By peace England does unquestionably run the almost certain risk of immediately receding to the rank of a second-rate power, and we shall, probably, before long see Paris, as the centre of European civilization, directed in its fashion and policy by inspiration from St. Petersburg, while London ceases to have almost a distinct individuality. The silence of so much of our Press, which shows how little they are in communication with, or give expression to, the wishes and thoughts of the nation, makes this danger more imminent, arguing an indifference in the people which they certainly are very far from feeling. We can only say again, Heaven be thanked we have *one* independent journal.

Thanks to
the king-
dom of the
Great King
for one in-
dependent
journal.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

12th March, 1856.

ANTI-PAX.*

PAPISTICAL DISTURBERS OF THE DEAD AND THEIR JUST CHASTISEMENT.

THE CATASTROPHE IN CORK.—LOSS OF NINETEEN LIVES.

Appalling
and terrible
accident
over a
corpse.

ONE of the most appalling and terrible accidents which probably have ever become matter for detail in a newspaper, and certainly the most disastrous that has occurred in Cork, as regards the loss of human life, within the memory of the oldest person living, took place on Saturday night in this city, shortly after the hour of twelve o'clock. At that time, and for some hours previously; "a wake" was being held on the body of a child about two years old, the son of a man named Patrick Sullivan, a cooper, residing in a place called Penrose's-lane, a lane running off the North Main-street, and connecting the

* Against the peace.

latter with Duncan-street. We believe there are few but those whose hard lot it is to live in the wretched lanes which branch off either side of the North Main-street, who have the slightest conception of the misery, the squalor, and unmistakable signs of dilapidation and decay, which encompass the visitor on every hand. With breadth scarcely sufficient to admit more than a single passenger, and much too narrow to permit of two persons walking abreast, the houses dirty, dingy, and apparently for many years past going rapidly into decay, generally rise to the height of three stories on either side of those miserable alleys. In the front room of an upper story in Penrose's-square, the friends of the father of the deceased child assembled on Saturday night to the number, it has been stated, of forty or fifty; and, after visiting the place yesterday, how they succeeded in finding room for such a number in a space so utterly disproportionate, it is difficult to understand. It is stated that the usual kind of entertainment which is provided on those occasions was being indulged in; when suddenly one of the visitors exclaimed that "the floor was sinking." Sullivan, the father of the deceased child, who was standing with his back against the door, said "that could not be, as there was not there sufficient to bring it down." He had scarcely uttered the words when, without further warning, crash went the floor, and one appalling, terrific shriek from all assembled, showed that they fully realized the dreadful fate that awaited them. Down came the living weight, crushing and smashing everything that interfered to arrest its fearful descent, and carrying the first floor completely away, the entire mass of human beings, men, women, and children, timber, beams, bricks and mortar, and whatever articles of domestic furniture the house contained, were all precipitated on the basement story into one hopeless, inextricable mass, in which the dead, the dying, and the comparatively uninjured lay piled on each other to the depth of five or six feet. A cry of horror arose from those whose faculties were not completely paralysed, which was quickly taken up by the persons outside, and an alarm was at once spread that the unhappy inmates were all destroyed. Constable Cary and two of the men belonging to the Tuckey-street station were quickly on the spot, and a vigorous effort was made to force the door and lower windows, but the pressure from inside offered a resistance that could not be overcome. A ladder was procured, and on opening one of the upper windows, a picture of human suffering and

A cry of horror arose and general alarm was spread.

Mr.
Maguire,
M.P., and
others
render
valuable
aid.

agony and death was presented, which it is utterly impossible to describe. By this time a large body of the police force had arrived, and a number of active and intelligent citizens were also present and rendered valuable assistance. By a vigorous exertion the door and lower windows were forced, and steps were promptly taken to rescue the sufferers from the mass of rubbish, bricks, mortar, and other materials in which it might be said they were literally embedded. In directing and personally assisting in this work of mercy, efficient and valuable assistance was rendered by Sub-inspector De Gernon, chief of constabulary in this city; Mr. Maguire, M.P., the mayor; Doctors Sandham, Callinan, and Allen, together with Head-constables Crowley, Roe, and Constables Carey, Meagher, Phelan, and a large number of constables and civilians. When the bodies had been extricated, and conveyed into the street, it was found that eight were actually dead, and several others expired before medical aid could be applied. A considerable proportion of those in whom even a glimmering of life appeared were taken to the North Infirmary, where, having been previously made aware of the catastrophe, Drs. Bullen and Finn were prepared for their reception, assisted by the medical residents of the infirmary, Messrs. William Roche and Rice. At an early hour yesterday morning it was ascertained that the entire number of persons killed amounted to nineteen, of whom six remained at the North infirmary, five had been removed to the Bridewell, and eight had been taken to their various homes by their friends. It has been ascertained that there are other nineteen persons who are more or less wounded, some of whom remain at the North Infirmary, and others are treated in their own homes.

Amongst the wounded are, in the North Infirmary, Catherine Rourke, Hester Cahill, Mary Buckley, John Barry, James Regan; in Coleman's-lane, Johanna Macnamara, Margaret Macnamara, Patrick Nagle; in Philips's-lane, Thomas Hennessy, Thomas Swayne, Margaret Hennessy, Daniel Gamble, Abby Dempsey, and John Dempsey.

Having thus stated the names of those who were rescued from their perilous position, happily without loss of life, this may be a suitable place again to mention, that by those who were present in Penrose's-lane on Saturday night, the highest testimony has been borne to the zeal exhibited by Mr. De Gernon on this occasion, who stimulated his men more by the force of

his own example, and that with a resolution and intrepidity that are as creditable to his courage as to his humanity.

It should also be stated that Messrs. William Laffan, Duncan-street, Murphy, and Williams exerted themselves with most creditable activity.

From an early hour yesterday morning, the North Main-street and Duncan-street were crowded by curious spectators, and the lane itself was rendered all but impassable by those anxious to get a view of the scene of the tragedy. The house itself presented an extraordinary appearance—the two floors in the front part of the building were brought down as completely as if nothing had ever existed but the four walls, not an inch of wood, or the slightest portion of brick or mortar projected from the walls, in the sides of which the fire-places only remained. It is equally strange that the back part of the house was scarcely in any degree affected by the destruction of the greater portion of the front; the stairs remained untouched, and it is owing to this fortunate circumstance that, in all probability, a much greater loss of life has not to be deplored.—*Cork Examiner*, 29th March, 1856.

The last Morning Service attended by CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY, at ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH, LOTHBURY, (the resting-place of his ancestors) on the twentieth of April, the Sunday previous to his incarceration in the Bastile of the Inquisition.

PSALM CXVII. (new version).

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1 With cheerful notes let all the earth | 2 God's tender mercy knows no bound, |
| To heav'n their voices raise : | His truth shall ne'er decay : |
| Let all, inspir'd with godly mirth, | Then let the willing nations round |
| Sing solemn hymns of praise. | Their grateful tribute pay. |

GLORIA PATRI.

To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
The God whom we adore,
Be glory ; as it was, is now,
And shall be evermore.

THE COLLECT FOR THE FOURTH SUNDAY AFTER EASTER.

O ALMIGHTY GOD, who alone canst order the unruly wills and affections of sinful men ; Grant unto thy people, that they may love the thing which thou commandest, and desire that which thou dost promise ; that so, among the sundry and manifold changes of the world, our hearts may surely there be fixed, where true joys are to be found ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The EPISTLE, St. James i. 17.

The GOSPEL, St. John xvi. 5.

FIRST LESSON, Deuteronomy vi.

SECOND LESSON, Acts xvii.

PSALM CXLI. (new version.)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 Lord, hear my pray'r, and to my cry
Thy wonted audience lend ;
In thy accusom'd faith and truth
A gracious answer send.</p> <p>2 Nor at thy strict tribunal bring
Thy servant to be tried ;
For in thy sight no living man
Can e'er be justified.</p> <p>5 I call to mind the days of old,
And wonders thou hast wrought :
My former dangers and escapes
Employ my musing thought.</p> <p>6 To thee my hands in humble pray'r
I fervently stretch out ;
My soul for thy refreshment thirsts,
Like land oppress'd with drought.</p> <p>7 Hear me with speed ; my spirit fails ;
Thy face no longer hide,
Lest I become forlorn, like them
That in the grave reside.</p> <p>8 Thy kindness early let me hear,
Whose trust on thee depends ;
Teach me the way where I should go ;
My soul to thee ascends.</p> | <p>3 The spiteful foe pursues my life,
Whose comforts all are fled ;
He drives me into caves as dark
As mansions of the dead.</p> <p>4 My spirit therefore is o'erwhelm'd,
And sinks within my breast ;
My mournful heart grows desolate,
With heavy woes oppress.</p> <p>9 Do thou, O Lord, from all my foes
Preserve and set me free ;
A safe retreat against their rage
My soul implores from thee.</p> <p>10 Thou art my God, thy righteous will
Instruct me to obey ;
Let thy good Spirit lead and keep
My soul in thy right way.</p> <p>11 O ! for the sake of thy great Name,
Revive my drooping heart ;
For thy truth's sake, to me, distress'd,
Thy promis'd aid impart.</p> <p>12 In pity to my sufferings, Lord,
Reduce my foes to shame ;
Slay them that persecute a soul
Devoted to thy Name.</p> |
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PSALM LXXXI.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1 To God our never-failing strength,
With loud applauses sing ;
And jointly make a cheerful noise
To Jacob's awful king.</p> <p>2 Compose a hymn of praise, and touch
Your instruments of joy,
Let psalteries and pleasant harps
Your grateful skill employ.</p> <p>3 Let trumpets at the great new morn
Their joyful voices raise,
To celebrate th' appointed time,
The solemn day of praise.</p> <p>4 For this a statute was of old,
Which Jacob's God decreed,
To be with pious care observ'd
By Israel's chosen seed.</p> | <p>5 This he for a memorial fix'd,
When freed from Egypt's land,
Strange nations' barb'rous speech we
heard,
But could not understand.</p> <p>6 Your burden'd shoulders I reliev'd,
(Thus seems our God to say,)
Your servile hands by me were freed
From lab'ring in the clay.</p> <p>7 Your ancestors, with wrongs oppress'd,
To me for aid did call ;
With pity I their suff'rings saw,
And set them free from all.</p> <p>8 They sought for me, and from the cloud
In thunder I replied ;
At Meribah's contentious stream
Their faith and duty tried.</p> |
|--|---|

SERMON PREACHED BY THE REV. MR. SOUTH,

Taken from the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES xvii. 22, 23.

Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars' Hill, and said, Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.

AMBASSADORIAL MISCONDUCT AND TREACHERY!

FALL OF KARS, AND OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,

The Official Correspondence laid before Parliament, proves that the despatches of General Williams to Lord Stratford were not answered.

Sixty-three despatches were neglected, General Williams was allowed to be insulted, thwarted, and opposed by incapable officers.

Cruel neglect of Lord Stratford.

General Williams struggled an entire year to obtain arms, ammunition, stores, provisions, clothing, and to re-organize and discipline the troops; no aid was given him; Lord Stratford neglected to obtain for him the acknowledgment at the Porte of his official position.

The fortress was besieged; its brave defence won the admiration of the world. Ammunition was short! Food was short! Despatch after despatch was sent to Lord Stratford for aid—for a relieving force; there was no help sent—no answer sent to General Williams.

The hospitals were full; the carcasses of dead horses were dug up and eaten in the agony of hunger by the sick and dying.

Men wasted to skeletons died a hundred daily.

The besieged held out, they repulsed the whole Russian Force, and left dead upon the field 6,000 of them.

After the victory, for a month, in all the horrors of famine, the garrison still held out.

There was still time to have saved them, still time to have utterly defeated the Russians, and captured their entire force.

Omar Pacha, when he could have been useful, was kept back; Generals Vivian and Beatson were kept back; General Williams was unaided, unnoticed, unanswered—was compelled to surrender.

Brave troops obliged to feed upon exhausted carcasses of horses.

Unparalleled bravery of troops under General Williams.

An aristocratic lord responsible for the fall of Kars.

The Blue Book, so far as it goes, shows that Lord Stratford is responsible for the Fall of Kars.

The Blue Book may not give the whole facts of the case.

It is the duty of the Government to lay the entire facts before the people.

It would be disgraceful to the Government, and disgraceful to the People of England, that, whoever may be guilty of the neglect of General Williams, the death by hunger of so many brave soldiers, and the fall into the hands of the enemy of so important a fortress, should go unpunished.

People of England! demand an investigation before a Parliamentary Committee.

People of England! demand that the whole case be investigated before a Parliamentary Committee, and that whoever is guilty of the Fall of Kars shall be punished.

(To be continued.)

JESUITS SURROUND THE THRONE.

The English nation under strong apprehensions of a Papistical Government.

The sacred code copied into short-hand.

During that part of the reign of King Charles II., when the nation was under strong apprehensions of a Popish Government, and religious persons were the victims of Protestant persecution, it being expected that printed Bibles would become rare, or locked up in an unknown tongue, many honest people, struck with the alarm, employed themselves in copying the Bible into short-hand, that they might not be destitute of its consolations in the hour of calamity. To this task young De Foe also applied himself, and he tells us "that he worked like a horse, till he had written out the whole Pentateuch, when he grew so tired that he was willing to risk the rest. Yet his enemies in after life attacked him as "an illiterate person, without education." "The enemies of peace," says he, "are not a few; and he that preaches a doctrine men care not to follow, when they cannot object against the subject, they will against the man. He is no scholar, says one; that's true: he was an apprentice to a hosier, says another; that's false; and adds to the number of the intolerable liberties Dr. Browne and Mr. Observator give themselves; he having never been a hosier, nor an apprentice; but he has been a trader; that's true; and therefore, must know no Latin." Excellent logic this! Those gentlemen who reproach my learning to applaud their own, shall have it proved that I have more learning than either of them—because I have more manners. I have no concern to tell Dr. Browne I can read English; nor to tell Mr. Tutchin I understand Latin: *Non ita*

*Latinus sum ut Latine loqui.** I easily acknowledge myself blockhead enough to have lost the fluency of expression in the Latin, and so far trade has been a prejudice to me; and yet I think I owe this justice to my ancient father, still living, and in whose behalf I freely testify that if I am a blockhead, it was nobody's fault but my own, he having spared nothing in my education that might qualify me to match the accurate Dr. Browne, or the learned Observer.

The causes that led to the diversion of De Foe's talents from his original destination as a dissenting minister, into another channel, are now unknown: it is certain that the times were very unfavourable to the exercise of such a function, and occasioned numbers to abandon their pulpits, or withdraw from their native country. A competent witness observes that "For some time before a Popish prince ascended the throne, Popish councils so far prevailed, that it was not safe for a dissenting minister to be seen in the streets of London; many of them were thrown into common gaols; their meetings, which for some years they held by connivance, were everywhere suppressed; and they chose in some places to meet in the night in small numbers, rather than be wholly destitute of the worship of God in that way of administration which they thought most conformable to his word. The civil liberties of the people of England met with a violent shock at the same time; some of the best blood that ever ran in English veins was then spilt as water upon the ground; juries were packed, false witnesses suborned, corrupt judges upon the bench, and mercenary lawyers encouraged at the bar with noisy insolence to hunt down the true friends of the English constitution." Perhaps De Foe was swayed by other considerations. His natural disposition might be unsuited to so grave a profession, at least with the view he had taken of it; or some circumstance, now unknown, might have rendered it inexpedient for him to follow it.

Upon De Foe's leaving college, after five years' residence there, the events of the period, when viewed in connexion with the principles of his education, had a strong tendency to produce in him an ardent love of liberty, and a fixed abhorrence of tyranny, and he early embarked in an unceasing warfare against all, whether in high or low places, who sought to oppose his country and his creed; and he almost immediately enlisted himself upon

Dissenting ministers inside in the streets when Papistical councils prevailed. Secret Meetings. Civil liberties of the people of England in danger. Some of the best blood spilt. Juries packed. Suborning false witnesses. Corrupt judges upon the bench. Mercenary lawyers. Insolent barristers hunt down the friends of the English constitution.

Defoe's ardent love of liberty and fixed abhorrence of tyranny.

* I am not such a Latin as to speak the Latin language.

the popular side in politics, and, engaging in them with all the ardour of youthful blood, his genius and active energy speedily raised him to distinction with his party.

De Foe's
Guide to
the inferior
clergy.

De Foe was only twenty-one when he commenced as an author, and he hardly ever ceased writing for the rest of his life. His first production was a lampoon levelled at the well known Roger l'Estrange's "Guide to the Inferior Clergy," and was entitled "Speculum Crape-Gownorum; or, a Looking-glass for the Young Academicks, new Foyl'd, &c. By a Guide to the Inferiour Clergie." London: 1682.

War be-
tween the
Turks and
the German
Emperor.

The Hun-
garians rise
up against
the Em-
peror of
Austria to
quell his
horrible
deeds.

The cow-
ardice of
Europe
rescue the
Austrian
prince of

He borrowed his title from the crape gowns then usually worn by the inferior clergy, and probably thought that many would be ensnared to read his book by the taking effect of a super-scription. Availing himself of the licence of the times, he repays the libellers of the Dissenters in their own coin, and shoots his bolts without ceremony at the weak points of the established clergy. To this mode of warfare they had rendered themselves obnoxious by the scurrility of their writings; and the edge of resentment was further sharpened by the oppression of the civil power. The fertility of the subject soon produced a second part of the "Speculum Crape-Gownorum;" in which De Foe deals more seriously with the Government, and, by a practical view of the effect of persecution, exposes its absurdity. The next subject which occupied the pen of De Foe was the war then raging upon the Continent between the Turks and the German Emperor. The occasion was this:—The Hungarian reformers having been persecuted and proscribed by the Austrian monarch, had risen in arms against him; and the Turks, availing themselves of the opportunity, had marched to their assistance and laid siege to Vienna. Most of the English Protestants (as men ever think the nearest danger greatest, and hate their old enemies most) were inclined to rejoice at this tumbling down of a Popish despot, and the success of the Hungarian brethren. But De Foe, who saw further than them (and perhaps took a little pride in doing so), viewed the matter in a different light, and deprecated the possible triumph of the Crescent over the Cross, and the subjugation of all Christendom, which might be the consequence. Logically speaking, he was right; but prudentially, he was perhaps wrong. The powers of Europe took the alarm as well as he, and combined to rescue the Austrian monarch from the gripe of the Mussulman. They succeeded but could obtain no terms for the Hungarian pea-

sants. Had the emperor been left to fight his own battles against the Turks, he might have been frightened into measures of moderation and justice towards his own subjects; and there was in the meantime little probability of a Mohammedan army overrunning Europe. The title of De Foe's pamphlet on this subject is not known. When he collected his works in 1703, he did not insert this among them,—for what reason it is difficult to conceive.

Hell
from the
gripe of
the in-
furiated
Hun-
garians.

To return to the affairs of England. Towards the latter end of Charles's reign, when the influence of the Duke of York was on the wane, it is imagined by several historians that a plan for a more popular system of government was in contemplation; but this project, whatever it may have been, was put an end to by the sudden death of Charles.

This monarch, however, who seemed to oppress his subjects only for his amusement, and played the tyrant as an appendage to the character of a fine gentleman, had never proceeded to the last extremities, nor quite thrown off the mask, whatever his secret wishes or designs might have been, by openly attacking large masses of power and opinion. James, who succeeded him, was a true monk,—a blind, narrow, gloomy bigot; and did not stop short in his mad and obstinate career till he drove the country to rebellion, and himself into exile. As the Archbishop of Rheims well and wittily said of him, on seeing him come out of a Popish chapel abroad, "There goes a very honest gentleman, who gave up three kingdoms for a mass."

Regal
amuse-
ment.

The English
nation will
not submit
to misrule.

Upon his accession to the throne, addresses of loyalty and devotion poured in from all quarters, notwithstanding his well known principles and designs. An address from the Middle Temple, expressed the sentiments of that body of scholars and gentlemen, in a strain of fulsome servility. The university of Oxford promised to obey him "without limitations or restrictions;" and the King's promise, in his speech from the throne, (says Burnet,) passed for a thing so sacred, that those were looked upon as ill-bred who put into their address, "our religion established by law excepted." The pulpits resounded with thanksgiving sermons, and the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; and the clergy were forward in tendering the unconditional surrender of their rights and liberties, for themselves, their fellow-subjects, and their posterity. If James did not before think himself God's vicerent upon earth, he must have thought so now. But he no sooner took them at their

Legal
satellites of
Satan re-
joice at the
accession
to the
throne of
a Prince of
the Pope of
Rome.
Students of
Oxford
University
promise to
serve a
Papistical
king.
Simplicity
of the
clergy.

Patriot
Dissenters
rise in the
cause of
the Divine
King.

Defoe
handles his
sword as
well as his
pen in the
cause of
freedom,
truth, and
justice.

Sir W.
Wyndham's ne-
farious
Educa-
tional Bill.

word, and proceeded to appoint Papists to be heads of colleges, and to induct them to Protestant livings, and to send the bishops to the Tower for refusing to set their seal to his arbitrary mandates; that is, he no sooner alarmed the clergy for their authority spiritual, and their revenues temporal,—so that judgment began, as Dr. Sherlock expressed it, in the house of God,—than they turned round, and sent their loyalty and their monarch a packing together. The general odium into which James soon fell, encouraged the Duke of Monmouth (the natural son of Charles II., by Lucy Walters) to raise the standard of revolt, and large numbers of the Dissenters, whose consciences had been sorely tyrannized over by the bigoted monarch on the throne, united their forces with those of the unfortunate prince, when he landed at Lyme, in June, 1685. In the number of those who joined this romantic invasion was De Foe, who, at the age of four-and-twenty, showed to the world that he could handle his sword no less than his pen, in the cause of liberty.

The nefarious bill brought into the House of Commons by Sir W. Wyndham, Chancellor of the Exchequer, "To prevent the growth of Schism," the object of which was to shut up all the schools of Dissenters throughout the kingdom, and to take out of their hands the education of their own children, formed the theme of De Foe's "Remedy worse than the Disease; or, Reasons against passing the Bill for preventing the growth of Schism. To which is added, a brief Discourse of Toleration and Persecution. London, 1714." A work in which De Foe pleads the cause of religious liberty with great force and eloquence, and in lively colours exposes the hateful character of intolerance.

(To be continued.)

VICTIMS OF THE LAW.

Winchester
and other
prison
frauds and
abuses en-
couraged in
the Insol-
vent Court.
Cruel
Imprison-
ment in
the Queen's
Bastile.

In consequence of the disclosures at Winchester and other prisons, and extensive frauds and abuses connected with vesting orders in the Insolvent Court, and the fact of a number of persons being in the Queen's Prison, who have been *incarcerated from five to twenty years, and three upwards of forty years*, it is of the greatest importance that immediate and general inquiry should be made in the case of every prisoner for debt, or contempt, in England—who has been confined three months without applying to the Insolvent or Bankrupts' Court; also

the case of every other prisoner who solicits such inquiry, and power for this purpose should be vested in the Commissioners of the Bankrupt Courts, assisted by a jury; for it is far beyond doubt that hundreds are imprisoned unjustly—in fact, *not to enforce payment, but to prevent the just application of property, and for the purpose of more conveniently defrauding the victims.* The investigation will also protect them against much fraudulent litigation, and at the same time it will assist in obliging the fraudulent debtors to apply the best means to meet all just claims against them. The inquiry should be held at the respective prisons, after giving the detaining creditors or others seven days' notice. Of course the Commissioners and jury holding the inquiry must have the power of discharging prisoners on such terms as may appear just between debtor and creditor.

Insolvent, Chancery, and Ecclesiastical Courts convenient for assisting to defraud its victims of property and liberty.

When a felon is taken by a police officer, he is removed from the station to the police office for examination by the magistrate before he can be committed to prison, and thus an opportunity is afforded him for explanation and defence. Why are debtors, or persons treated for contempt, when arrested, not taken from the lock-up house before a magistrate for examination previous to removal to a prison, where, by confinement, the difficulties of honest debtors are increased, and consequently the means of payment of their debts diminished, and victims of contempt kept in at the mercy of the incarcerator? A similar investigation is desirable previous to allowing a detainer or vesting order—the latter particularly, because they are frequently applied for to enable dishonest solicitors to obtain the management of property they would not be intrusted with under other circumstances.

Misfortune treated by the Insolvent Court as a criminal offence.

In fact, the frauds connected with vesting orders are frequently of the most atrocious description, and no protection can be relied upon in the Insolvent Court, which may be considered the *Court for Relief of fraudulent Creditors, and punishment and plunder of solvent Debtors*; and whatever unsettled claims exist between the solvent debtors and those who are seeking to defraud them may be subjected to the private interests of persons connected with the Insolvent Court, for defence of the rights of the debtor appears out of the question. This is, no doubt, the result of the want of power to appeal against the decisions of the Commissioners, which are often of the most questionable character.

Dishonest solicitors obtain management of property through the facilities of the Courts. Unfortunate debtors punished and plundered through the Courts.

The operation of vesting orders under the practice of the Insolvent Court, is of the most oppressive and unjust character when judged by common sense, and compared with a fiat in

Victims of
the Insol-
vent Court
subject to
the Bastile.

Animals
better pro-
tected than
unfortunate
men.
Mission-
aries seek
objects of
benevo-
lence.

bankruptcy ; *for in the latter case the debtor very properly obtains immediate liberty and protection from arrest, with an allowance from his estate ;* but in the former, he is deprived of all control of his property, whatever may be the value, even if fifty times the amount of the debts, and his liberty also, and becomes a county pauper if he has no support from friends, and if the keeper of the prison is a wrong man for the place, or disposed to exercise power instead of performing his duty, or bargain for his services to extort a written confession of insolvency in the form of an *insolvent's* schedule, the victim is placed in the *bastile* part of the prison, called the Remand Ward, with prisoners who have been sentenced for every description of offence, punishable under the extraordinary powers of the Insolvent Court, in many cases in direct violation of the constitutional rights of British subjects. All these acts of oppression are in full operation in the year 1856, in a country where institutions exist for nearly every other class in want of protection ; in fact, where horses, dogs and cats, are protected against acts of cruelty, and from which missionaries are sent to distant parts of the world in search of objects of benevolence, thus neglecting hundreds confined in the gaols of the country, some for a period of forty years, separated from their families and the world, and subject to privation and anxiety, which can be better imagined than described ; and, in a large majority of cases, the victims of fraud and extortion.

(*To be continued.*)

CHARACTER OF THE FRAUD ATTEMPTED TO THE EXTENT OF £150,000.

Building
transac-
tions.

Fraudulent
money-
lenders and
brick-
advancing
mortga-
gees.

In building transactions such cases have been of common occurrence, on account of the high rate of interest, large margin of value, opportunities for disputing every advance as the works proceed, and preventing the creation of income by withholding the advances required for finishing ; and because mortgages in building transactions are usually executed upon arrangements to advance as works proceed ; *in fact, it is obtaining a mortgage without a shilling of consideration, and obliging the mortgagor to exhaust his means and credit in improving the security.* It appears incredible that such a heartless system of fraud should exist in a great commercial country, where impartial justice is supposed to be administered : yet such is the fact, and to an enormous extent. The course of practice is to select the most valuable building estate which the apparent respectability and

means of the mortgagee and his solicitor will enable them to obtain, promising the owner every assistance he may desire to create income by the erection of houses, and to make the required advances as works proceed under the direction of an architect acting for the mortgagee, but at the same time inserting a much smaller amount in the mortgage deed than the value of the works planned by the architect. This enables the mortgagee and his solicitor to find some pretence for disputing on every advance when required. Agreements with estate stealers are *comparatively* carried out thus;—If an agreement is made for a mortgagor to enter at a door, he is refused admittance there, and required to enter by the window, and when he consents to this inconvenient mode of entry, the window will be closed against him, and he will be told that he must mount the roof and come down the chimney; but in his progress he is sure to be met by some dark agent who will insist on his return, to adopt the impracticable mode of entry—through the keyhole. *Such is the character of estate stealing practice.* The mortgagor is thus led into liabilities, and when the houses are roofed the mortgagee will, as soon after as possible, refuse further advances; the debts for works and materials therefore remain unpaid, notwithstanding their value has been added to the security. The houses, of course, remain unproductive, because they are unfinished, interest in the meantime accumulating, and professional costs and other charges are increasing, and the mortgagee and his solicitor then commence complaints about not being able to obtain payment of interest and return of the money advanced, *which they have taken care the mortgagor shall not have the means of paying*; the only means contemplated for repayment having been by letting or selling the houses originally arranged to be finished by advances to be made by the mortgagee; and, from the period of signing the mortgage deed, the most dishonourable means are taken to prejudice the mortgagor, which, added to the want of income, prevents a transfer of the mortgage security. At this stage of the fraud the mortgagee gives notice of sale, and if the mortgagor has not the means of protecting his property by repayment of the advances, filing a Bill in Chancery, or to adopt other proceedings, it is sacrificed in its unfinished state to the mortgagee, his solicitor, or persons connected with him in the transaction, and shortly after the mortgagor will have the mortification of seeing the property producing

Brick and
money-
lenders &
amateur
builders.

Court of
Chancery
useful to
fraudulent
mortgagees, &c.

Thousands
of widows
and
orphans
defrauded.
Merchants
and bankers
defrauded.
The Court

of Chancery
a Court of
protection
for merce-
nary soli-
citors and
money-
lenders.

a large income in proportion to the outlay of the guilty party in the transaction. Persons who carry on this description of fraud rarely supply the means of finishing houses ; for, if they did so, rents would be created to pay interest, and the houses become marketable to repay advances, thus defeating the fraud originally contemplated. It is very common for such persons to attack the mortgagor by a claim in Chancery, notice of sale, and also proceedings at law for recovery of the amount which they allege is due from their victims. All these proceedings going on at the same time, with the assistance of other legal proceedings by creditors that have been left unpaid, for the purpose of involving their victims in debt and difficulty, and obtaining judgments against them. The want of public attention to this description of fraud has been the cause of depriving thousands of widows and orphans of property ample for their support, if it had been fairly protected. Timber, lead, iron and other merchants and bankers are also defrauded of their just claims. This estate-stealing mortgage system is in principle similar to bill-stealing, but carried on by a more wealthy class of practitioners and capitalists, who have hitherto escaped prosecution under the protection afforded by the Court of Chancery and the solicitors and money-lenders who practise frauds of this nature calculate on the aversion of men of property to expose themselves in the Bankruptcy Courts to obtain protection.

There are no persons who have stronger claims for legal protection than capitalists and solicitors who lend money upon securities on fair and honourable terms, without taking advantage of the difficulty of dealing with titles to property ; but none more deserving of punishment than those who take advantage of the wants of others to defraud them. There are abundance of solicitors ready to prosecute the needy bill-stealers, whereas the wealthy estate-stealers and their agents escape for want of a public prosecutor. *And justice demands that the law should be promptly amended which detains a debtor in prison forty years, subjects the honest and solvent debtor to the same rules and regulations as the fraudulent and insolvent, and allows tickets of leave to felons.*

It has been justly observed by an able writer of the present day, in reference to imprisonment for debt :—

“ It may be said, there would no longer be any credit if the power of punishing the dishonest debtor were taken away—that the system is essential to the maintenance of our trade

and commerce—that it could not be safely abrogated in a commercial country. Let us not delude ourselves, or allow ourselves to be deluded, by these plausible prettexts, every one of which was put forward in 1838, when the power of arrest on mesne process was taken away. It is not commercial men or fair traders that fill our prisons, or find employment for sheriffs' officers. It is usurious bill discounters, and unfair money lenders—the bill-stealers, the patent-stealers, the estate-stealers, and the solicitors, who use their certificates as licences for fraud and extortion,—who are anxious to get their victims out of the way, where they cannot contest and expose the nefarious transactions by which they have been plundered, and cause retributive justice to be visited on their oppressors. These are the classes for whose almost exclusive benefit we maintain our debtors' prisons at so heavy an expense to the country."

Solicitors use their certificates as licences for fraud and extortion.

A creditor,—that is, a fair, upright, honourable creditor,—could not suffer such an idea to enter his mind, as that of depriving a man of his liberty. It is the direct and absolute interest of all such creditors, that their debtors should be free, prosperous, and happy; and the late Lord Melbourne publicly declared that HALF AN HOUR'S IMPRISONMENT WAS MORE THAN SUFFICIENT TO PAY THE LARGEST DEBT EVER CONTRACTED.

Lord Melbourne's declaration on imprisonment.

THE PURE SPRING FROM WHENCE JUDGES AND CHANCELLORS ARE OBTAINED!!

LICENSE OF COUNSEL, "ALL HONOURABLE MEN"

One of the remarkable features in our courts of justice, so called, is the prominent appearance there of a class of men who devote their talents, eloquence, learning, and ingenuity to the defence of even the vilest reprobates,—the only condition of securing their service being, that you pay them well for it beforehand.

Honourable legal rescuers and advocates of criminals.

Let any common thief or burglar, break into a house, and rob it of its valuables, maltreat its inmates, or even murder one or more of its defenders,—and provided this thief, burglar, or murderer, can pay handsomely for what is called a "counsel," he will forthwith be enabled to secure one of the best.

Honourable legal participators in stolen property.

The murderer Tawell thus secured the services of a knight

Sir Fitzroy
Kelly an
inspired
manufac-
turer of
tears, *alias*
apple-pip
Kelly.

Charles
Phillips,
now an
honourable
Commis-
sioner of
the Insol-
vency
Court.

Honourable
legal
accomplices
of awful
criminals.

of great learning and wealth, who has since held high office under government. This learned knight, being handsomely paid, not only vehemently and eloquently defended the murderer, but shed a quantity of got-up tears (also handsomely paid for) while he appealed to God and to the jury in the most approved crocodile style; at the same time endeavouring to persuade the court that the murdered victim died by poison contained in pips of apples found in her stomach. We also remember that the honourable and learned defender of the murderer Courvoisier, made an appearance of a similar kind. It afterwards came out that the learned gentleman was fully cognizant of the guilt of Courvoisier—knew that he, and no one else, was the murderer—and yet he appealed to God that he was innocent, and implored the jury to acquit him, as if he had positive knowledge of his innocence. The only defence of this conduct that we ever heard of was, that having been retained, that is, well paid beforehand, by his client or customer, the learned and honourable barrister was bound to defend such customer, to lie for him through thick and thin, and to get him off if possible, even though he positively knew that his customer was a murderer.

There is a still more disgusting class of cases even than these, in which we find learned and honourable gentlemen retained as pleaders and advocates. On one side there are women of the most abandoned character, and on the other men who hire them out for the vilest purposes. The women and the men dispute about the division of the proceeds of their iniquity, and they come into a court of justice, with a following of barristers—two learned gentlemen on each side, well paid of course—and there they argue out the disgusting and abominable details in the sight and hearing of the public.

The facts brought out in several of these cases, which have recently been argued in the courts, are so vile and infamous, that we cannot venture to describe them. The most recent was argued at Maidstone, before the Chief Baron and a common jury:—"De Choicy *versus* Marmaysee." Both plaintiff and defendant were French, but each was defended by two barristers in full practice, who knew the character of their clients, knew the disgusting character of their occupation, and yet pleaded their cause, before judge and jury, with unblushing faces. They had been paid to plead, and the "learned and honourable gentlemen" pleaded accordingly. The vileness of their clients, and the infamy of their trade, were nothing to them. They

were even willing to share in the fees, and their retainer was in their eyes an ample justification for the degrading position in which they stood. Such seems to be the professional idea of morality and honour. "Pay me, and I will defend you; no matter how infamous you acknowledge yourself to be: give me money, and I will place my learning, eloquence, knowledge of precedents, professional quirks and dodges, all at your disposal, be you thieves, burglars, murderers, prostitutes, or panderers to prostitution." In this view of the case, the legal profession is not moral; it is anything but moral. Its best services belong simply to the longest purse. And in such cases law does not mean the preservation of morals, but rather the public adjudication by judges, at the instance of learned barristers, of the illegal earnings of disgusting infamy. For their own sakes, as well as for the sake of their profession, "learned and honourable gentlemen" should avoid appearing in so low a connexion. Their systematic pleading (on the one side at least,) of wrong as right, might be excused, and is excused, by professional ingenuity; but we can scarcely conceive it possible that any ingenuity, however largely "fee'd," would at this time of day venture upon a justification of barristers appearing on either side, in the class of cases which we have above described.

(To be continued.)

THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS.

PAPISTICAL CONFESSION AND PRIESTLY MORALITY UNMASKED, The Papal Law of the
 AS ADMINISTERED TO MODEST ROMAN CATHOLIC FEMALES, concerning
 TAKEN FROM THE MAYNOOTH BOOK OF EDUCATION, OF THE ment.
 "INFALLIBLE CHURCH OF ROME."

ON THE SEAL OF CONFESSION.

WHAT is the seal of sacramental confession?

Answer.—It is the obligation or duty of concealing those things which are learned from sacramental confession.—*Dens.* vol. vi. p. 218.

Can a case be given in which it is lawful to break the sacramental seal?

Answer.—It cannot: although the life or safety of a man depended thereon, or even the destruction of the commonwealth; nor can the Supreme Pontiff give dispensation in this: so that, on that account, this secret of the seal is more binding Sacred Law of the Pope of Rome defined.

than the obligation of an oath, a vow, a natural secret, &c., and that by the positive will of God.—*Dens*, vol. vi. p. 219.

The Moral
System of
Liguori.

In the Roman Catholic Calendar for 1845, p. 167, we find that, preparatory to his canonization, the MORAL SYSTEM of Liguori had been more than twenty times rigorously discussed by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, which decreed that **IN ALL HIS WORKS**, whether printed or inedited, *not one word had been found worthy of censure*; which decree was afterwards confirmed by Pope Pius VII. This Liguori is Wiseman's pet saint, and the following are his doctrines, viz. :—

Cardinal
Wiseman's
pet saint !
Papistical
obligation
of divine
right.

We answer 1, That this seal is an obligation of divine right, most strict in every case, **EVEN WHERE THE SAFETY OF A WHOLE NATION WOULD BE AT STAKE**, to observe silence, even after the death of the penitent, as to all things spoken in confession (*i. e.*, spoken in order to obtain sacramental absolution), the revelation of which would render the sacrament itself grievous or odious.—*Liguori*, vol. vi. p. 276, n. 634.

What answer, then, ought a confessor to give when questioned concerning a truth which he knows from sacramental confession only ?

Papists are
permitted
to act as
false wit-
nesses.

Answer.—**HE OUGHT TO ANSWER THAT HE DOES NOT KNOW IT, AND, IF NECESSARY, CONFIRM THE SAME WITH AN OATH.**—*Dens*, vol. vi. p. 219.

Papistical
logic.
Papists are
to swear
that they
do not
know
although
they may
have seen
or know
the murder-
er, &c.

It is asked, whether the confessor, interrogated concerning the sin of his penitent, can say that he does not know it, even with an oath. It is answered in the affirmative, in accordance with the common opinion which St. Thomas and others hold. The reason is adduced by the divine Thomas in the quoted place, who says : “ A man is not adduced in testimony unless as a man, therefore he can swear that he does not know what he knows only as God ;” (and this holds good, although a confessor may have been asked to give his answer not as man, but especially as minister of God, as Suarez and the before-quoted authors rightly say,) because a confessor in no manner knows a sin with a knowledge which he can use for the purpose of answering; wherefore he justly asserts that he does not know that which without injustice he cannot manifest. Hence—*What if he should be asked to answer without equivocation?* Even in that case he can answer with an oath that he does not know it: as more probably Lugo, Croix, Stoz. et Holzen. with Michel. teach against others. *The reason* is, because then the

confessor verily answers according to the oath made, which is always understood to be made in the manner in which it was possible to be made; to wit, of manifesting the truth without equivocation, that is, without that equivocation which lawfully can be omitted. But as to the necessary equivocation which could not be omitted without sin, the other has not a right that an answer should be given to him without equivocation, neither, moreover, is the confessor bound to answer with equivocation.—*Liquori*, vol. vi. n. 616.

Papistical
necessary
equivoca-
tion.

Objection.—In no case is it lawful to tell a lie, but that confessor would be guilty of a lie because he knows the truth; therefore, &c.

Answer.—I deny the minor; because such confessor is interrogated as man, and answers as man; but now he does not know that truth as man, *although he knows it as God*, says St. Thomas, and that is the spontaneous or natural meaning of the answer; for when he is interrogated, or when he answers, outside confession, he is considered as man.—*Dens*, vol. vi. p. 219.

If a priest is questioned by a magistrate as to matters which he has learned from confession alone, he ought to reply that he is ignorant of them: nay, he ought to swear to it, which he may do without any danger of falsehood. It is added, on the authority of Estius, that in doing so he neither lies nor equivocates, since he frames a true reply to the intention of the person interrogating him; because the magistrate does *not* ask him what he knows from confession “*in his character as God*,” but what he knows “*in his character as man*” without confession.—*De la Hogue*, vol. i. p. 292.

Justifica-
tion of
priests to
deceive
magis-
trates.

What if a confessor were directly asked whether he knows it through sacramental confession?

Answer.—In this case he ought to give no answer (so Steyart and Sylvius), but reject the question as impious: or he could even say *absolutely*, not *relatively to the question*, “I know nothing,” because the word I restricts to his human knowledge.*—*Dens*, vol. vi. p. 219.

Papistical
doctrine of
impunity.

* Those portions of the Papistical Catechism which seem to have been extracted from the bosom of sodomy will be excluded from this work.

(To be continued.)

A PACKED COMMISSION TO SCREEN ARISTOCRATIC CRIMINALS.

"THE TIMES" AND LORD LUCAN.

Lord Lucan
very ill used
by *The*
Times.

Lord Lucan made his appearance on Tuesday with a copy of *The Times* in his hand, complaining loudly of some comments which appeared in the columns of that journal. No one will suspect us of partiality in applauding *The Times*, and on this occasion we can only express our conviction that in animadverting upon the evidence during the progress of the case it has acted perfectly right. It is right to abstain from all comment when the tribunal is of a character to inspire confidence in the integrity of its decisions; but the court of inquiry now sitting is no such tribunal as this. We are justified in regarding it with suspicion. We are bound by the duty we owe the public to watch its proceedings with the utmost jealousy, and to interpret them, from day to day, in their fair vernacular meaning. The authorities who appointed these judges have already taken sides with the accused; they have appointed judges who are dependent upon themselves for professional advancement; the judges must be men of more than ordinary virtue if they are conscious of no unfair leaning towards the side of which their patrons are the avowed advocates. It is all very well to claim for the nominees of the Horse Guards the respect and confidence which are paid to Her Majesty's judges; but there is not the shadow of a parallel between them. In the one case every element which can inspire such sentiments is present; in the other it is absent. In these circumstances it is the duty of the public press to judge the judges. It is our duty to remind them that while they are appointed by the Government they are responsible to the country and that the peril of pronouncing a decision at variance with facts may fall with inconvenient weight upon their own heads. We deal with the present case without any reference to the merit of the system out of which it arises. We are impressed with the conviction that nothing can save our Administration from corruption and inefficiency but a determined resolve that the theory of responsibility shall not remain a dead letter. The Government of the country must no longer be the only department in which men are amply paid for blunders, in which the wildest excesses of incapacity are greeted with condoling smiles, and orders of merit are given to cover a multitude of sins.—*Manchester Examiner*, April 1856.

Anticipated
trickery of
the Govern-
ment.

AN ACT TO FACILITATE THE PERPETUAL IMPRISONMENT OF PEOPLE.

THE Act by which Private Asylums are governed, viz., the 9 Geo. IV. cap. 41, is intituled, *An Act to regulate the Care and Treatment of Insane Persons in England*; but were it called *An Act to facilitate the Perpetual Imprisonment of perfectly sane Persons, with the view of promoting the unhallowed Designs of the Sordid and the Malicious*, its effect would be better implied: for it is an Act, essentially an Act, for the promotion of such objects as those which avarice and malignity may, under certain circumstances, prompt, seeing that under it fathers may be incarcerated by sons, and sons by fathers: sisters by brothers, and brothers by sisters: children by parents; wives by husbands, husbands by wives; and partners by partners, as attempted by the partners of C. W. G., in January, 1856; when the object proposed is either adultery, the dishonest possession of property and business position, the prevention of what are termed imprudent matches, or the foul gratification of revenge.

Parliament
licence
private
Bastilles.

The personal liberty of no man is safe. Any one may in a moment be seized, mauacled, and beaten into a state of insensibility, and carried away, without the power of appealing to any tribunal, without the most remote prospect of being even able to let any friend know where he is. He is gone: completely lost to the world: those who were dear to him are led to believe that he is dead, and dead he is to society for ever. All that is required to authorize the perpetual imprisonment of a man under the Act, is a certificate signed by two medical practitioners—who may be either physicians, surgeons, or apothecaries, they are not at all particular under the Act,—or one will do, if two cannot at the time be conveniently procured, should any “special circumstance exist,” and anything may be called a special circumstance: the signature of one apothecary—no matter how young, how inexperienced, or how ignorant he may be—is sufficient to consign either a man, woman, or child, to a lunatic asylum for life.

Sane
persons
treated
with
brutality
by virtue of
an Act of
Parliament.

By the thirtieth section of the Act to which we have alluded, it is provided, “That every certificate upon which any order shall be given for the confinement of any person (not a parish patient) in a house kept for the reception of two or more insane persons, shall be signed by two medical practitioners, each of them being a physician, surgeon, or apothecary, who shall have separately

The Legal
profession
prepare
Acts of
Parliament
to facilitate
the devices
of unscrupulous
men.

visited and personally examined the patient to whom it relates; and such certificate shall state that such insane person is a proper person to be confined, and the day on which he or she shall have been so examined; and also the Christian and surname and place of abode of the person by whose direction or authority such person is examined, and the degree of relationship or other circumstance of connection between such person and the insane person; and the name, age, place of residence, former occupation, and the asylum, if any, in which such patient shall have been confined; and whether such person shall have been found lunatic or of unsound mind under a commission issued for that purpose by the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper or Commissioner of the Great Seal intrusted as aforesaid; and every such certificate for the confinement of any person in a house licensed under this Act within the jurisdiction of the said visitors shall, if the same be not signed by two medical practitioners, state the special circumstances, if any, which shall have prevented the patient being separately visited by two medical practitioners; and any patient may be admitted into any such licensed house upon the certificate of one medical practitioner only, under the special circumstances aforesaid, provided such certificate shall be further signed by some other medical practitioner within seven days next after the admission of such patient into any such licensed house as aforesaid; and any person who shall, knowingly and with intention to deceive, sign any such certificate, untruly setting forth any such particulars required by this Act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor; nevertheless, if any special circumstance shall exist which may prevent the insertion of any of the particulars aforesaid, the same shall be specially stated in such certificate: provided always, that no physician, surgeon, or apothecary, shall sign any certificate of admission to any house of reception for two or more insane persons, of which he is wholly or partly the proprietor, or the regular professional attendant; and any physician, surgeon, or apothecary, who shall sign or give any such certificate, without having visited and personally examined the individual to whom it relates, shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor."

Forced imprisonment in Private Asylums lightly punishable.

Bribery and corruption of the medical profession.

What, then, is it necessary for a bad man to do whose object is to incarcerate any relative or friend whom he is anxious to put out of the way for ever? He has but to bribe a disreputable physician, keeper of a lunatic asylum, and apothecary—

and unhappily there are many in the profession who, for the fee of a guinea, have signed, and who are ready again to sign away the liberty of any man, pleading to their own consciences, perhaps, like Shakspeare's apothecary, that their poverty, and not their will, consents—he has but to bribe one of these men to certify that the victim is insane—or if he knows not one of these, he need but excite his victim, and call in any other medical man to see him, while in a state of excitement, and to declare as a “special circumstance,” that he has just been attempting to commit suicide, or to do himself some grievous mischief, when the very energy with which he will deny the imputation, will tend to convince him who has been summoned expressly to see a madman, that he is mad—and when the certificate is signed, the proprietor of an asylum has but to be applied to, when keepers will be despatched to secure the victim; and the facility with which a second signature can be obtained in such a case is proverbial.

Shak-
speare's
apothecary.

In Acts of Parliament penalties look very well, and appear *prima facie* to be very efficient: thus in this Act it seems to be a security against malpractices, that, “Any person who shall knowingly, and with intention to deceive, sign any such certificate untruly setting forth any such particulars required by this Act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor;” but how is the guilt of such person to be proved? These things are done in secret; the victim is doomed, seized, hurried away, and confined, without having the power to offer a particle of proof or a moment's opportunity of appealing against this decision, which is rendered thereby final. But even if he should have such an opportunity—if by a miracle he should escape—how can he prove the misdemeanor? The medical man who possesses this monstrous power is licensed to act upon his judgment: he pleads that to the best of his judgment the man was insane; he is thereby protected. That licence indemnifies him; his signature indemnifies the man who employed him; and that man's authority indemnifies the proprietor of the asylum in which the victim is confined: and this too in a country whose free institutions form its proudest boast—in England, the centre of civilization.

Acts of
Parliament
prepared
by incomp-
petent
lawyers.

Look at the position of a proprietor of a Private Lunatic Asylum. It is with him a pecuniary speculation. He may be an honourable man—he may be—but look at the temptations to dishonour with which the system is pregnant. His object is

Private
Lunatic
Asylums are
pecuniary
specula-
tions.

to obtain as many patients as he can, and to keep those patients as long as he can : his manifest duty is therefore diametrically opposed to his interest, and when it is so, experience proves it to be unsafe, to say the least of it, to give a man impunity, and trust to his honour.

People
secretly
kidnapped.

Commis-
sioners in
lunacy in-
terested in
aiding pro-
prietors of
private asy-
lums in hor-
rible deeds.

As far as regards the statement that men can be incarcerated for life without any friend or relative disposed to assist them having the slightest knowledge of where they are, it may be urged that on application being made to the commissioners such knowledge may be obtained ; and so in ordinary cases it may ; but when a man is missing, who ever dreams of applying to these commissioners ? His friends in such a case are apt to suppose him to have committed suicide, or to have been murdered : in scarcely one case out of a thousand would they suppose him to have been stolen from society, and confined as a lunatic. But if even they do suspect this to be case, what security does the Act afford against his perpetual imprisonment ? What power does it impart to his friends to aid him ? By the thirty-fourth section, it is enacted, "That if any person shall apply to one of the commissioners, or any justice of the peace of the county in which any house of reception for two or more insane persons is situate, in order to be informed whether any particular person is confined in any of the said houses of reception for two or more insane persons, and the said commissioner or justice shall think it reasonable to permit such inquiry to be made, and shall sign an order directed to the clerk of the commissioners, or clerk of the visitors, for that purpose, the said clerk of the commissioners, or clerk of the visitors, is hereby required upon the receipt of such order, to make search ; and if it shall appear upon search that the person so inquired after is or has been confined in any of the said houses, the said clerk of the commissioners, or clerk of the visitors, shall immediately deliver to the person so applying, in writing, the name of the keeper in whose house the person so inquired after is or has been confined, the situation of such house, and a copy of the order and certificate upon which such person was received into such house, upon payment of the sum of seven shillings, and no more, for his trouble."

Well, he obtains this information—provided the asylum in which he is confined be within the jurisdiction of the commissioners, that is to say, within seven miles of London—he ascertains where his friend is, and what then can he do ? He

cannot see him, he cannot visit him : no man is permitted to enter an asylum save the commissioners, and the persons by whose authority the inmates have been confined.

But, assuming that he has the means at his command of rendering it "inexpedient," notwithstanding the certificate, for the vile party to detain his friend any longer in that asylum, what need that party do in order to make all sure? Why he need but remove him from the asylum within the jurisdiction of the commissioners to an asylum beyond the jurisdiction of the commissioners; that is to say, he need but send him to some country asylum, and if he send him there in another name, there is no power on earth to discover where he is.

Commissioners useful to screen the misdeeds of proprietors of Lunatic Asylums.

In vain the victim may declare that the name in which he is entered is not his right name—that it is for instance Williams, when he is entered as Smyth—the very tenacity with which he adheres to his right name, will be held to be an additional proof of his delusion; he cannot be considered then otherwise than mad, and thus is he lost to the world for ever.

Mankind in England lost to the world for ever.

In France, before the incarceration or *interdiction* of a person assumed to be of unsound mind can take place, there must be a *conseil de famille*, and subsequently the decree of a tribunal, before which—when three physicians appointed by the tribunal have examined the patient—he appears, and his acts of insanity are proved. And thus ought it to be in England. Instead of dragging a man to perpetual imprisonment, by virtue of the purchased signature of an apothecary, he ought, before he is permanently confined, to be publicly proved to be insane. It is in the last degree disgraceful to this country, that men can be for ever shut out from the world, and from all communication with the world, without having at least undergone some public examination.

Laws of France more just than those of England.

With respect to the treatment experienced by patients in these private asylums, we need only refer to the published reports of the various committees of the House of Commons for proved cases of the most frightful cruelty; but as the cause of those who are afflicted, or who are assumed to be afflicted, with this the most dire calamity which can befall man, has never been made a party question, why of course no step has been taken to put an end to such brutalities, and the system continues in full operation still. It is, however, to be hoped that philanthropy and faction may, with a view to the removal of this blot upon civilization, be conjoined, or that faction alone may take

Frightful cruelties perpetrated in asylums, proved to the House of Commons.

The Legis-
lature
blinks at
cruelty per-
petrated
against
mankind.

the matter in hand; for while faction, without the aid of philanthropy, can thunder forth its fierce denunciations with amazing effect, philanthropy, we fear, unsupported by faction, has there but a still small voice.

Four Acts of Parliament have been passed since that preface appeared: namely, 2 & 3 Wm. IV. c. 107; 3 & 4 Wm. IV. c. 64; 5 & 6 Vict. c. 87; and 8 & 9 Vict. c. 100; and three additional Acts have been passed from time to time to continue two of those in operation.

But what is the fact? Why after all these Acts had been passed—each of course with the view of improving upon the Act which preceded it—after all the places created by these Acts had been filled, and after all the “energy” which commonly characterises the class upon whom appointments are conferred, had been displayed—the monstrous evil remained as it was; the grand point at which they aimed, that of rendering it impossible for perfectly sane men to be stolen from society and imprisoned without the power of communicating with their friends or preventing the destruction of their property, continued to be perfectly untouched!

Serious
evils to
society
arise from
the inca-
pacity and
indifference
of the Le-
gisla-
ture.

This at first sight must appear to be incredible; but we will bring the highest authority in England to prove it. It must tend to inspire contempt for that which is facetiously called the “business-like” habits of the Legislature, and disgust for that monstrous system of creating places, which is becoming now too notorious to last—but upon this we will not here dwell.

Cunning of
proprietors
of Lunatic
Asylums.

It was thought that the Act which embodied all the “improvements” of the preceding Acts, and which has now been in operation nearly eight years—namely, 8 & 9 Vict. cap. 100,—would have met the case effectually. It was said again and again, “The proprietors of Private Asylums, however cunning they may be, will now find it extremely difficult to promote the malicious views of their patrons, by continuing to keep within their establishments *sane* men! Their conduct is narrowly watched: they are under strict surveillance; the slightest doubt engendered in the mind of a visitor—the slightest hint or suspicion of unfair play—will be sufficient to induce an investigation which must of necessity lead to the truth.” And yet numbers of such men—perfectly sane men, men who have never been on any point insane—have been ever since detained in these dens without a chance of communicating with the world—notwithstanding the existence of those elaborate Acts of

Parliament—notwithstanding the “zeal” of our legislators—notwithstanding the “energy” and “integrity” of those heartless and unprincipled placemen, who have done absolutely nothing.

Heartless and unprincipled placemen in the Legislature.

A SLAVE SALE IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

(To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.)

SIR,—I beg to hand you an interesting account of the sale of a very beautiful female slave; it is an extract from the correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, dated the 14th March, 1856:—“May I give your readers a brief sketch of one or two scenes I have witnessed to-day? Here is a row of well-dressed girls, from fifteen to twenty years of age, awaiting their turn to ascend the auction-block, while a number of men and boys are being sold. They are surrounded by a group of sensual-looking men, young and old, asking them all sorts of immodest questions—feeling their ancles, arms, and bosoms—while those trembling and sensitive ones have no power of resistance; now their turn comes to ascend the table and be placed under the auctioneer’s hammer. Nora is called for. She ascends the steps, and for the time being is the observed of all observers. She is dressed with true artistic skill, to set off her fine form; flowing sleeves, which are soon to be thrown back to display the gracefully-rounded arm; a nicely-wrought stomacher of the whitest cambric; her raven hair half-trimmed with ribbons; a slight dash of African blood can be seen in her cheeks, which only increases her beauty; lecherous looking men gather closer, anxious to secure the prize; and now the auctioneer begins. ‘What is bid, gentlemen, for this beautiful girl? Only sixteen; sold for no fault; brought up in a genteel family; right and title good; warranted sound every way. What is bid, gentlemen? Six hundred dollars, I hear; six! six! six! six! six! six!’ ‘Fifty!’ ‘Thank you; six hundred and fifty dollars is bid. Seven hundred I hear. Seven! seven! seven!—going for seven hundred dollars; seven!’ ‘Twenty-five!’ ‘Seven, twenty-five! seven.’ ‘Fifty!’ ‘Seven, fifty; do I hear, any more? Why, gentlemen—mark her beautiful form! See her well-shaped foot and gracefully turned ancle;’—at the same time raising her clothes

Interesting account of the sale of a very beautiful female slave.

An auctioneer describing the qualities of a child of God placed in his hands for sale.

above her knees, while a shout of approbation greets him from the gazers around the table beneath. Now the bidding goes on, under the excitement of this exposure of her person, brisker than ever. It reaches 900 dollars, and then another move is tried. She is taken down, the men are made to fall back, and a path is made to the furthest side of the building; and between those files of men she is made to walk briskly backward and forward. 'Hold up your head, miss; walk pert now, as if you were going to church to meet your beau! See there, gentlemen, there is muscle for you? the real Baltimore clip! step as light as an antelope's. What is bid, gentlemen?' While she is thus walking the gauntlet of these rude men, any one that chooses may stop her and handle any part of her body, ask her any question he chooses; then, for the last time, she ascends the stand, and is soon knocked down to the highest bidder, at not far from 1,000 dollars. Chivalrous Virginia is growing rich on the sales of her own children."

He then goes on to say the many sad and harrowing sights he witnessed, of the sale of mothers with infants nursing on their bosoms, men and boys stripped naked that their muscular development may be better seen:—

The United
States the
land of
freedom.

" Oh, Slavery ! thou art a bitter draught !
And twice accurséd is thy poisoned bowl,
Which taints with leprosy the white man's soul,
Not less than his by whom its drops are quaffed.
The slave sinks down, o'ercome by cruel craft,
Like beast of burthen on the earth to roll.
The master, though in luxury's lap he loll,
Feels the foul venom, like a rankling shaft,
Strike through his veins. The oppressor quakes
With secret dread, and shares the hell he makes !"

I am Sir, your obedient servant,

W. J. CHURCHMAN.

27, *New Broad-street*, April 12, 1856.

LORD CAMPBELL'S JUSTICE IN THE COURT OF QUEEN'S BENCH!

AN UNPRIVILEGED PLEADER.

Legal
house-
breakers of
the Court
of Queen's
Bench.

TOWARDS the close of the sitting an elderly man appeared on the floor, and said he wished to apply for a criminal information against an attorney and some officers of the court, for having

violently broken into his premises and taken his things from him.

Lord Campbell intimated that, according to the practice of the court, no one except a gentleman of the bar could move for a criminal information.

Lord Campbell's gentlemen of the bar necessary to protect judicial criminals.

The applicant said he was not aware of that. He thought the courts of law were open to every individual.

Lord Campbell told him they must abide by the rules of the court.

The applicant said he had no means to employ a barrister.

Lord Campbell: The court can do nothing more than say that they cannot hear your motion.—*Morning Star*, 15th April, 1856.

INQUISITION ATROCITIES PERPETRATED IN ASHANTEE.

MODES OF LIFE IN AFRICA.

THE Rev. Mr. Beachman has recently returned from a visit to Africa, and in the sketch of the social condition of the negroes inhabiting the Gold Coast and its vicinity, he furnishes a truly awful picture, thus:—

Scarcely has one of their barbarous and bloody customs been abandoned, from the earliest period of which anything is known of them. They still even pave their court-yards, palaces, and even the streets or market-places of their villages or towns, with the skulls of those butchered in the wars, at feasts, funerals, or as sacrifices to Bossum.

Barbarous and bloody customs on the west coast of Africa.

Still their wives and slaves are buried alive with their deceased husbands or masters. When Adahanzen died, 280 of his wives were butchered before the arrival of his successor, which put a stop to it, only to increase the flow of blood and the number of deaths in other ways. The remaining living wives were buried alive, amid dancing, singing and bewailing, the noise of muskets, horns, drums, yells, groans and screeches; the women marching by headless trunks, bedaubed themselves with mud and blood. Their victims were marched along with large knives passed through their cheeks. The executioners struggle for the bloody office, while the victims look on and endure with apathy. They were too familiar with the horrid sacrifice to show terror, or

Women buried alive.

to imagine that all was not as it should be. Their hands were chopped off, and then their legs were sawed off, and their heads sawed off to prolong the amusement. Even some who assisted to fill the graves were then hustled in alive, in order to add to the sport or solemnity of the scene. Upon the death of the king's brother, four thousand victims were thus sacrificed. These ceremonies are often repeated, and hundreds slaughtered at every rehearsal. Upon the death of a king of Ashantee, a general massacre takes place, in which there can be no computation of the many victims.

At their Yam customs, Mr. Bowditch witnessed spectacles of the most appalling kind. Every cabocer, or noble, sacrificed a slave as he entered the gate. Heads and skulls formed the ornaments in their possession. Hundreds were slain; and the streaming and steaming blood of the victims was mingled in one vast brass pan, with various vegetables and animal matter, fresh as well as putrid, to compose a powerful Fetiche. At these customs the same scenes of butchery and slaughter occur. The king's executioners traverse the city, killing all they meet. The next day desolation reigns over the land. The king, during the bloody saturnalia, looked on eagerly and danced in his chair with delight.

The King of Dahomey paves the approaches to his residence, and ornaments the battlements of his palace with the skulls of his victims; and the great Fetiche tree at Badagry has its wide-spread limbs laden with human carcasses and limbs. The want of chastity is no disgrace, and the priests are employed as pimps.

"Murder, adultery and thievery," says Bosman, "are here no sin."

LEGAL OPPRESSION OF THE POOR.

Representation
of the
editor of
the *Weekly
Dispatch*.

THE character of "village Hampden," says the editor of the *Weekly Dispatch*, is rather a troublesome rôle to undertake. We would rather delegate to some bucolic "dauntless breast" the duty of withstanding "the little tyrant of his fields." When we wander among the green lanes we would rather not think, but only feel. When we "walk forth to meditate in the

fields until eventide," we would rather deal in reverie than disquisitive speculation. But the world and the "ignorant present time" will not leave us alone. Now, reader, we do not in the least exaggerate what we are about to state to you. A poor widow, mother of several little children, who struggles to keep them plump, whole and clean, out of her toil at the wash-tub, put a petition into our hands, as "the glimmering landscape faded on the sight," and we "homeward plodded our weary way." Her son Tom and his cousin Charley, the son of another poor hard-working woman, are precocious youths of the ripe age of seven years. They have been summoned to the bench six miles off! We have seen the summonses. Of course they could not read a word of them, and if they could, they would not have understood a word they imported. Yet formal summonses were served upon them to answer a complaint "for that he the said Tom, and he the said Charley, had played at the game of pitch and toss in a public thoroughfare, to the annoyance of the inhabitants." Their mothers were silly enough to attend the bench with them; to hear them condemned in 5s. fine and 5s. costs each, with certification that, if not paid in eight days, they must be imprisoned for seven days! While we subscribed, in common with our neighbours, to pay these fines, we at the same time advised the mothers of these Bumble-ridden infants to let the magistrates take their own course and imprison them at their peril. The answer was the children were in such a "parlous fear" and state of nervous excitement, that if a policeman but took hold of them they would receive a shock that would injure them for life. Two other boys of eight and nine have been similarly fined, "for playing at peg-top and marbles." We have no doubt whatever, that children of such tender years cannot be held to plead to any charge. Even if they had property to pay the fine it would be in custody of their guardians, who could not obtain the sanction of a court of equity for such an application of the funds of their wards. To serve on an infant of seven years, not yet divested of its first milk teeth, a detailed charge in writing in any view of its comprehending it, is a mockery of law. Parents are not liable for such delicts penally, and civilly the fines could not be sued for against them as necessary furnishings. We should like to see the magistrate who would actually dare to grant a warrant for the incarceration of an infant, incapable in the eye not only of common sense, but what is more germane to the matter, of law

English
magistrates
punish the
widow and
orphan.

Innocent
mothers
submit to
magisterial
injustice.

Magisterial
mockers of
law.

By the sacred code magisterial injustice is to be opposed.

Government ill-treatment of its subjects.

Constables are shamefully dismissed. Magistrate's clerk-made law.

Devout magistrates

of consent of moral discrimination; and if he issue judgments which he dare not enforce, he but brings authority into contempt. But we have not introduced these cases to the notice of our readers on account of the transient interest of their own merits, but because they are typical of the way in which our Government deals with its subjects—of the way in which classes of subjects deal with each other. The constables who refused to listen to the complaints on which these convictions proceeded have actually been dismissed for using that discretion for the exercise of which they ought to have rather been commended; but we can scarcely blame the particular magistrate who adjudicated for dealing with the case according to the traditions of customary justice of peace practice and magistrates' clerk-made-law—the system of society under which the spirit which suggests such proceedings rose up is really the *fons et origo mali*, (the spring and source of evil). Just think for a moment; infants of seven years of age taken away by policemen six miles from home, dragged before a court of justice and condemned to gaol in default of their poor widowed mother mustering up two weeks of the earnings without which she must fall behind in her rent, and her children must go without their dinner, and that in a community of Christians; the magistrates, being devout men, saying their responses every Sunday in their crimson-cushioned pews louder than the clerk. *Morning News*, 15th April, 1856.

IMPERIAL MUNIFICENCE.

STATE PATRONAGE OF LETTERS.

The editor of the *Sun's* account of regal reward.

“A munificent pension,” says the *Sun*, “has recently been bestowed upon Mr. Joseph Haydn, the laborious compiler of the well-known *Dictionary of Dates*. A munificent pension of—ahem!—how much? Can any one guess? Actually, a pension of £25. a year! Otherwise, a reward of—£2. 1s. 8d. a month! or 9s. 7d. a week! or just 1s. 4½d. a day! A reward for—what? For the work of a shoe-black? For journeymen tailoring? For sweeping the staircase of Buckingham Palace, or weeding the gardens of Osborne, or rolling the gravel walks of Balmoral? Nothing of the sort. Instead of this, for long years of intellectual labour—

years consumed, first of all in the accumulation, and then in the diffusion, of valuable knowledge! A reward of £25. a year, or £2. 1s. 8d. a month, or 9s. 7d. a week, or, as we have said, just 1s. 4½d. a day for ingenious and laborious research among the treasures of chronology—for sedulous, and earnest, and devoted application to the interests of literature—for very appreciable though not easily calculable service to the cause of popular instruction, the great and good cause of national education, abandoned for the most part to the spontaneous self-sacrifices of such men as Mr. Haydn by the negligence, or incompetence, or procrastination of the Imperial Government! When shall we have an end of these paltry tokens of the insolent depreciation by the State of the stoniest of all the stony dates, we take it, that might be chronicled by Mr. Haydn, is the day upon which his prolonged and valuable intellectual labours were rewarded by a munificent pension of £25. a year bestowed upon him, we are pained to think, in the name of his gracious Sovereign!" A correspondent of the *Times*, referring to the pecuniary distress of Mr. Haydn, says:—"Lord Palmerston, the moment he heard of it, enrolled himself among that noble band who 'do good by stealth and blush to find it fame,' by sending him £100., while Mr. Disraeli and a few others added to this sum enough to purchase, for Mrs. Haydn and family, a shop for the sale of stationery and newspapers (No. 13, Crawley-street, Oakley-square). In this house the pious, learned, and resigned paralytic now lingers, on a bare subsistence."—*Examiner*, 12th January, 1856.

Paltry
tokens of
insolent
depreciation by the
State.

COLONIAL JOBBERY AND ABUSE OF PATRONAGE.

IN our West India Summary, for the present month, there will be found a brief notice of the demise of Mr. George Fraser, the Provost-Marshall of Grenada, and of the nomination to his office of Mr. Henry Sharpe; a nomination which has excited considerable dissatisfaction in the island.

According to the *Grenada Chronicle* of the 22d of Sept. ult., it would appear that Mr. Henry Sharpe is a very young man, whose sole claim to such powerful patronage as he seems to have secured, rests upon the fact of his being a personal friend

The editor
of the
*Grenada
Chronicle's*
account of
a shameful
abuse of
patronage
by Lieutenant-
Governor
Keate.

The youth-
ful Provost
Marshal of
Grenada.

A most un-
popular act
of Lieu-
tenant-
Governor
Keate.

Valuable
services of
a public
officer treat-
ed with
contumely.

Govern-
ment per-
mits a
valuable
public ser-
vant to
sustain a
severe loss.

of the Lieutenant-Governor's. The youth is the manager, for his father, (Mr. Justice Sharpe) of the Corinth Estate, and made his *début* as a public officer in December 1854, when he was called upon to perform the duties of Stipendiary Magistrate, in the place of Captain Hutcheson, who had obtained a nine months' leave of absence. The bestowal of further patronage on Mr. Sharpe, by removing him from the office of Acting Stipendiary Magistrate to that of Acting Provost-Marshal, is regarded and condemned as a most injudicious act, and as the most unpopular one of Lieutenant-Governor Keate's administration, because it has been carried out to the prejudice of the public service, and to that of other parties whose claims upon the Government ought not to have been overlooked: least of all in favour of one who is quite a novice in the public service. It appears there were more than a score of candidates for the vacant office; but from amongst these, public opinion in Grenada had singled out Mr. Samuel Cockburn, a coloured gentleman, whose capability and fitness are undeniable, and gave him paramount claims to consideration. We append a brief notice of Mr. Cockburn's services, and the comments of the journal above referred to, on the appointment of Mr. Sharpe:

"He was, in his early days, clerk at the Secretary and Registrar's Office; served six or seven years under two Provost-Marshals, Messrs. Boucher and Douglas; was at the head of that very department when Lieutenant-Governor Keate came to the island, and continued to hold it until the appointment by the Queen of the late Mr. Samuel Fraser to succeed Mr. Jackson, whose *locum tenens* Mr. Cockburn was. For the last seven years Mr. Cockburn has been in the performance of the unpaid duties of Inspector of Prisons, an important office, for which he was selected by Governor Hamilton; and the late Judge Sanderson, who appreciated his knowledge of languages, especially named him under a Rule of Court to be Interpreter-General of the Supreme Court of Judicature. A valuable Appendix, prepared by him to accompany the Census Returns of 1851, has been the subject of strong encomium at head-quarters, and is also to be found mentioned by Mr. Davy and other writers on West Indian affairs, as a work of merit worthy to be consulted. Nor is it known that Mr. Cockburn, in consequence of the sudden rupture of his contract for army supplies, when Her Majesty's troops were some time back withdrawn from this island, suffered considerable loss, for which he

has had no kind of compensation. It is true, that on being superseded by Mr. Fraser in the Marshal's office, Mr. Cockburn was appointed to the only situation then at the Lieutenant-Governor's disposal, namely, that of Acting Stipendiary Magistrate for Carriacou; but that office lapsed soon after with the death of Captain Gurley, in whose place Mr. Cockburn had been acting. Under all these circumstances, people cannot help expressing dissatisfaction at the way in which this appointment has been made; and the least that can be said is, that less regard seems to have been in the matter to the claims of faithful servitude and established merit on the one hand, and the interest of the public on the other, than to considerations of individual friendship. Besides the offices mentioned above of Inspector of Prisons and Interpreter-General, Mr. Cockburn is also a Director of the Colony Hospital, a Justice of the Peace, and Secretary to the Society for the Education of the Poor; all of them situations requiring a considerable application of time and talent, but to not one of which is there attached the least emolument. One good turn deserves another. If a man of energy and ability is found at all times willing to assist the Government in honorary though arduous employments like these, surely he ought not to be neglected when there come the loaves and fishes to be distributed! It is in this view of the matter that the community, to a man, feels disappointed and dissatisfied at the recent arrangement."

Generosity
of Lieuten-
ant-Governor
Keate.

Valuable
unpaid ser-
vices of a
public
officer dis-
carded.

The disappointment and dissatisfaction of the community will not be diminished when it becomes known that the Right Hon. H. Labouchere, the new Colonial Secretary, has confirmed the appointment of Mr. Sharpe, on the very strong recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor. We are induced to believe, however, that had the Colonial Minister been aware of the facts above quoted, he would have felt it to be his duty rather to yield to the wishes of the community in Grenada, and to have taken advantage of this very favourable opportunity of striking another blow at that system of nepotism and favouritism which has so seriously interfered with the efficiency of all the departments of the public service, and the evil consequences of which have been in none more glaring and disastrous than in the government of our colonies.

The Right
Honourable
H. Labou-
chere an
accomplice
in abuse of
patronage.

In the discharge of our duty as the publicly-constituted guardians of the interests of the coloured population of our West India colonies, we are bound to record our protest against

An un-
righteous
distinction
made by
white go-
vernors
against the
coloured
race.

such nominations as these. The avenues to offices of honour and emolument ought to be opened to the coloured race to a far greater extent than they are. It may indeed be alleged that coloured candidates *have*, in fact, the same chance as their fellow-citizens. But this is true only in theory, the reverse being notoriously the case in practice. The secret influence of friends, Parliamentary and other, at home, backed and only too frequently set in action by the powerful recommendations of the colonial authorities, render the success of a coloured candidate the exception, not the rule. Yet, in the interests of the colonies themselves, and in those of the great act of Emancipation, how important it is that facilities should be afforded to coloured persons of education and ability to distinguish themselves in the government of their own affairs. It ought to be obvious that in proportion as the descendants of the African race in our colonies rise in the social scale, achieve a reputation for ability, and attain to political rank and influence, will the arguments of slaveholders against Emancipation be weakened, and the prejudices of caste and colour be undermined. If a gentleman of colour is found capable of administering the affairs of an important department, we see no reason why he should not be elevated to the very highest dignity the Crown can confer, even though it might not result in rendering it necessary for a Ministerial *protégé* at home to accept the Chiltern Hundreds, with a view to enable him presently to receive the Colonial Thousands.

Constitu-
tional
prerogative
of the
Crown
abused.

It is undoubtedly quite constitutional and proper, that the Crown should exercise its right by prerogative of appointing to the governorships of colonies meritorious individuals whom it wishes to reward. But in the general interests of the public, and of the colonies themselves, but especially of those where the coloured people are struggling to acquire position and influence, it is only bare justice to require at the hands of the Crown's advisers, that merit should be the first test by which the claims of candidates should be tried, and that the accident of colour should not be allowed to operate prejudicially when coloured competitors for honours prefer theirs.

In striking contrast to the above nomination, we have great pleasure in recording, from the *Globe* evening newspaper of the 24th ult., that of C. A. Berkeley, Esq., of St. Vincent, to the office of Treasurer of the island of Tobago. In this instance we believe the Colonial Minister to have been influenced solely by

the distinguished merits of the candidate, a coloured gentleman of high character and undoubted ability, who has been for twenty-three years connected with the public service in the colonies, and fulfilled various offices of trust and importance. The same journal also announces other nominations, not so satisfactory, but on which our limited space precludes us from offering any comment in the present number. — *Anti-Slavery Reporter, January, 1856.*

JUSTICE WILLES'S VERY ECCENTRIC CHARGE TO A LIVERPOOL JURY.

A PAPISTICAL JUDGE IN A PROTESTANT GOWN.

In Mr. Justice Willes's very eccentric charge to the jury at Liverpool, in the case of "Darbey v. Ousely," for an alleged libel, with the nature of which the reader is no doubt already acquainted, a passage occurs, which seems to prove that his Lordship either laid aside, or totally forgot, the occasion of the language imputed to be libellous; and in his remarks about freedom, in the same passage, it will be seen, that he is for permitting all freedom of speech to one set of people, and none to the other. The speech itself is a perfect curiosity. Such a thing has not been heard from the bench of justice in England, since the time it was occupied by the judges of the Papist James II. His Lordship is explaining the meaning of the record or certificate of Darbey's enrolment in a secret association, who are commanded by foreign priests in Liverpool, and who are "to direct their efforts in a special way" to change the religion of England, and that "the way may be opened to the extinction of all heresies;" and he cleverly takes its meaning from the *title* of this secret body, which is "The Association for the Conversion of England!" Having read the Pope's approbation of this secret society—of which it seems there are many now enrolled, and in progress of formation—his Lordship says, "Now, it appears that the object proposed by that paper, by those who were understood to join the association, was this—the conversion of this country to Roman Catholicism. Now, with reference to that object, it has been said, on the part of the defendant, that it was inconsistent with liberty, that it was inconsistent with freedom; and an Act of Parliament has been referred to, with which it is said to be also inconsistent. My own notion would be this—you will con-

Judicial
advocacy of
the cause of
the Pope of
Rome.

Foreign
priests
enlist men
for the
purposes of
rapine and
murder.

The Pope
of Rome
approves of
a secret
Society in
England.

Papistical
judicial
argument
against
truth.
Judge
Willes dis-
likes plain-
spoken
truth.

consider how far your own minds go with it; that if a man desires to be free himself, the proper way to establish freedom is not by insisting that his opinions shall be absolutely taken for gospel and for truth; he must be free himself, and allow freedom to others; and there can be no true freedom in any country in which any person, whatever position he may happen to hold, and certainly no true freedom, in which any person who chooses to set up as editor of a newspaper is allowed to impute, without foundation, the offence of treason or of rebellion, or such terms as 'villain,' and the others mentioned in this document, to people, merely because they happen to be members of a religion, and because they, being sincere members of that faith, also have a desire that others should think as they do, and should go to heaven the same way."

Pius IX.
and his
English ac-
complices,
&c.

Passing over, for the present, the numerous instances in this passage of assuming the whole question, which should have been left to the jury, we may remark that the learned Judge places Mr. Ousely in the position of as absolute an assailant, without just cause and without provocation, as were Pius IX. and his English accomplices in that famous aggression, in the first authenticated missile of which the nation was declared to be heathen, its religion heathenism, and its religious laws and constitutions of non-effect, and, in truth, non-existent. It may not be known to Mr. Justice Willes, but certainly it is not known to Protestants in general, because they very little trouble themselves about what is or can be said about them and their religion in the Roman Catholic press of England and Ireland, that for a long time that press has teemed with the coarsest abuse of the religion and people of this country. The Roman Catholic press has no room to complain of want of freedom; neither have Roman Catholic priests in the addresses which they deliver to their congregations. What Mr. Ousely found himself warranted in saying by the evident objects of this secret association, formed by some of the numerous foreign jesuits of this country, and by the plain meaning of the certificate of Darbey's admission into the unlawful confederacy, are honeyed words in comparison with what is weekly, if not daily and hourly, issued from those pure sources, in coarse abuse of all that Englishmen deem sacred and reverential. This has been observed by a most intelligent foreigner, who is well acquainted with the secret designs, tactics, and government of the Roman Catholic press, both here and abroad. "Whilst, taking as a whole," says M. Gavazzi, "the

The Roman
Catholic
press teems
with the
coarsest
abuse of
the
Protestant
religion.

Secret
designs and
tactics of
the Catholic
newspapers.

Protestant newspaper press of the metropolis, there are probably not four columns weekly devoted to Catholic matters, and these written with moderation, and almost entirely free from personal attack, there are scarcely, among all the Catholic journals put together, four columns weekly consisting of anything but the most virulent abuse of Protestants and Protestantism." And on this account alone, he exhorts Protestants to dismiss their contempt of their deadly enemies, and to take in their doses of ineffectual venom; adding as an inducement, that "the Catholic newspaper press is under the immediate *surveillance*, control, and dependence of the Catholic hierarchy. Woe to the editor who should dare to oppose the bishop or his church! He would soon be denounced from the pulpit and his journal interdicted." What is done regularly by the press, we are informed, is also done in the pulpit. One prompts the other. It may be so, or it may not; the matter is not worth a thought; but it is worth while to observe, that as soon as a writer appears, like Mr. Ousely, who can give a score of *Rolands* for a single *Oliver*, a furious outcry of intolerance is raised, and he is harassed with the trouble and cost of defending an action for libel, which is brought in the vain hope of extinguishing the freedom of all the press but that which is commanded by Popish bishops. In the present instance, this worthy object is promoted by the judicial lecture on Mr. Ousely's mistaken notions of freedom.

Mr. A. Gavazzi and the press.

Deadly enemies of Protestant newspapers.

Intolerance the usual cry of Papists.

The jury are told, what nowhere appears in the evidence adduced on the trial, that the defendant insists that his opinions shall be taken for gospel and for truth. He states his opinion, and it will puzzle a wiser judge to discover where or when he insists upon its being received without doubt or exception. It does not appear to a plain Englishman that this is the way in which a jury should be charged. It is not within the province of a Judge to create prejudices in the jury against any party in a civil cause. He also tells the jury that the defendant used the words alleged to impute certain offences, "without foundation;" whereas it appears, not only from the alleged libel, but from other parts of the Judge's speech, that there were two foundations—the society, and the certificate of admission. His Lordship also treats as wholly unproved the fact that Darbey was a member. It is proved by the certificate and Darbey's admissions in his evidence.

A jury forced to comply with the advocacy of Judge Willes.

We shall be very much astonished if the verdict of a half-Popish jury can be allowed to stand, after another court shall

have reviewed this eccentric trial, and heard the evidence which his Lordship rejected, without condescending to inform himself how far it bore upon the case. Whatever can throw light upon the object of a secret society of foreign Jesuits is of the first importance to the country, as well as to the defendant; and the intention to acquire information on that subject would, most assuredly, at any time have fully justified a wide departure from the jog-trot practice of the courts.—*Morning Advertiser*, 10th April, 1856.

PAPISTICAL MORAL EDUCATION.

IRELAND AND IRISH JUSTICE.

To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.

"The children of Irish people are educated in the art of falsehood. They are rewarded by their parents when prevaricating successfully, and scolded for equivocation only when it is awkwardly performed."—*Miss Edgeworth on Education*.

"It is a privilege to comment stringently, and, if necessary, severely, on the proceedings of courts of justice; freely to canvass their decisions, and, if need be, to hold them up as erroneous."—*Lord Campbell, House of Lords, July 6, 1855*.

Lord
Campbell's
opinion
upon
judicial
proceed-
ings.

Tipperary
justice,
truth, and
law.

Sir John
Shelley's
late motion
on the state
of the Irish
bench.

Purity of
English
courts of
law.
Disparag-
ing remarks
on a
learned
judge.

SIR,—I beg to say, that I fully concur in your remarks of the 3rd inst., having long entertained the same views respecting the "depravity of morals and vice of perjury" belonging to Ireland. My Lord Campbell is so obliging as to say he would have no objection to go the Tipperary circuit. That, we may all admit, would benefit Tipperary. But, while the Irish have said "Ireland for the Irish," I say, "England for the English." Let us not have in return any Tipperary justice here, until Irish repute for truth stands a little higher than it does at present.

Sir John Shelley's late motion on the state of the Irish Bench, taken with the case of *Talbot v. Talbot*, as more recently discussed in the House of Commons, are a fresh evidence of what Ireland is, and of the notions of justice in the minds of Irish lawyers. The general ability and integrity of the English law-courts is such, that there are few cases in which the public call for any Parliamentary inquiry touching the decisions of our judges or juries. Their character is commonly so far relied on, that it is generally a shock to public belief to call it in question. When, some time back, the *Times* presumed to make disparaging remarks on a learned judge, now recently retired on account of

his suffering from partial deafness, we recollect the proper disgust with which those remarks were received, and that the writer felt immediately called on to explain away his flippant impertinence. That writer now becomes brother advocate with Mr. Whiteside, in the *Talbot v. Talbot* case. He thinks it wrong for a House of Commons to interfere in matters where the tribunals of the country have to do. Nevertheless, he has several times of late pandered to the foolish opinion that our common juries are unfit to try a criminal case; and the other day he pleased his readers by anticipating the law, and had Paul and Company all executed and gibbeted in his own print, before the "tribunal" had begun to try them. This is so much reason why we should resist any interchanges of justice with "Tipperary." The *Times* itself, in these cases, always savours of the potato.

The *Times* and a legislative scorpion of the law.

We know how much the good or bad of law depends on the mode of dealing it out, independently of what it commands: and it is an old fact, too well known, that English law and Irish law are, in this respect, not one thing. There is something in the whole air of an Irish court to make justice cry out—"Mercy on us! is this a place subject to the control of decent English government?" If such be the case in public trials, how much greater the danger where individuals are exposed to it from perjury, slovenliness, or error in judgment, there being, with them, an absence of that national interest which all have in a proceeding where the Government is the moving party, or a person is accused of some offence against society at large.

English law and Irish law compared.

The case of the *Queen v. O'Connell*, afterwards turned into *O'Connell v. the Queen*, appeared to the world, spite of all the volumes of Hibernian speech, never to have been understood by anybody till it got to be discussed in England. That case, as treated in Ireland, will remain a perfect monument of Irish legal botheration. The Irish part of the business seemed to have consisted in bench, bar, attorneys, and all tying one great hard knot, the undoing of which was impossible until it came into English fingers. Mr. Whiteside was one of the most fluent and long-winded confounders on that noted occasion. And, as that gentleman has thought proper to speak with so much confidence in the House, he, like a great many of his class from "Tipperary," is open to that criticism which Lord Campbell says may be permitted even with an English judge.

Irish legal botheration.

A long-winded confounder of the law. An honourable Tipperary lawyer.

One of the judges, of whose advanced age Sir John Shelley

The judge who pronounced the dastardly judgment against Mrs. Talbot.

Suborned and perjured witnesses of the Irish inquisition.

Base insinuations of James Whiteside, Q.C., and M.P. for Enniskillen.

Mr. Whiteside's high opinion of the Honourable Justice Torrens's professional morals.

An insolent barrister resists an inquiry into Irish judicial corruption.

complained, was the judge who pronounced the judgment, or sentence, against Mrs. Talbot. Her case, as put on her behalf, and in the most condensed form, is, that her husband, wanting to be rid of her, got up against her an infamous and false charge, and preferred and sustained it by the means of perjured evidence, together with alleged admissions of her guilt, those being obtained from her while in a state of insanity produced by the charge itself. To this is added the fact, not questioned, that there was perjury—some of the witnesses acting in the bribery of others to swear falsely; and further, that some of the witnesses, said by the judges themselves to be perjured, are referred to as giving a part of the evidence on which the judgment against the lady was professedly delivered.* On whichever side the right in this case be, it is a case peculiarly belonging to the “Tipperary” region of proceedings at law; one which, however faulty English justice may have become, makes the English mind shrink with horror. It is a case, in practical result, sadly happily fitting in with that moral training of the little Irish described in the words of the Irish lady quoted above.

Mr. Whiteside's speech is too full of error and pernicious tendency to be allowed to escape Englishmen unnoticed. He starts with half jocularly treating the offence of adultery as “nothing extraordinary in many fine ladies.” At this, the House could not help exclaiming, “Oh, oh!” It was too much like Mr. Daniel O'Connell's sweeping imputation against English women for their want of purity. Mr. Whiteside assured us that his judge in question was a “most learned, most able, and most upright judge.” It may be so. But, Sir, such is the power of compliment in Irish conscience, that if the worst man that ever practised in an Irish court were elevated to the bench to-morrow, and sitting before the Irish bar, I believe it would require no long hunt to find one of the latter body capable of saying the same of him. Such, in professional morals, is the force of “Tipperary!”

Mr. Whiteside, stoutly resisting any irregular appeal for the English lady, is nevertheless, in the same speech, a stout advocate for the Irish gentleman; and therefore in the House, wherein he would have nothing stated for her, he reads evidence, states and urges facts, and draws conclusions for him. If, however,

* Letter to the Honourable Justice Torrens, on the case of Talbot v. Talbot, by John Paget, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, with a Report of the Judgment of the High Court of Delegates, delivered on June 14 1855

this was conscientious, and but involuntary, to blame it is almost idle, the thing being inevitable. In all that belongs to principle, all that is of "Tipperary" is jingle-headed, and must, I suppose, ever so remain, until the parents of Irish boys shall have a better way of directing their lively minds. The same might be said of this learned gentleman's protest against the "unconstitutional" nature of the motion in Mrs. Talbot's case. But on this point, while "Tipperary" is most likely quite out of its own depth, it ventures to dabble, in its loose way, with that which seriously affects our own rights, and therefore, as it pretends to help to represent us, it should be pulled up for misrepresenting what belong to ourselves.

A learned protest against unconstitutionality.

Where, I should be glad to know, did Mr. Whiteside get his notion, that such complaints before our House are not allowed by the Constitution? "Unconstitutional" is a large word, and more easily pronounced than it is easy to name an Irish lawyer with honesty and courage enough to stand up for what the Constitution says. The judgments of judges cannot be every day subject to cavillings in the people's House. But if the right of the people, out of doors, as stated for us by our Lord Chief Justice, be correct, what becomes of the denial pronounced by jingle-headed "Tipperary," when it says that the people's representatives in-doors, have not the right "stringently and freely to comment and canvass?" The learned and Irish gentleman seems never to have reflected, as of course the English Judge did, that there may be occasions, in the administration of justice, when the injustice done is too outrageous for the people to regard it in silence, and they therefore should be allowed to have their say. Being a member of the people's House, he is yet, perhaps, not aware that that House, in a right state of its own constitution, has for ages maintained, in accordance with the doctrine of Lord Campbell, a standing *Committee of Justice*, for the purpose of inquiring into those very matters of grievance, the looking into which, now, is so "unconstitutional" in the eyes of Irish lawyers. Much hopes for England, in anything to be gained for her by such learned representatives as this! We have from them no vociferous expressions against parcelling out the House into scores of committees on what is called "private business;" no solemn protests against putting twelve or twenty Honourable Members into a separate room, to hatch a "job," even though the hatching may produce mischief to Ireland. Nay, not even when the undertaking or speculation,

Salaried judges of the people will not be permitted to commit felony with impunity.

House of Commons a Committee of Justice.

Honourable members of Parliament hatch iniquity.

resulting in gain to a handful of sharpers, may bring about, in the end, the ruin of thousands of honest men !

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

March, 5, 1856.

SAXON.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND ASSEMBLY OF PATRIOTS.

GENTLEMEN.—

Mal-prac-
tices in the
Irish Court
of Chancery

In the year 1832, I commenced business as an hotel-keeper, at 36, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin, and therein embarked a capital of £3000 and upwards. In May, 1833, I made an assignment of my hotel and property—the property then being of the value of £8000 and upwards—in trust to my creditors, for the purpose of securing the debts then owing by me to the said creditors. Trustees were appointed, namely, James White, Robert Courtney, and George Kernan ; the terms of the trust-deed were to allow me five years and eight months from the date of the same.—To carry on my business as an hotel-keeper, on the same premises, without any arrest, attachment, execution, impediment, or molestation whatsoever against my person or estate, and in the event of the creditors acting contrary thereto, their debts should be forfeited, and their demands rendered null and void, according to the terms of the said trust-deed. And at the expiration of five years and eight months, my debts being duly discharged, a re-assignment of the property was to be made to me. The trustees were bound to superintend the management of the hotel, to receive all and every sum and sums of money, and out of the first profits to reimburse themselves all costs, charges, and expenses of making out the said deeds: in the face of this covenant, they allowed their solicitor, John Knight Boswell (a man who has stated the grossest falsehoods to my prejudice) to sue me in the Court of King's Bench for the costs of preparing the said trust-deed, and for which I was arrested. There was also a covenant in the trust-deed providing that nothing therein contained should in any way be construed, so as to interfere in any way with my situation as messman to the Guards in the Royal Barracks. In face of this covenant, James White, the principal and acting trustee, went to the

An un-
truthful
solicitor.

An atro-
cious
backbiting
trustee.

Royal Barracks and grossly misrepresented me to Colonel Egerton, the commanding officer of the Guards, and got the supply of the wines to the officers out of my hands.

On the 18th of December, 1833, the trustees served a notice on me, that in three months they would sell the hotel, in consequence of an alleged breach of covenant on my part ; whereas, in fact, no breach of covenant had been committed by me, nor had the trustees power to sell under the deed, had they honestly fulfilled their trust. Shortly after the execution of the said deed, George Milliken, brother of Thomas Read Milliken, my landlord, and in family connected with James White, the principal acting trustee—the said G. Milliken, a young man then about twenty years of age—got married, and there being no way of providing for him but by robbing me, and destroying my family,—it was carried into effect under the cloak and colour of proceedings in the Irish Court of Chancery, on the 9th of April, 1834. James White, Robert Courtney, and George Kernan, trustees under the said deed, filed a bill in the Court of Chancery in Ireland, under the pretence of carrying the trust of the said deed into execution ; but in reality to rob me. I was served with a subpoena on that day to appear and answer the said bill of complaint, which subpoena I handed to my then attorney, James Robinson, for the purpose of taking the necessary steps for my defence. On the 18th of April, 1834, Robinson, not having entered appearance for me that day, an attachment issued against me for want of appearance and answer. On the 25th of April, 1834, the trustees as plaintiffs, by counsel and their solicitor, J. K. Boswell, moved the Rolls Court, for an order of reference to one of the Masters to approve of a fit and proper person as receiver or manager over my hotel and property ; and inasmuch as Charles Hogan, Six Clerks, admitted notice of said motion on my behalf, and no one appearing to oppose the said application, it was ordered by the Master of the Rolls, that it be referred to Master Connor, to approve of a fit and proper person as such receiver or manager over my hotel and property, George Milliken, brother to Thomas Read Milliken, my co-defendant in the suit, was appointed receiver and manager, a young man who had scarcely ever been inside an hotel. Thomas Read Milliken my said co-defendant, and James White, plaintiff, were sureties for the said George Milliken. On the 13th of May, 1834, the said George Milliken, having perfected his sureties, entered the hotel to take possession thereof,

Legal
robbery in
the Irish
Court of
Inquisition.

in company with his brother Thomas Read Milliken, my co-defendant, and followed me from room to room saying "Get out, get out, or I will get the police to turn you out." On the said 13th of May, another attachment issued against me for want of appearance and answer. On the same day Charles Hogan entered an appearance for me and prayed time to answer. Is it possible that John Brennan, Six Clerks, and J. K. Boswell, plaintiffs' solicitor, could come to the knowledge that Charles Hogan, Six Clerks, and James Robinson, solicitor, were employed by me eighteen days before an appearance was entered for me in court, only by a private understanding!

Cruel imprisonment ordered by the Irish Inquisition.

On the 14th of May, 1834, I was arrested for want of answer and thrown into gaol: the said Robinson, my solicitor, filed my answer, and I was liberated the same day: Thomas Read Milliken, my co-defendant, did not file his answer for a month afterwards, but *he* was not arrested. During the time I was in prison, Boswell went to the hotel, and in a cowardly manner insulted Mrs. Tommey, and told her that her husband was in gaol, and in irons, under an order of the Court of Chancery, and would never be liberated. He (Boswell) also gave directions to the servants in the hotel, to obey Mr. Milliken, as he was their master then. On my return to the hotel after my liberation, the receiver, George Milliken, renewed the same system of annoyance, by ordering me out of the hotel, &c.

English and Irish Courts of Chancery are a safe refuge for mercenaries.

On the following day, the 15th of May, George Milliken made an affidavit, forgetting all sense of truth and justice, and swore that if either me, my wife, or son, were allowed to remain in the hotel, or interfere with the management thereof, it would be ruined and destroyed.—On that affidavit a writ of assistance was obtained behind my back, by which myself, wife, and children, were turned out of house and home into the streets, like dogs, at a moment's notice, and stripped of everything we were possessed of, contrary to all law and justice. The only way to account for such false swearing on the part of George Milliken, is, that he purchased the hotel and property under an unjust decree, made in the cause by Sir Edward Sugden, as he George Milliken wanted to carry on the hotel on his own account, which he has since declared on oath. Witnesses were examined on both sides, and the cause came on to be heard before Sir Edward Sugden, the then Lord Chancellor of Ireland. On the 29th, 30th, and 31st of January, 1835, the plaintiffs taking up the whole of the first day of the hearing, and the greater part of

Atrocities of the Irish Court of Chancery.

the second day, and out of 104 depositions on behalf of my defence, only about eight were read; but notwithstanding my defence was barely entered into, my case suppressed, and my rights compromised by my counsel, Mr. Francis Blackburn, Mr. Devonshire Jackson, Mr. Robert Warren, Mr. Barlow, and Mr. Robert Disney, solicitor,—on the rising of the court on the second day of the hearing, Sir Edward Sugden stated from the bench, “he would dismiss the plaintiff’s bill, they having no right to file it,—the meeting of creditors in January, 1834, having waived all notices in their bill of complaint, the trustees had neglected their duty, and he put little faith in their evidence.” That day the court rose early, there being a levee at the Castle; and there is no doubt the plaintiff, by some means, got to Sir Edward Sugden, and represented to him there would be many ruined by their bill being dismissed, as is evident by the observations of Lord Cranworth in giving his judgment in the House of Lords on the 5th of April, 1853, which is hereafter referred to. On the third day of the hearing of the cause, immediately after Sir Edward Sugden had taken his seat on the bench, he asked, “Does not this case close here?—is Tommey in possession of the United Service Club?” “Yes,” answered Mr. Serjeant Warren, one of my counsel, “and in the receipt of £800 a year,” and he acknowledged his client had done wrong. And although Sir Edward Sugden had expressed himself so favourably in my behalf at the rising of the court the day before, yet he decreed a sale of my property. Lord Plunkett, in 1836, made a decree on further directions, when he was pleased to state from the bench, “Recollect, gentlemen, I did not make this decree, (meaning the decree of Sir Edward Sugden,) for your proceedings are wrong altogether; they cannot, nor will they stand: for you had no right to take the law into your own hands, and turn that poor man (meaning me) into the street in the manner you did.” George Milliken purchased the hotel and property under the decree, and carried it on for his own benefit.

Heartless
reptiles of
the law.

Sir Edward
Sugden’s
heartless
treachery.

Lord
Plunkett’s
decree, &c.

In 1837, I filed a bill of review and reversal, and made the original plaintiffs, and Thomas Read Milliken and George Milliken, defendants,—George Milliken demurred to the bill, and the demurrer was allowed against me. In 1838, I came to London for the purpose of appealing to the House of Lords against the decree of 1835, which Lord Chancellor Cottenham refused, it being too late, but allowed me to appeal against an order of Lord Plunkett’s made on a petition presented by me to

Malprac-
tices of the
officers of
the Irish
Court of
Chancery.

Lord Chan-
cellor Cot-
tenham’s
refusal, &c.

Strange
conduct of
Lord
Plunkett.

Base decep-
tion of
Sir Edward
Sugden.

Misconduct
of a
Master of
the Rolls.

his Lordship, complaining of the malpractices of the officers of the Irish Court of Chancery, and which petition was presented by me, by the directions of Lord Plunkett, on the bench, in open court, but in chamber his Lordship was pleased to make an order "No rule." This was the first appeal to the House of Lords, and the decree of 1835 was not adjudicated on by the House on that appeal. When Sir Edward Sugden was appointed Lord Chancellor a second time for Ireland, I had got into a small way of business in London, and I had saved a few hundred pounds. I went down to Thames Ditton to Sir Edward Sugden, and I presented a petition to him for the restoration of my property. He sent word out to me, by Mr. Senior, his son-in-law, "If I brought my case regularly before the court he would do me justice." I parted with my business, and all I was possessed of, to enable me to do so; notwithstanding which, he refused me justice, and destroyed all my earnings, and my prospects a second time. I having no other way but by filing a fresh bill of review and reversal—the bill I had filed in 1837 having been dismissed out of court for want of prosecution—I filed a bill in 1844, and the defendants James White, Robert Courtney, George Kernan, and Thomas Read Milliken, were four months' in contempt; they then petitioned the Court, and it was referred to the Master of the Rolls for liberty to file a plea, that I might get the same relief, under the bill of 1837, as I sought under the bill of 1844, and the said Mr. Francis Blackburn, then Master of the Rolls, allowed them three weeks to file such plea, notwithstanding the bill of 1837 was dismissed out of Court for want of prosecution. I produced the order in Court for the dismissal of the bill of 1837, and read it to Mr. Blackburn, and handed it up to him, and he read it, and it is inserted in the order he made on the said application as being read, and to which order reference can be made, and he also restrained me from proceeding with the bill of 1844 until I had paid the costs of George Milliken, incurred by the bill of 1837, although he, George Milliken, was no party to the bill of 1844, and had been paid his costs of the bill of 1837, out of the proceeds of my property, and he expressed himself from the Bench that he was sorry he could do nothing more against me,—And Chief Baron Pigot, who was then my counsel, thus expressed himself: "Those were not the words of a dispassionate judge." These orders I appealed against to the then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who was pleased to reverse them:

they were then allowed to demur to my bill of 1844, for want of equity; notwithstanding my bill was full of equity, the demurrers were allowed against me. In 1846, I appealed to the House of Lords against those demurrer orders,—the decree of 1835 was not adjudicated on upon that appeal. In 1848, the House of Lord was pleased, considering the gross injustice exercised towards me, to allow me to appeal against certain decrees of the Court of Chancery in Ireland, and Lord Cottenham was the judge that heard the first two appeals, and was chairman of the Appeal Committee on every application made on my behalf, and also gave me liberty to extend my appeal to the decree of 1835, and all notices were duly served on the respondents, and they refused to appear at the bar of the house, on the grounds sworn by the affidavit of James White, that Lord Cottenham had noted to them that I had no case, and that the appeal would be dismissed, as the former appeals had been.

An appeal to the House of Lords for justice.

In 1850, the House of Lords heard the appeal, and gave judgment in my favour, reversing all the proceedings taken in the Court below against me, and referring it back to the Court of Chancery, to do what was just and consistent with that judgment, and ordering certain sums of money to be paid to me, the amount of which was set forth in the Accountant-General's certificate, which could have been made up in ten minutes; but the Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1850, referred it to Master Murphy to take an account of the sums of money to be paid to me, and which proceeding delayed me upwards of twelve months; and when I went back to the Court, the Lord Chancellor stated from the Bench, that if he had known it had appeared in the Accountant-General's Certificate he would not have sent it to the Master to take such an account, notwithstanding the Accountant-General's certificate was produced before him on the hearing in November, 1850, and fully read and explained to him; yet he made the order referring it to the Master, which I fearlessly assert was wilfully done to defeat the ends of justice. The trustees in the meantime had made away with their property and fled the country, to defeat the judgment of the House of Lords. In November, 1851, I applied in person to the Lord Chancellor for a writ of *elegit* to deliver unto me all property which the plaintiffs James White, Robert Courtney, and George Kernan, were seized or possessed of in July, 1850, when the judgment of the House of Lords was

House of Lords reverse proceedings of Irish Chancery Court.

The Lord Chancellor wilfully defeats the end of justice.

Fraudulent
officers in
the Irish
Court of
Chancery.

Honourable
threat of a
Master of
the Rolls.
Sanctioned
fraud and
conspiracy
in the Irish
Court of
Chancery.

The Court
of Chancery
an Augean
stable.

Lord
Chancellor
Blackburn
an accom-
plice in
felony.

given. The Lord Chancellor said that a writ of *elegit* should issue under the decree of the Court of Chancery of 1850, and any fraudulent disposition of property should be set aside by the parties being brought before the Court, at the same time. I then complained to the Lord Chancellor of the misconduct of certain officers of the Court of Chancery, and he directed me to bring them before the Court, and he would see that justice was done. I then presented a petition for that purpose against Charles Hogan, John Brennan, and John Knight Boswell, charging them with gross fraud and conspiracy, which I had complained of in open court. This petition was referred to Mr. Smith, the Master of the Rolls, to whom I applied to have it listed for that term. His Honour remarked "That I might give notice; but it would be at my peril." Not being versed in the language of peril, I served notice: the petition came on before Mr. Smith, who dismissed it against me with costs, and stated that the officers of the court had only done their duty; which bears out the observation of Sir S. B. Bulkeley, upon the conduct of the Court of Chancery, made by this gentleman in the House of Commons, at the opening of the Parliamentary session of 1852, when her Majesty had, in her speech, recommended a reform of the Court of Chancery:—"Perish the Court of Chancery, perish the masters, perish the entire system, rather than continue that Augean stable.

In December, 1851, I filed a cause petition upon proofs, that James White had disposed of his property to his sons for the purpose of avoiding the decree of the Court, which had ordered payment to me of the monies found by the master's report to be then due to me, and which petition came on to be heard before the then Lord Chancellor (Blackburn) of Ireland, on the 31st of May, 1852, when he dismissed the said petition with costs against me. It is necessary here to remark, that when Mr. Blackburn was my counsel in 1835, he compromised my rights, and in 1844 and 1845 he made the most inconsistent orders against me, which accounts for the manner in which he dismissed my petition and denied me justice.

On a motion before Sir William McMahon, then Master of the Rolls, in 1837—the trustees and the Millikens having quarrelled as to the disposal of the property they had robbed me of—Mr. Litton, counsel for the trustees, stated in Court, that the Millikens ought not to have turned round on the trustees in the manner they did, as the trustees studied the Millikens' interest

only; and at and previous to the filing of the bill they sailed in the same boat together; when Sir William McMahon, was pleased to express from the Bench that "The murder is out, and all the allegations of that poor man sitting there (meaning me) against us and our officers are true." In March 1834, when I received a counterpart of the trust-deed from the trustees, Mr. Robinson, my solicitor, called on me the following day, and said "The trustees have sent you a copy of the trust-deed: I have made out a case which you will send to Mr. Litton with two guineas for his opinion." I did so; Mr. Litton gave his opinion in my favour, but afterwards came into Court and pleaded against his own opinion.

Sir William McMahon admits fraud and conspiracy.

Mal-practice of an honourable Irish barrister.

In 1850, after judgment was given in the House of Lords, in my favour, the respondents petitioned the House for a re-hearing. Lord Truro, then Lord Chancellor, and Lord Brougham, stated "The House could re-hear the case only by a special Act of Parliament made for that purpose."

Lords Truro and Brougham's decision against a re-hearing.

In 1850, in the month of November, Thomas Houghton White, son of James White, and solicitor to the Trustees, stated to me that they had influence enough with the Court and the profession to keep me in litigation for sixteen years longer, and that I should never get any redress.

Legal influence to keep up the Irish Inquisition.

In 1852, when Sirs Edward Sugden and Francis Blackburn came into power as Chancellors of England and Ireland, the trustees as respondents presented a second petition to the House for a re-hearing, and which petition was got up by the brother of Sir Edward Sugden's son-in-law, which the House had power to grant only by special Act of Parliament, and which petition was heard in the House of Lords, and judgment given on the 5th of April, 1853, reversing the judgment of the House of 1850, without re-hearing the cause. That when Lord Cranworth gave judgment in this case on the 5th of April, 1853, he stated "that admitting the decree of 1835 to be wrong, which he was willing to admit it was wrong, and he knew it was wrong; but if we give judgment in Tommey's favour there will be twenty families ruined."

The doings of Sir Edward Sugden's relative.

A charge of high treason against Lord Cranworth, for setting the constitution at naught.

In 1844, when Sir Edward Sugden ruled the demurrers against me in the Court of Chancery in Ireland, he stated from the Bench that he might have come to a wrong conclusion, from the evidence before him, as to the decree of 1835, and the only way to reverse that decree was by a re-hearing, or an appeal to the House of Lords. I persevered, and succeeded in appealing

Lord
Brougham
and Sir
John
Romilly's
Irish Chan-
cery Mis-
carriage.

against the decree of 1835, reversing all the proceedings taken against me in the Court below, using Lord Brougham's own words when the appeal was heard in 1853—"Stop, stop, Romilly, for God's sake stop! (meaning Sir John Romilly, my counsel,) I have heard enough of this case to satisfy me there was something wrong in the Court below—I mean a miscarriage." In giving judgment his words were—"We are bound to give this poor man all the justice we can: had he applied to us sooner, we would have stopped the sale of his property."

Lord Cran-
worth liable
for
£150,000
by violating
his oath.

Such is a plain brief statement of the facts, so far as I can relate them in so short a space, I have carefully avoided exaggeration, I have understated my own hard case; I appeal to the sense of truth and justice, that actuates all honourable Englishmen, for help against the cruel injustice that has been inflicted upon me. I am nearly seventy years of age—I am forced into deep distress—my wife died fifteen years ago of a broken heart, caused by this frightful iniquity. Had not this foul injustice been perpetrated upon me I should now have been worth property to the amount of £150,000. But—alas, for the weakness of helpless poverty!—my oppressors are strong, I am weak—my oppressors are rich, I am poor. I have spent my life, from my youth upwards, either in the service of my country, or in the pursuits of industry, labour or business, to win bread for my family, and support for the hour of my need in age. Ah! it is hard to be thus robbed under the colour of the law; for, using Mr. Charles Pickering's (solicitor of Dublin) words—"Money will get the lawyers; they have *esprit du corps*, and where a suitor has been victimised, if he finds fault with one of the fraternity, they will combine against him, from the highest judge down to the Old Bailey hack." A further proof of this is given in the fact, that after the House of Lords had given judgment in my favour in 1850, reversing all the proceedings against me, and, so far as a judicial sentence from the highest tribunal in the kingdom could do, reinstating me in the position that I was, by daring malpractices on the part of lawyers, deprived of. When Sir Edward Sugden, the lawyer, was raised to the Upper House, the judgment given by the House in 1850 in my favour was reversed, and for a third time the cup of hope was dashed from my lips by the hand of fraud; again miserable pain surprised me, grief and horror enthralled me once more; yet I felt

The Legal
profession
easily
bought.

Immorality
of judges.

That not all the horrid lies of law or rhyme,
Can blazon evil deeds or consecrate a crime.

It may be stated that I was too late to appeal against the decree of 1835; but the House granted me that liberty, and I never exceeded the order of the House, therefore that judgment is binding at the present hour by the law of the land, if not, it is a mere farce to call the House of Lords a Court of Appeal. The gross fraud that was practised on me in the Court below, no honest man can for a moment sanction, using my Lord North's words when he was on the bench, "Will time ever purge fraud?" never while I sit here, every delay adds to the injustice and multiplies the oppression, and no wrong is without a remedy. It is necessary to state that the Court of Chancery had not acquired jurisdiction over my property, nor could have interfered, had I been defended by a truthful advocate, or had my case been heard before a just judge; for the judge being a correct lawyer, would have been aware that the Court of Chancery had no right to break up a sealed contract between parties, unless there had been fraud in the execution thereof; then indeed it would have been the province of a Court of Equity to have interfered, and Sir Edward Sugden expressed himself, at the rising of the Court on the second day of the hearing of the cause, to that effect. Had there been any violation of the contract by either party, the remedy would have been by action for breach of covenant, but the trustees well knew no breach had been committed on my part, and that it would not be so easy to tamper with twelve men in a jury-box, as it would be with the officers of the Irish Court of Chancery; they therefore chose the latter course. Had I the means to bring this great wrong fully before the public, I know I should do good service to the cause of truth and honesty—all that has been done against me has been done likewise against many other innocent people, to the injury of the good, and for the advantage of the base—for instance, when Mr. Bartholomew Taaff, one of the creditors under the trust-deed, was asked by Mr. Rogers, of Charlemont-house, why he allowed Tommey to be turned out, he replied "that he was given to understand that he would gain by the proceedings;" so that my well-meaning creditors were duped to their own loss, as well as myself brought to ruin by the knavery of lawyers.

The gross fraud practised by the Irish Court of Chancery, &c.

The substantial facts have been placed before Her Majesty Queen Victoria, in the form of a petition, which has been treated with contumely, and a caution made to me at Bow Street Police Court, not to write again to her. Should these details be read by any lady, I beg most respectfully, but

A petition to Queen Victoria treated with contumely

Widows
and
orphans
plundered
by fraudu-
lent cormo-
rants of
Courts of
Law.

Mal-
practices
of lawyers.

Legal
plunderers
of orphans.
Villanous
cunning of
equity
lawyers.

Patriot
noblemen
of England.

Records of
Chancery
contain the
downfall of
many
families.

Star
Chamber
and the
Inquisition.

Court of
Chancery a
merciless
Juggernaut

earnestly to remind her that it is a gentlewoman's question—my wife went to an untimely grave, with the knowledge that her life's labour was reft from all that she had near and dear to her upon earth. How many a lady has tried to provide a support for those dependant upon her care, and the fruits of her careful kindness has been plucked, I ought to say plundered, from her offspring by the fraudulent practice of the cormorants that practise in the courts of law. Many a pang has been added to the suffering soul in its parting agony, owing to the "glorious uncertainty of the law," or in other words, the malpractices of lawyers are so well known, that no lady can feel secure that her providence for those she loves may not be frustrated. Many a wailing prayer has been put up to heaven by plundered orphans, after the will of the dead has been negatived by the villanous cunning of the *equity* Lawyers. While I have the breath of life within me, although I am on the downward passage in sorrow to the grave, I will not cease to appeal to woman's sympathy and to man's indignation, for help against the giant evil embodied in the Court of Chancery.

Noblemen of England, (I do not mean *law* lords,) estated gentlemen of England, to you I appeal: shall this mockery of justice, this court of iniquity, flourish on the ruin of its victims? It is your cause as much as it can be mine. The records of the Chancery Court contain the history of many a family's downfall; but, alas! for the sufferers, when their legal destruction has been completed, the victims mourn in silence, and the world hears no more of their grievous wrong. Make help, then, to put down this dragon: its strength to do evil is caused by your submission to its power. Were you, noblemen and gentlemen of England, to come forward and take your right position as leaders of the Commons for the public safety, against this internal enemy, the enormity would soon follow its prototypes, the Star Chamber and the Inquisition; it would become a page of history, and the thanks and blessings of your released country, from the people of all ranks in society, of all ages and conditions in life, from the then unplundered orphan, from the widow whose substance would then be secure, alike from the aged man who then would enjoy the happy security of his labours, his property, his liberty. Those thanks and blessings would be your rich reward. Think not that a tame submission on your part to this merciless Juggernaut, will enable your families to escape its crushing power; for how many of the

noblest, and what should have been the wealthiest in the land, have learned too late, that they should

Trust not for Justice to the Courts,
For there *Law* Lord both buys and sells;
In native force, and native right
The only hope of Justice dwells.
The legal force, and legal fraud,
Will take your lands, however broad.

Therefore I appeal to you for aid against the oppression that, after plundering me of my all, is making a mockery of me in my age, and sending me destitute to the grave.

I remain, Gentlemen,

HENRY TOMMEY, *Senior*.

London, 21st April, 1856.

THE WAY THE PUBLIC MONEY GOES ON PLACE-HOLDERS AND SINECURISTS.

THE object of our dealing with this subject is of a twofold nature,—1st to effect, by the pressure of enlightened public opinion, the most rigid economy in every department of government expenditure; and, 2ndly, to substitute for the present cumbrous, wasteful, and most injurious taxes upon commodities, a simple and equitable system of DIRECT TAXATION. In the advocacy of both these objects, our leading conviction is the indisputable fact that nations, like individuals, in their fiscal arrangements, must, if they would prosper, adhere to the principles of justice, economy, and prudence; and cannot grossly violate them all without bringing upon themselves precisely the same consequences as those which affect individuals. The tendency of all history is to substantiate and confirm this conviction. No nation, in ancient or modern times, has fallen from greatness into decay and decrepitude, whose decline and fall may not be most directly traced to extravagance and luxury on the part of both rulers and people. Rome conquered the world whilst its great men and its population were simple in their manners and economical in their habits; Rome fell when corruption and extravagance pervaded all classes, and an emperor lavished the revenue of a province on a single banquet. In private life, a man may be as rich as Cræsus, but if he

Direct taxation in lieu of present cumbrous unjust taxes, &c.

The fall of nations caused through extravagance and luxury.

Comparison
between
public and
private ma-
nagement
of affairs.

Great
Britain in
danger of
bankruptcy
and ruin.

riot in every species of luxury, if his expenditure be unbounded by any consideration of means or end,—if he employ, at exorbitant salaries, multitudes of stewards on his estates, and hordes of servants, at high wages, many to do absolutely nothing, many to help those who have little or nothing to do, and all pillaging him to the utmost of their means and opportunity,—if, in addition to those actually or nominally employed, he pays compensation to those who have been deprived of the means of fleecing him,* and pensions or retired allowances to those whom he remunerated handsomely whilst they were in his service,—and if, moreover, he mortgage portions of his property every now and then, on most disadvantageous and exorbitant terms, so that the interest of his debts shall absorb one half of his whole annual income, the result of such a course of conduct, if persisted in, is palpable and inevitable. It is and must be ruin; it can be nothing else; and the final burst of the storm upon him is only a question of time. Nothing can save him but a timely abandonment of his spendthrift courses, retrenchment and economy in every branch of his expenditure, the dismissal of all useless and dishonest hangers-on, the retention of none but those who render or who have rendered value for what they receive,—and a careful husbanding of his resources to wipe off, gradually but surely, all incumbrances upon his property; and, as with an individual, so it is with a nation. Great Britain may be called the Cæsar of nations, but she has long been embarked in precisely such a career of extravagance and improvidence as this; and, great as is her wealth, mighty as are her resources, the results must be the same as with the individual,—bankruptcy and ruin. She is encumbered by an all but overwhelming debt, of which nearly the whole was most improvidently contracted, and a large proportion for most objectionable purposes; and the bare interest of this debt swallows up, year by year, nearly one half of her gross annual income, all expenses of collection and other deductions included. Yet the same system of extravagance is continued; there is little or no abatement of it; there are few or no signs of the thorough and efficient adoption of a better, wiser, and more honest course for the future on the part of our rulers.

(To be continued.)

THREE MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS CAUGHT IN THE FACT OF SIGNING AWAY MEN'S LIBERTIES.

THE QUEEN against ROBERT WILLIAM WILKINSON.—Whereas the Commissioners in Lunacy have instituted proceedings against me, the undersigned Robert William Wilkinson, for having, contrary to law, signed the name of my employer, Mr. Richard George Horton, of Leeds, surgeon, to a medical certificate of insanity for the purpose of procuring the reception of an insane person into a lunatic asylum, but the Commissioners being satisfied that in the circumstances under which I did the act I was not aware how grave an offence I was committing, and being further satisfied that I had no corrupt motive, have, at my earnest solicitation, consented to forego the prosecution on my making a public acknowledgment and apology: now I do accordingly acknowledge that in signing the said certificate I acted very wrongly and committed a grave breach of the law, and I express my deep regret for my said offence, and do thus publicly apologize for it.—Dated this 21st day of February, 1856.

Witness—Rd. Geo. Horton.

R. W. WILKINSON.

Three dangerous medical assistants loosed upon society by the commissioners in lunacy.

THE QUEEN against WILLIAM JOHN ADDISON.—Whereas the Commissioners in Lunacy have instituted proceedings against me, the undersigned William John Addison, now an assistant to Mr. William Ewart, of Middleton, in Teesdale, in the county of Durham, surgeon, for having unlawfully and contrary to the statute signed a medical certificate for the purpose of procuring the reception of an insane person into an asylum, and in which certificate I described myself as surgeon, whereas I was not at the time of signing the said certificate a surgeon, or otherwise authorized by law to sign the same; but the Commissioners, being satisfied that I committed the offence through inadvertence, and without any corrupt motive, have, at my earnest petition, consented to forego the prosecution on my making a public acknowledgment and apology. Now I do hereby acknowledge, that in signing the said certificate I committed a grave breach of the law, and I do express my deep concern and regret for my said offence, and do thus publicly apologize for it.—Dated this 23rd day of February, 1856.

Witness—William Ewart.

WILLIAM JOHN ADDISON.

Commissioners Rt. Hon. Earl of Shaftesbury (chairman); Rt. Hon. Robt. Vernon-Smith, M.P. Robt. Gordon; Francis Barlow; Lieut. Col. Hy. Morgan Clifford, M.P.; John Rbt. Hume, M.D.; Saml. Gaskell, Bryan Waller Procter, Wm. Geo. Campbell, James Wilkes, and Robert Wilfred, S. Lutwedge, are fearful of prosecuting.

THE QUEEN against HENRY BROOKS.—Whereas the Commissioners in Lunacy have instituted proceedings against me, the undersigned Henry Brooks, now an assistant to Mr. William Brewer, of Nantyglo, in the county of Monmouth, surgeon, for having unlawfully and contrary to the statute signed a medical certificate, for the purpose of procuring the reception of an insane person into an asylum, and in which certificate I described myself as surgeon, whereas I was not at the time of signing the said certificate a surgeon, or otherwise authorized by law to sign the same; but the Commissioners being satisfied that I committed the offence through inadvertence, and without any corrupt motive, have, at my earnest petition, consented to forego the prosecution on my making a public acknowledgment and apology. Now, I do accordingly hereby acknowledge that, in signing the said certificate, I committed a grave breach of the law, and I do express my deep concern and regret for my said offence, and do thus publicly apologize for it.—Dated this 29th day of February, 1856.

Witness—Cornelius John Guest,
Coalbrookdale Iron Works.

HENRY BROOKS.

Atrocious Criminals fined the cost of an advertisement in the *Times*, 3rd March, 1856.

THE PEACE REJOICINGS.

To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.

SIR,—I will not occupy a large space in your columns, but will you allow a few words of earnest and indignant remonstrance against the proposed tomfoolery to be enacted in the Parks next month?

The war
with Russia
just and
necessary,
&c.

Surely, Sir, it would be much more decent for us to “swallow our leek,” and be quiet. It is not shame enough that we have patched up a dishonourable peace, but we must needs go and cackle about it? This war was just and necessary, or it was not. If it was, on our side, just, who ought to pay the hundred millions that war has cost? Why, it should have been squeezed out of the coffers of the grasping Autocrat, had he pawned his revenues for ten years to come.

Surely, Sir, it is enough that the bleaching bones of our wasted army cry out for vengeance on the incompetency (or worse), of those in authority; while we have to mourn—

“The deep damnation of their taking off.”

The son of
a drunken
continental
despot in
treaty for
an English
princess.

Surely it is enough that we succumbed to France in her wishes for peace at any rate, and have thereby lost both prestige and power. Surely it is enough that, to crown all, we are about to give the fair daughter of free and merry England to the son of a drunken continental despot, with a crumbling dynasty and a tottering throne. Are not these humiliations sufficient for us, that we must needs exult in our own dishonour, and sing pæans over our own disgrace? No doubt that, to nurserymaids, these fêtes will be attractive; but sure I am that there is not one Englishman in ten thousand who will not feel that the whole of this miserable union of tragedy and comedy, of mourning and rejoicing, is like the roll of the prophet, “full of lamentation and woe.”

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

PATER FAMILIAS.

Brixton, April 21, 1856.

HONESTY OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

CASE OF MEER JAFUR ALEE—THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MORALITY.

THE indignation of Englishmen is sometimes raised by instances of the heartless exercise of arbitrary power in Russia and other despotic countries; but perhaps it does not so often occur to them, that now and then, under the benignant authority and rule of the Saxon race, cases turn up which present features of as unscrupulous a morality as that which disgraces the worst of absolute governments.

The indignation of Englishmen, &c.

The public should observe the circumstances in the case of Meer Jafur Alee. It appeared that, under the treaty concluded with the Nawab of Surat, by which the East India Company acquired possession of the city and its dependencies, the Company agreed to pay the Nawab and his heirs a lack and a-half of rupees, or £15,000 annually; the Governor of Bombay, who represented the Company, stating that it would give a security "for an honourable provision to the Nawab, and his family and descendants, from generation to generation, greater than they ever yet had, *and that a stipulation for a man and his heirs meant for ever, or until such heirs became extinct.*" The son of the Nawab died in 1842, leaving only one daughter, and, on his death, the Company not only seized possession of all his real and personal estate, but ceased and refused to pay the stipulated rent-charge to his heir,—now the wife of Meer Jafur Alee. The Legislative Council of India, without consulting the heir or her guardians, even passed an Act, in 1848, legalising the plunder of her father's property, and the refusal to pay the annual rent-charge. Meer Alee, dissatisfied with the trifling moiety of the property they decided on apportioning to his daughters, came to England to appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; but here he found that the Legislative Act of 1848 prevented the Committee from hearing his case. His next resource was a Bill in Parliament.

The Governor of Bombay's representation to the Nawab of Surat.

The Honourable East India Company perpetrated an illegal seizure. The Legislative Council of India pass an act to legalize plunder.

From motives best known to themselves, Sir Charles Wood and Mr. Vernon Smith, and some minor members of the Government, were determined to resist this bill,—on which the Government would have been inevitably defeated by a large majority, a majority which, for the sake of British integrity, we hope would have been three to one,—but Lord Palmerston, alive

Sir Charles Wood and Company's trickery in a case of scandalous dishonesty.

to the justice of the case, and the odium of a defeat in such a cause, and probably alive to the machinations of his own subordinates—who appear to be making every effort to oust his Lordship from the Premiership—immediately arrested the opposition to the measure, by intimating that the Government would throw no obstacles in the way of Meer Allee recovering his rights.

Lord Palmerston has acted no more than the part of an honest minister in the business; but what can the public think of the commercial company which could be guilty of this bare-faced breach of a solemn treaty; and what, above all, of those who publicly abet and vindicate their scandalous dishonesty?—*Morning Advertiser*, 10th April, 1856.

THE DOWRY TO THE PRINCESS ROYAL.

THE following letter was yesterday posted to Messrs. Ewart and Brown, the members for Dumfries and Lancashire, in reference to the dowry to the Princess Royal, which, it is reported, is to be given to her Royal Highness on her forthcoming marriage:—

R. Gladstone's letter relating to the annuity of the Princess Royal with the Prince of Prussia.

MY DEAR SIR,—On behalf of the Council of the Financial Reform Association, I beg leave to call your attention, and through you, that of the public generally, to the common report that her Majesty's Ministers intend to propose to Parliament that an annuity of £70,000 per annum shall be settled on the Princess Royal on her marriage with the Prince of Prussia.

Extravagant proposed dowry to the Princess Royal.

On the policy of that marriage I offer no opinion. Perhaps the alliance with the heir to a powerful kingdom may be an improvement on the system which has hitherto confined the selection of husbands and wives for the royal progeny of England to the petty princes and princesses of Germany, with territories less extensive and less productive than the estate of many an English country squire; but the proposed dowry is so preposterously extravagant, that the first mention of it conveys the impression that in this, as in many other instances, common report must be a common deceiver. Seventy thousand per annum! It is the interest of a million and a-half of money; it is £20,000 more than was thought sufficient, by an *unreformed*

Parliament, in the days of King George the Third, when all the expenses of living were much higher than they are now, for the husband of Princess Charlotte, the heiress to the throne of England.

Just consider the circumstances under which this job is said to be in contemplation. We have spent upwards of a hundred millions on the war now terminated—for the present; we have borrowed, or shall have to borrow, some thirty or fifty millions more; our doubled income-tax and impost on commodities wring from us nearly seventy millions annually; these are the strongest motives for reducing expenditure to the lowest limits consistent with the efficiency of the public service. How, then, is it possible that our rulers can meditate such a piece of wasteful extravagance as the alienation of £70,000 per annum of the public money for the life of a princess who, in the natural course of events, will become Queen of a foreign kingdom? Why should the people of England be bound to provide £70,000 a year for the future Queen of Prussia?

Ministers meditate wasteful extravagance of £70,000 per annum.

Such questions must occur to every one; but the objections implied in them will have no force whatever, either with Ministers, who propose the arrangement, or with Parliament, which will be called upon to carry it into effect, unless the country speaks out through public meetings and its representatives, and protests energetically against so needless and improvident a waste of the public money. As to her Majesty's Ministers, instead of endeavouring, by every practical means, to reduce the ordinary burdens of the nation, whilst imposing extraordinary ones upon it, they have taken advantage of the popular excitement produced by the war to make large and unnecessary additions in almost every branch of expenditure, civil as well as military: and as to the House of Commons, instead of acting as a check on Ministers, it has encouraged them in their profusion. It has aided and abetted them in their extravagance so rashly and blindly, that it has incurred rebuke from the House of Lords, for its reckless disregard of all economy.

The House of Commons as at present constituted encourage ministers to misapply the people's money.

The personal income of the parents of this young lady, from all sources, cannot fall very much short of £200,000 per annum. Whatever the amount really is, it may be regarded as their pocket-money only; for they are furnished, in addition, with palaces, parks, and gardens, for residence and recreation,—horses, carriages, and yachts, for locomotion; with most nume-

Income of the parents of the Princess Royal.

rous establishments for their service, and with provisions of every kind for eating and drinking, the actual cost of all which goes far beyond the £385,000 forming the imaginary boundary of Civil List expenses. Why, then, should, they not, like all other parents, provide dowries for their children? If they are not to be subjected to the same rules as ordinary mortals,—if this also must be done for them at the public expense, let it be done with some little regard to decency and moderation, at all events,—some little consideration for the struggling taxpayers from whom the funds will be extracted; many of whom are hardly enough pressed to provide for their own necessities.

There is a
limit to
John Bull's
patience
and for-
bearance.

John Bull is, proverbially, the most enduring, though he may likewise be the most grumbling, of all creatures. But there must be bounds even to his patience and forbearance. To ascertain how far these extend would seem to be the present object both of Ministers and of Parliament. The experiment is injudicious, and may be dangerous. Once thoroughly roused the people of this country will make short work with all oligarchical abuses.

If any such proposal as that which forms the subject of this letter should really be submitted to Parliament, it ought to be met with the most strenuous opposition by every true representative of the people. If it be, nevertheless, adopted, the day of reckoning will come, and those who sanction it, by speech or vote, will have to render a strict account to their constituents.

I am, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

(Signed) ROBERTSON GLADSTONE, *President,*

Financial Reform Association, 6, York-Buildings.

Dale-street, Liverpool, April 7, 1856.

ORIGIN OF SOLICITORS.

Solicitors
like the
grass-
hoppers in
Egypt.

THIS branch of legal practitioners seems to have arisen in great part out of the suits in the Star Chamber. "In our age," says Hudson, a barrister of Gray's Inn in the reign of Charles I., "here are stepped up a new sort of people called solicitors, unknown to the records of the law, who, like the grasshoppers in Egypt, devour the whole land; and these, I dare say (being authorised by the opinion of the most reverend and learned

Lord Chancellor that ever was before him), were express maintainers, and could not justify their maintenance upon any action brought; I mean not where a lord or gentleman employed a servant to solicit his cause—for he may justify his doing thereof; but I mean those which are common solicitors of causes, and set up a new profession, not being allowed in any court, or at least not in the court where they follow causes; and these are the retainers of causes, and devourers of men's estates by contention, and prolonging suits to make them without end.—*Timbs's "Things not generally Known."*

INJUSTICE PERPETRATED BY THE OFFICIALS OF THE POST-OFFICE.

GUILDHALL.—John Thomas Brown, formerly a letter carrier in the General Post-office, was summoned to answer a charge of sending threatening letters to Mr. Frederick Kelly, the Chief Inspector of Letter Carriers, whereby that gentleman went in fear of his life.

Mr. Lewis attended for the prosecution, and stated that in October, 1854, the defendant, in consequence of a report required of, and made by, Mr. Kelly, was discharged, since which he had written several letters to the prosecutor, in which he threatened him in an indirect manner by telling him that life was uncertain, and that Mr. Kelly might be called before his Judge in another world at any moment, and that he (the defendant) considered himself wronged by Mr. Kelly, and that he would spend the last drop of his blood in obtaining revenge. There were other passages in the letters complained of which induced Mr. Kelly to fear that some attempt upon his life was contemplated by the defendant, and he, therefore, wished that the defendant might be restrained by being required to find heavy sureties to keep the peace.

Harsh and cruel treatment of a post-office letter-carrier.

Mr. Kelly corroborated this statement.

The defendant said, the fact was he had been injured in the spine, and thereby incapacitated; but that having served fifteen years in the Post-office, he applied there in the usual way, and was, after being bandied about from one department to another, referred to Mr. Kelly for a copy of the report which was the

The chief inspector of letter-carriers unjustly withheld a cause of dismissal.

cause of his dismissal. This Mr. Kelly refused, and that was the reason he had had occasion to write to him so frequently.

Alderman WIRE said, the defendant should apply to the Postmaster-General if he felt himself aggrieved.

The Postmaster-General's knowledge compared with the natives of Africa.

The defendant said, the fact was, Mr. Rowland Hill and Mr. Kelly managed matters so well between them that it was no use applying to any one else. There was no Postmaster-General; Mr. Rowland Hill and Mr. Kelly filled that post, and the Postmaster-General knew no more of what was going on in the Post-office than the natives of Southern Africa.

Excessive sureties and cruel imprisonment ordered by a city alderman.

Alderman WIRE said, he considered the threats of a sufficiently alarming character to justify him in calling upon the defendant in two sureties in £50 each, and to enter into his own recognizances in £100, to keep the peace towards Mr. Kelly and all her Majesty's subjects, or be committed in default.

The prisoner said, he could not procure bail, and he was accordingly removed in custody.— *Times*, 10th April, 1856.

SPEECH OF SIR F. THESIGER IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 9TH APRIL 1856, AGAINST THE ADMISSION OF ISRAELITES INTO PARLIAMENT.

SIR F. THESIGER having explained the absence of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, who would have opposed him in this measure, said it would be quite inconsistent if those like himself who were opposed to motions such as the present, did not oppose the second reading of this bill for the abolition of the oath of abjuration. The bill of the honourable member consisted of an assertion and an inference. The assertion was that the descendants of the Pretender were at an end, and, therefore, the oath of abjuration should be abolished. The oath of abjuration was not merely a renunciation of the claims of the descendants of the Pretender, but it asserted that the Sovereign should be a Protestant. The honourable member, in moving the second reading of the bill, said he did not appear there as the advocate of Baron Rothschild, and that he had had no communication with that gentleman. But he (Sir F. Thesiger begged to ask the right honourable gentleman whether he had not been on

A talented conjuror of difficulties in the House of Commons.

several occasions of late in close conference with a gentleman of the Jewish persuasion holding high power in the city of London? Now, he wished to know what could be the object of that interview, whether it related to the descendants of the Pretender, or to the "fag" end of the oath, "on the true faith of a Christian."

The honourable gentleman said he did not propose to do anything in an indirect manner—the object of the right honourable gentleman was perfectly plain and palpable. He did not know whether the noble lord the member for the city of London had dropped his mantle on the shoulders of the right honourable member for Manchester, or whether that right honourable gentleman had stolen it while the noble lord was asleep—all he could say was, that it was more becoming in the noble lord, while he wore it, than it was on the right honourable gentleman, although undoubtedly it had become a little threadbare. The noble lord had acted in a more direct manner than the right honourable gentleman had done, as he did not propose to break down the constitutional barriers which had been raised to secure a Protestant successor to the Crown. Some might be of opinion that there was no danger on that point, but he thought he should be able to show the House that any fears on that point were not altogether so unlikely as some might think. A number of papal bulls had lately been published, amongst which there was a letter from Pope Clement XIII. to the Pretender in 1759, which he addressed to his dearly beloved James, King of Great Britain, stating that he had made an appointment to an Irish See. Since then, no less than 66 bulls had been published, in which all the rights of the House of Hanover to the Crown of England were denied. He would ask the House if it was prepared to assent to the principles of a bill which was intended entirely to abolish the oath which provided for the Protestant succession of this country, which he did not think so entirely chimerical? In the reign of William and Mary the Jews had been excluded from Parliament by a direct act, because they were aliens, and no alien had a right to a seat in Parliament. It could not, therefore, be said that the Jews had been indirectly excluded, for he thought that the circumstance he had mentioned proved entirely the contrary. He thought that this house was the great guardian of religion. In the prayer that was weekly offered up by this country, God was beseeched that "truth and justice, and religion and piety, might be established through all generations." Now, if this House had nothing at all to do with religion, that prayer

Frivolous
speechifying
of a
learned
senator.

A learned
legislative
exponent
of English
history and
a guardian
against
popery !

The House
of Com-
mons most
irreligious.

ought altogether to be withdrawn. He begged the House to consider for one moment what would be their position if they removed this oath. What a weapon it would afford the Roman Catholics, who would say, "We told you there was no truth in the doctrine of Protestantism, and here is a proof of it." He maintained that the effect of the bill, if passed, would be to un-Protestantise the constitution and to un-Christianise the legislature. He begged to move that the bill be read a second time that day six months.

MISRULE OF ENGLAND IN AFRICA.

Outrages
perpetrated
by English
and French
upon un-
protected
Africans.

A VERY scandalous and discreditable disaster has occurred on the west coast of Africa, where such occurrences, however, are by no means uncommon to the English, or to the French either; for our allies are rather the worst of the two on that coast, and have just received a rebuff near Goree.

British
troops
defeated by
Africans.

About thirty years ago a British force, sent to the Gold Coast to chastise the King of Ashantee, was disastrously defeated, and its general, Sir Charles Macartney, killed by that prince. In our own times we have had a governor of the Gambier severely trounced, and nearly tarred and feathered, by a tribe of disdainful and humoursome negroes up that river. At Lagos, some three years ago, an expedition was repulsed and driven out of it with considerable loss, by a black monarch whom it went up to depose, at the instance of the Church missionaries settled there and at Abeokuta, who desired to set up in his stead a rum-drinking and otherwise spiritually-disposed friend of their own, given however, as it turned out, to slave-dealing as well as strong waters. And now we have been defeated in an expedition up a river near Sierra Leone. But no doubt we have some military successes to set against these misfortunes, and to rectify the balance of "glory" in western Africa. Such, for instance, as the destruction the other day of a native town up the Old Calabar, "at," said Sir Charles Wood, "the request of the missionaries," though why or wherefore those reverend gentlemen should have exacted such vengeance the First Lord of the Admiralty could not tell the House of Commons. But whether our assaults be successful or unsuccessful matters little

Balance of
"glory" in
Western
Africa.

Pious Sir
Charles
Wood aids
the mis-
sionaries.

to commerce, for with the negroes chastisement has very little effect to alter their conduct, and success on their part never provokes them into retaliation. The truth is, that of all God's creatures (Yankees not excepted) the negro is perhaps the most commercially disposed of mankind. Whether you blow his brains out, or he knocks you on the head, he is equally ready and willing to trade with you the next day, as this last affair abundantly testifies. But then he is not to be dragooned out of his opinion, or to be attacked with impunity. He is obstinate in his own view of his "rights," and valiant against all apparent odds in defence of his home and his property, as we shall see.

Africans
the most
commer-
cially dis-
posed of
mankind.

Africans are
justified in
resenting
injustice.

Governor Kennedy, of Sierra Leone, is now in Europe on an unusually prolonged leave of absence, and in his place there reigneth as acting Governor a mulatto gentleman, desirous, it would seem, to distinguish himself, but with small discretion and little wit. Shortly after Governor Kennedy's departure he sent a large expedition, consisting of three ships of war and nearly 500 troops, up one of the rivers opposite the peninsula of Sierra Leone. This expedition at once came to terms with the refractory Chief of Mallaghea, Bamba Mimah Lahi, who, desirous to get rid of so overwhelming a force from before his town, agreed to pay in the March following 1,000 dollars, by way of indemnity for his alleged offences; as of course he would have promised, under such pressure, to pay a million, had it been demanded. March came round, but not the money. The negro chief offered 300 dollars, but the acting Governor refused that sum, and in May sent a small expedition, consisting of only one ship of war and 150 rank and file, to enforce payment of the difference in dispute—namely 700 dollars. When this expedition reached Mallaghea some negotiations took place; the chief either not having, or pretending not to have, a thousand dollars in hand. The expedition, directed by an inferior clerk in the Government-office at Freetown, insisted on full payment; and in a letter written by a merchant on the spot, it is stated that at last "the king had sent the whole of the money, say 1,030 dollars, to Binty, requesting Mr. Davidson to receive it in behalf of Government, but that gentleman refused to receive it." However this was, on the 23rd of May the ship opened fire on the town, and it was quickly in flames, night only closing on the bombardment. Nevertheless, next day, a portion of the town was seen still standing; and the rockets proving worthless, just as in the Ashantee war kegs of macaroni instead

Small dis-
cretion and
little wit of
an acting
governor of
Sierra
Leone.

Brutal con-
duct of the
govern-
ment offi-
cials at
Sierra
Leone.

British
troops put
to the rout
at Binty,
Africa.

of gunpowder were brought into action, the troops were landed ignobly armed, as we read, with lucifer matches, to ignite the standing remnant of the place; but from behind the smoking ruins they received so murderous a negro fire that, after seventy-three killed, wounded, and missing, they fled to the ship, and got back to Sierra Leone with all possible despatch.

Punish-
ment dege-
nerated
into
vengeance
and fell
into retri-
butive
ambuscade.

Now, from this statement it is abundantly clear that the expedition was rashly, and even unnecessarily undertaken, inadequately provided, cruelly and barbarously conducted, and in every way grossly mismanaged. To negotiate a treaty three ships of war and 500 men were sent; to enforce its provisions one ship and 150 soldiers. Punishment, degenerated into vengeance, was pursued with rashness, and fell into a retributive ambuscade. *Such were the military errors. But we can see no grounds for any military expedition at all. Commerce was in no danger—that is clear; for even after the extreme provocation of the attack upon and the burning of their town, not even when all their passions were excited, did the natives offer the least insult or molestation to the English traders in the river; they gratified their anger by barbarous reprisals on two of their prisoners; but though property to the value of £150,000 was at their mercy, they so entirely respected it that the English merchants, immediately after the affray, went in a body to return their thanks to the negro chief whose town had been so barbarously destroyed. This is a pregnant fact, highly illustrative of the friendly spirit of both chief and people, and also strongly suggestive of the folly and wickedness of the hostile expedition, at once the cause and object of so much suffering.* Nor, in all probability, will the matter end where the news leaves it; for the mulatto Governor of Sierra Leone has of course sent off to the Commodore for reinforcements, and by next mail we may expect accounts of a new expedition up the Malicaurra; though, to save his people from another assault of the kind, Bamba Mimah Iahi has patriotically abdicated in favour of his brother; and the chief missionary at Sierra Leone, less bellicose than his brethren on the coast generally, had, from the pulpit of “St. George’s Cathedral, Freetown,” endeavoured to soften the Governor’s heart.

Unex-
ampled
generosity
and forbear-
ance of an
ill-treated
African
chief.

Baba
Mimah
Iahi an
African
Patriot.

The time has surely come to put an end to all these follies on the western coast of Africa, where gunpowder and philanthropy have too long ruled the roast. At one moment we permit a false sentiment to promote and encourage insubordination,

irregularities, and disregard of good faith, and then a long period of inaction is followed by measures of precipitate coercive severity. The negroes are first allowed to get saucy through impunity, and then they are chastised with barbarity. The cause of this is that, with rare exceptions, the right man is never placed in the right place in our African settlements. When the Gold Coast was presided over by the late Mr. Maclean, none of those collisions ever occurred there. He thoroughly understood the native character, pursued and rectified it through all its phases, won the respect and regard of the tribes around him, made his influence felt at the hostile court of Kumasi, and left the British possessions and the country generally in a state of prosperity, from which it has since steadily declined, until now the chiefs, teased and tormented by a poll-tax, the produce of which has been misappropriated by the British authorities, are becoming hostile and dangerous, the roads into the interior unsafe, and a new war with Ashantee will surprise no one acquainted with that part of the coast. And just as it is at Cape Coast Castle so we have seen it is at Sierra Leone.—*Examiner*, July, 1855.

When the Gold Coast was presided over by the late Mr. Maclean, barbarous treatment of the natives did not occur. Misappropriation of the poll-tax by the British authorities at Cape Coast Castle.

GAVAZZI ON THE PAPAL INQUISITION.

LAST night Sig. Alessandro Gavazzi delivered a lecture in Falcon-square Chapel, on "The Inquisition, Past and Present," for the benefit of Silver-street Sunday Schools.

The chair was occupied by the Rev. Dr. Bennett, pastor of the church, who briefly introduced the lecturer. He said, we were happily, as a nation, ignorant on the subject of the Inquisition, and we were now about to get our information in a pleasant manner, viz., without experience.

Sig. Gavazzi commenced by observing, that the first gift of God to man was—not religion, but liberty—liberty to choose his religion. Where there was most liberty, there would pure religion flourish; but the Church of Rome, which allowed the least liberty of any church, was, therefore, the least Christian of any church. If enlightened English Catholics saw, in this country, what was the daily teaching and practice of the Roman Catholic Church in his country—Italy—they would forsake that faith at once. One of the principal oriental scholars of the day had published a book, even with official sanction in Rome, in

The Rev. Dr. Bennett's ignorance of there being still an Inquisition in England! The first gift of the Great King to man was not religion, but liberty.

Romish
pluckers of
truth from
the sacred
code, to
make it
prove
Popery.

The Church
of Rome not
the true
Church of
Christ.

Roman
Catholic
clergy with
their Inqui-
sition are
like unto
wolves
amongst
sheep.

Roman
Catholic
priests
belong to a
class guilty
of atroci-
ties.
The Queen
of Tortures,
alias the
amusement
of the
Pope.

which he pointed out 750 vital alterations made by the Roman Catholics in their version of the Bible. These alterations were necessary to make the Bible prove Popery. But, without force, Popery could not stand; it would not last without those penal and compulsory measures of which the Inquisition was the representative. By the use of its inquisitorial powers and punishments the Roman Catholic Church showed itself to be deficient in the most important requisite and qualification for a church—it wanted charity. Christ told his followers that, as the world had persecuted him, so also it would persecute them. The true Church was always persecuted, and never persecuting; the Church of Rome was always persecuting, and never persecuted; the Church of Rome, therefore, was not the true Church of Christ. Protestants, it was true, had persecuted, but it was only with them a temporary affair—with the Church of Rome, however, it had been a ceaseless and changeless system. Christ said, “I send you as sheep amongst wolves”—it was a mission of mercy and of charity; but the Roman Catholic clergy, with their Inquisition, were wolves amongst sheep, and not sheep amongst wolves. They were worse than wolves, they were tigers, hyenas, monsters. The Inquisition had invented and practised fourteen different kinds of torture. The Roman Catholic clergy, who took no part directly in the proceedings of the Inquisition, yet sanctioned them, as tending to purify and strengthen the church. Romances and novels were not necessary, or even desirable, to show what the Inquisition was. He advised them not to use Protestant works in this controversy, because they were of no weight with the Roman Catholics, and because there was a great abundance of evidence in Roman Catholic works which they could not repudiate. He quoted from the *Lucerna Inquisitorum*, an officially published book in Rome, which gave an account of these fourteen tortures. This was a book written by an old inquisitor, for the instruction of young ones. When Roman Catholic priests came to them with a sanctified look, let them remember that they belonged to a class which was guilty of these atrocities. The first torture was called “The Queen of Tortures”—it was the torture of the rope. The victim, with 100 lbs. weight attached to his feet, and his hands tied behind him by a rope, was raised with that rope on a pulley, and when hoisted up to the ceiling, he was suddenly let down almost to the floor, which entirely dislocated his arms. This torture had ceased only within his memory.

He next described the torture of the wheel and the torture of the water. The latter was very horrible—he wished to horrify them, and to induce them to horrify their friends and children, so as to prevent the establishment in this country of a church which could be guilty of such atrocities. The lecturer gave a highly graphic description of the more prominent of these modes of torture, which caused a thrill of horror to pervade the whole assembly. One of them was the dropping of water from the ceiling upon the head. This constant dropping took off first the hair, and then the skin, and then the skull, and then—the first drop which touched the naked brain relieved the poor miserable wretch from his sufferings. The Inquisition was called “Holy.” There was an ocean, renowned for its storms, which was called the Pacific Ocean—there was a cape, notorious for its shipwrecks, called the Cape of Good Hope—and the Devil himself was called an angel of light. In just this sense was the Inquisition “holy.” But some might say, that the Inquisition which had done all these horrible things was not now in existence, as sanctioned by the present amiable Pope. What, however, was the fact? The Inquisition was still in existence, and that “angel,” that “father of his people,” Pius IX., once every week, as “First Inquisitor,” presided over it! Let them not say, that the Inquisition in England was an impossibility! The people that could not prevent the Papal hierarchy from parcelling out their country, were not likely to prevent their doing anything else. In fact, everything was possible to the cunning and perseverance of Rome. The Tractarians were paving the way for the Inquisition; they gradually depressed the Church of England, and elevated the Church of Rome, and when the two came to a level in the country, they would give to Rome the precedence, on the score of antiquity. If they would not have the Inquisition, therefore, let them crush the snake of Tractarianism in the head. The only remedy—the only safety—for England, was the free Bible, and the Bible alone—the Bible in the pulpit, in the school, and at the fireside. Without the Bible they were undone, and he prayed that God might bless them in the study of it. Signor Gavazzi then sat down amidst great applause.

A vote of thanks was unanimously passed to him for his able lecture, and the meeting separated.—*Morning Advertiser*, 10th April, 1856.

The “Holy” Inquisition and its uses.

Pope Pius IX., “First Inquisitor,” and father of his people.

English Tractarians are paving the way for the Inquisition.

The snake Tractarianism to be crushed in the head.

A TRUE STORY OF THE CRIMEAN WAR.

(To the Editor of *The Times*.)

SIR,—John Johnson, late a private soldier in the 95th Regiment, received a gun-shot wound at Inkermann, and died in the hospital at Scutari.

Patriotic
liberality of
the guar-
dians of
Cosford
Poor-house.

His mother, a poor widow, living in the parish of Preston, in the county of Suffolk, was in the receipt of 2*s.* 6*d.* per week from the guardians of the poor of the Cosford Union. About a fortnight since the arrears of pay due to her deceased son, amounting to the sum of £1. 12*s.* 10*d.*, were received by her, immediately upon learning which the guardians of the Cosford Union, in the exercise of their patriotic liberality, stopped the weekly payment to the widow, alleging that she could no longer require their assistance while she had the money referred to in her possession.

Sir, is it thus the wealthy of England should testify their sense of the valour of her lowlier sons?

Your obedient servant,

Lavenham, Suffolk, March 15, 1856.

P. H.

THE BISHOPS' COURTS.

AN APPEAL TO THE BRITISH NATION.

William the
Conqueror.

BRETHREN,—They were established as a separate and independent order of jurisprudence by William the Conqueror, soon after possessing himself of the English throne, as a return in part for the influence the Church of Rome had rendered him in dispossessing the rightful monarch.

Code of
laws of the
English
Inquisition
maintained.

They are governed by a code of laws purely their own. The *people* of this country had no voice in making them; but they have emanated from popes, councils, or synods. Every one is, however, bound by their authority. Were the clergy alone interested in their continuance or removal, there would be sufficient data to justify their immediate extinction; but all classes of the laity are placed under their baneful influence, and almost daily suffer from the extraordinary powers with which they are armed. The fact that the *State* has one set of laws

proceeding from the joint authority of the Sovereign, the Lords, and Commons, and the *Church* another set of laws, put forth and executed by the authority of ecclesiastics, must necessarily occasion great confusion, national dishonour, and individual wrongs.

There are nearly four hundred of these courts scattered over England and Wales. Some pertain to archbishops, bishops, and deacons. Others are attached to cathedrals, deans, vicars, and other orders of ecclesiastics; and, strange to appear, portions of them belong to lords and ladies of the gentry.

Nearly 400 Courts of Inquisition scattered over England and Wales.

The whole system will be best understood by a brief description of their constitution—their powers—their abuses—and the reasons for their extinction.

THEIR CONSTITUTION.

None but avowed members of the Church of England can obtain admission. The bishop appoints the judges, advocates, and proctors; and *at his pleasure he can remove them*. At the time of being admitted they swear they believe the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, “and will yield obedience to the lawful commands of their diocesan.” And it is a fact, that, if after being admitted, any judge, advocate, or proctor, were to *alter his religious opinions or conduct*, the bishop could, on this account alone, suspend him, or altogether dismiss him from the court. He has equally arbitrary powers as to admission. Any gentleman after payment of a large premium, and serving seven years as an articled clerk, may be rejected by the bishop, and denied the right of becoming a practitioner.

Constitution of the Inquisition, *alias* Ecclesiastical Courts.

Popish bishops and judges act as avowed Protestants.

In the name of common right, we protest against this monopoly of justice by clerical persons. Did it extend no further than to members of the Church of England, it might be left to judges, advocates, and proctors, to emancipate themselves from trammels imposed by diocesan authority and guarded by constant supervision. But seeing that the powers of these courts lay hold of, and adjudicate upon, civil matters which affect the whole community, we repeat it, that the continuance of such a monopoly of judicial power, with such restraints upon practitioners, is to them a degradation, to national jurisprudence a dishonour, and to the people at large a moral wrong. As a consequence of this exclusiveness, the principal courts are filled up by only a very few practitioners. The diocese of Exeter, comprehending within its jurisdiction above two millions of

Inquisition of the dioceses of Exeter, Gloucester and Norwich.

The inquisition a monopoly of English bishops ! Righteous ! bishops deem juries unnecessary in their courts of inquisition.

persons, has only eight proctors, with ninety-two causes every year brought before it. That of Gloucester, with its 117 causes in one year, has five proctors. That of Norwich, with seventy causes, is conducted by six proctors. These are only specimens of one great system of judicial monopoly. An outcry would be justly raised against such a state of things, if it obtained in either the civil or criminal courts. Yet causes both of a criminal and highly important civil character constantly occur in the provincial courts of bishops, and still they are closed against all other persons than such as they permit to practise.

As might be expected, trial by jury is unknown in these courts. Had any twelve men been selected periodically to try the causes conducted in them, they would from time to time have spread such information as should not only have exposed them to merited contempt, but led long ago to their abolition. Would it, for instance, have been allowed that witnesses should never be examined in open court, but in private by written interrogatories? or that one examiner should generally be employed by the proctors for both parties? or that he might so guard an insincere witness from discrepancy or contradiction as would render it impracticable to establish against him a charge of perjury? or that even a cross-examination should entirely fail to elicit those distinct and expressive peculiarities of a case, upon an acquaintance with which its main strength may depend? The examiner not being at liberty to *change* a question, a witness may negative that which is true in fact, although it is not true in form. More than this, if a witness live beyond the limits of the jurisdiction (though it be but the next street) of the court in which a suit may be carried on, he cannot be compelled to attend and give evidence in that court, without the sanction of the other bishop in whose diocese he resides, simply because a contrary custom would "be attended with the inconvenience affecting the fees of different officers." It ought not to be forgotten, too, that the Bishop of London must approve of every examiner of his court before he can exercise his functions.

Power of the Bishop of London.

Bishops become unholy judges of their unholy courts.

There is another singular feature in the constitution of these courts. It is that many of them (at least 160) are at different periods inhibited or closed; sometimes at the primary, at other times at the triennial, visitation of the Bishop, during three, four, or six months. At these periods, no business is transacted in them, as it is then conducted either personally before the

bishop, or in the court next in the ascending order of authority. However serious the inconveniences which result from this practice, they are, however, fraught with advantage to different officers. Thus the registrar of the Consistorial Court of Salisbury states his fees, in 1827, to have been £485 0s. 8d. But in 1829, "being the year of the triennial inhibition of the Archdeacon of Berks, Sarum, Wilts, and Subdean of Sarum," they rose to £927 16s. 8d. So also the Registrar of Norwich Episcopal Court states his income in 1829 to have been £1,259 0s. 1d.; but two years before, when the Registry Offices were closed for three months, it amounted to £2,224 12s. 6d.

Fees of the Registrar of the Bishops' Courts.

The evils occasioned by these courts will become increasingly evident by a reference thereto.

THEIR POWERS.

They have usurped testamentary jurisdiction.

At one time ecclesiastics claimed by canon law the right to be present whenever any man made his will. Such an invasion of civil rights was not, however, more odious than the present practices of these courts in testamentary matters prove injurious. For instance: the Bishop grants probate of wills disposing of *personal* estate, but has no power over a testator when bequeathing *real* property; the consequence is, the validity of a will has often to be tried in two courts—in that of common law, so far as relates to the real estate, and in the Spiritual Court as to the personality. In one court the testator has been pronounced sane, in the other insane, when he executed the same deed. Such conflicts of judgments led to most serious results, property is not secure; executors know not how to act; legatees may be despoiled; and in one instance, a residuary legatee so circumstanced is now imprisoned, and has been incarcerated in the Queen's Bench nearly twenty-five years. Nor is this all. It is constantly occurring that persons interested in the faithful administration of a will, are first obliged to go to these courts for an inventory of effects from executors or administrators; but as these courts have no power in such civil matters to enforce their own decrees, suitors must afterwards have recourse to a Chancery suit in order to compel payment. Two expensive suits are thus required instead of one; the costs of either of which may more than absorb the sum claimed. Without this twofold process, justice is altogether withheld, or, what may be worse, a greater injury may be, and often is, inflicted than the relief obtained can

Ecclesiastics claimed by canon law to be present when men made their wills.

Property not secure. Executors know not how to act. Residuary legatee imprisoned for 25 years by a Bishop.

compensate. Great as are these inconveniences and injuries, they are not of equal magnitude with those which constantly arise out of another part of the present system. We allude to the prerogative of the Archbishop of Canterbury. If any person die, leaving five pounds in two dioceses, or within two peculiars; or if he die in one diocese leaving no effects; but leaving effects to the value in another diocese; probate or administration must be taken in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, because of the power pertaining to his Grace as Primate of all England. Many persons are ignorant at the time of taking probate or administration, that the deceased left property in different districts. "Cases often occur," says Mr. Kitson, the Registrar of the Ecclesiastical Court at Norwich, "in which *after* Wills have been proved, they are required to be sent to the Prerogative Office, on the ground of *bona notabilia* having been discovered." All the expenses of probate or administration must be re-incurred: every act of the executors under the first probate was void, whatever amount of money had been received and paid. Titles or leases so granted would be invalid: even the consent of a guardian to the marriage by license of a minor, son or daughter of the deceased, if given under the first probate, would be also void, and would render the marriage itself voidable.

Other practical inconveniences frequently arise from this prerogative. Scotchmen, Irishmen, colonists or foreigners, who had neither resided nor died in England, but who had shares in an English railway or canal which passed through two dioceses; or who had effected a life assurance with a company, having its principal office in London; would be obliged, through their representatives, to contribute to this method of keeping up the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which extends over all "the dominions" of the crown.

Prerogative of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Registrar of the Ecclesiastical Court at Norwich.

Vexatious delay necessary for the Inquisition to fleece its victims.

Practical inconveniences in the Bishops' Prerogative Courts.

Insecurity of public wills under the care of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Another matter of great public importance connected with the testamentary powers of these courts is the condition of the registries in which wills are deposited. Next to the documents in the Bank of England, there are no records of greater importance. Yet the places where they are kept are unsafe, inconvenient, and, in many instances, a reproach to the ecclesiastical authorities. And, although it is almost incredible, it is a fact, that when at Lady-day, 1857, the present lease of the premises used as the Prerogative Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury expires, THE WILLS OF THAT PROVINCE WILL COME INTO THE POSSESSION OF THE EXECUTORS AND ASSIGNEES OF THE

REGISTRARS." These date from 1484 down to the present time. They affect property and titles to estates to an enormous extent. But why should these civil interests of the nation be thus placed in the hands of the Church? All testamentary papers throughout the kingdom ought surely to be surrendered into the custody of the crown. At present they are the property of bishops and their respective officers; nor can they be produced in any common law court except by their permission and the payment of such fees as they may choose to demand.

Testamentary papers at present the property of Bishops.

Their Matrimonial Powers—The limits of this address allow not a minute detail of the many injuries inflicted in consequence of this jurisdiction. "In the whole practice of the law," says an officer in one of the Ecclesiastical Courts, who had had twenty years' experience, "greater evil is not to be found than the power vested in the hands of a vicious woman, whose guilt is manifest, to drag her husband through various courts of appeal; subjecting him to the expenses of proceedings on both sides; extorting money" (and that by order of the court) "as alimony all the while; the very lapse of time giving occasion for fresh recriminatory pleas on either hand—fresh examination of witnesses—intolerable expense, and almost endless delay."—(Appendix to Report, p. 256.) Can anything be more truly odious, or destructive of domestic honour? All this evil is occasioned by courts, one ostensible purpose of which is that they should act as conservators of public morals.

Matrimonial powers in the Bishops' Courts.

The Inquisition enables vicious women to extort money. &c.

Other and extraordinary powers they possess and exercise. Thus, by various unrepealed statute laws, every archbishop, bishop, archdeacon, or other person exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, is authorized "to correct, punish, and repress all manner of heresies and errors, vices, sins, abuses, idolatries, hypocrisies, and superstitions."—(37 Henry VIII. cap. 17, s. 3, and 1st of Elizabeth, cap. 1, s. 12.) They can fine and imprison for life "any person whatsoever who shall declare or speak anything in derogation, depraving, or despising, of the Book of Common Prayer, or anything therein contained, or any part thereof"—(2nd and 3rd of Edward VI. cap. 1); and by s. 12 the jurisdiction of peculiars is expressly included. Of these peculiars, deans, rectors, and vicars, are judges by virtue of their institution to the benefice. In the diocese of Winchester alone there are no less than forty-five rectorial and vicarial peculiars, in either of which "*any person whatever*" may be cited for expressing an opinion at variance with the statements

Dangerous unrepealed Acts of 37 Henry VIII. cap. 17, 1 Eliz. cap. 1. 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 1, in power of Bishops.

Diocese of Winchester contains forty-five rectorial and vicarial Peculiars.

Dangerous
unrepealed
Act, 5 Eliz.
cap. 23.
Terrible
powers of
the Eccle-
siastical
Courts.

contained in the Book of Common Prayer, said in the same act "to have been completed by the aid of the Holy Ghost." (s. 1.)

They can cite any member of the Church of England "for not having his or their child baptised; for not coming to the Communion, or for any error in matters of religion or doctrine now allowed in the Church of England." (5th of Elizabeth, cap. 23, s. 12.)

They can compel the payment of tithes, church-rates, Easter offerings, mortuaries, and other demands.

They can correct all manner of offences against the Ten Commandments, except the sixth and eighth, as well as "all excesses of all sorts of persons, as well of the clergy as the laity, whose reformation belongs to the Ecclesiastical Court."

They can compel persons to become churchwardens, which, though an annual office, may, and often has, exposed individuals to suits in these courts that have spread over several years, and entailed upon them enormous expense and vexation.

Thirty-four
persons im-
prisoned by
Protestant
bishops
without
trial by
jury.

They can punish, by heavy costs and (if not paid) imprisonment, persons guilty of defamation. Thirty-four persons, the greater part being females, were imprisoned for non-payment of such costs between the 1st of January, 1827, and 31st of December, 1829. *One person died in prison.*

THEIR ABUSES.

An indig-
nant nation
ought long
since to
have in-
sisted upon
the aboli-
tion of
Ecclesiasti-
cal Courts.
Incompe-
tency of
Registrars
of Preroga-
tive Court
of Canter-
bury.

They betray civil rights. For instance: no two matters are of greater importance to individuals or families than testamentary and matrimonial causes. They involve "purely questions of civil right between individuals in their lay character, and are neither spiritual nor affecting the Church Establishment." Yet, add the Commissioners, "in the course of our inquiry, we became early convinced of the impracticability of having judges duly qualified to administer in the diocesan courts the testamentary and matrimonial laws, which involve matters of such very high importance to the parties litigant and to the public." Why, then, are such powers retained? An indignant nation ought long since to have replied to this question by demanding their entire abolition.

They are replete with sinecures. The following are only specimens:—The principal registrars of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury were appointed by the archbishop. Their incompetence was acknowledged by the deputy registrar. The gross amount of their receipts, in 1827, was £15,490. 14s. 1d.

It appears that minors are frequently appointed to lucrative offices. The registrar of the Court of Chester was so appointed by his father, the bishop. At the time, the son was fourteen years of age, the receipts of whose office amounted to £4000 annually. The Bishop of Winchester, in 1837, appointed his relatives—a father and son—registrars. The son was a minor, of about twelve or thirteen years of age, and the emoluments in 1829 were £562. These and other offices are often given in reversion, and are regular matters of family arrangements, legal qualifications never forming any part of the consideration.

Bishop of Chester appointed his son, 14 years of age, as Registrar of the Court of Chester, income £4000 per annum. Mistleeds of the Bishop of Winchester.

All these lucrative appointments are sustained by fees. No one complains of professional men being paid. There is, however, an equitable and an exorbitant demand. Ecclesiastical jurisprudence is to be placed under the latter. Thus the fees to only three classes of officers are as follows :—

To the <i>Judges</i> of Courts in the two Provinces	£14,271	18	9
To the <i>Registrars</i> of ditto	28,076	13	5
To <i>Deputy Registrars</i> of ditto	15,851	5	10

Lucrative peculations by Judges and Registrars of the Bishops' Courts.

Grand yearly total £58,199 18 0

This does *not* include fees to advocates, surrogates, proctors, and others. These we have no means of ascertaining. Some idea may however be formed of the amount from the sources whence they arise. Thus probates and administrations yield a very large, if not indeed the largest, amount of income. An inequity of principle obtains in this department. It is this :—The fees are regulated, not by the amount of labour performed for the living, but by the value of effects left by the dead. For a probate under £1000, the church would obtain in fees £6. 7s. 6d ; if it were under £8000, her profit would be £15. 6s. 4d., although no additional labour would be required. In the Consistory Court of London there is an increased inequity of charge. “For every probate or administration granted to a Quaker, in addition to the usual fee, 2s. 6d. ! Is this because some Quakers, when cited into Doctors’ Commons to say why they would not be sworn churchwardens, appeared in their own proper persons ; and, like men of firm integrity, stated their conscientious objections, and were excused ? Will *they* tamely submit to the wrong of paying more than others, simply because they are Quakers ?

Consistory Court perpetrate injustice upon Quakers of firm integrity.

There are fees charged every parish at the visitations (confirmations) of the bishop. In the diocese of Norwich, “the fees paid by the churchwardens for every single parish” amount to

Bishops’ fees, &c., in the dioceses of Norwich and Canterbury.

12s. 6d. each. There are 1041 parishes. The chancellor, registrars, proctors, and apparitors, secure to themselves £650. 12s. 6d. at every such visitation. Nor is this all. The deputy registrar makes this note in the margin of his return:—"These were raised in 1784 from 2s. to 10s.; and in 1813, from 10s. to 12s. 6d. The latter was done under the express authority of the bishop, to my knowledge.—J. K." In the same diocese, at every consecration of a church or churchyard, the fees amount to £9. 18s. 6d. In the Consistory Court of Canterbury, the *Judge* has, for every consecration, £5. 5s., the *Registrar* £3. 3s., and the *Apparitor* £1. 1s. The increase of churches under the Church Building Acts, the consequent increased number of licences, and other instruments, have swelled the amount of fees to a very great extent. Then, again, the fees for marriage licences yield an immense revenue. The principle by which the charge is regulated may be gathered from one instance, stated by a witness:—"The general fee" to the clerical surrogate "is from half-a-guinea to a guinea, some regard being had to the distance that they themselves may be resident from Norwich." He was asked, "Why is a difference made?—the surrogate does not travel?" No; but it is considered that the *parties would have to travel if it was not for the surrogate.*"

Unconstitu-
tional acts
perpetrated
by the
Ecclesiasti-
cal Court of
Lichfield.

Misdeeds
and pecula-
tions in the
Consistory
Courts of
Ely,
St. David's,
Hereford,
and Peter-
borough.

If we come to fees for conducting causes, we find singular illustrations in every diocese of the oppression these courts constantly occasion. In that of Lichfield, for instance, one person was pronounced in contempt "for not having performed penance and paid taxed costs;" these amounted to £37. 8s. 11d.; but all the money even this fiery trial could extort from the unhappy defendant was £2. 8s. 11d. In the diocese of Ely the fees for "*public* penance are 3s. 4d.;" "*for private* penance 13s. 4d.;" "*for every commutation of penance, at the will of the judge, the office-fee is £1. 1s.*" In the Consistory Court of St. David's, one such suit spread over more than two years, and the bill of the Proctor was £64. 12s. 6d., but from which even their own Registrar took off, in taxation, £31. 1s. 8d. In a similar case in the same court, the costs were £34. 0s. 4d., from which £3. 14s. 4d. were deducted on taxation, but the costs of that very taxation amounted to £2. 6s. 4d.; the defendant, therefore gained only £1. 8s. The poor are the chief sufferers. Fees are also charged for a great variety of matters. For instance: "Confirming forty-five church-rates" (Bristol diocese), the fees were £5. 9s. 4d. In the Consistory Court of Hereford, a fee of 3s. 6d. is charged

by the Apparitor of each parish for every form of prayer, proclamation, &c., issued by royal authority. Other dioceses charge more or less. The Consistory Court of Peterborough makes a charge "for every licence to practice surgery or midwifery, for the judge, 6s. 8d., and the registrar, 6s. 8d." These are only illustrations of the extent to which demands may be made for intermeddling with almost every civil matter. Another abuse remains to be considered. It is the qualification, or rather the non-qualification, of the greater part of the judges. Of these, with deputies and surrogates, there are nearly fifty in the whole kingdom; but of these thirty-eight have had no legal education; the greater part of them are clergymen, whose examination before the commission, or whose written returns to their inquiries, incontestibly demonstrate their total unfitness for the office they sustain.

Such is a brief outline of the evil we seek to remove. Our reasons may be few, but we apprehend they are cogent.

THEIR EXTINCTION

would emancipate a Protestant country from one of the most powerful and hurtful Popish institutions; remove a present scandal from English jurisprudence; and take from the Church of England a well-merited odium. Episcopacy could exist independently of Ecclesiastical Courts. It obtained in this country, several centuries prior to their establishment, and would, if relieved from the unhappy excrescence, rise or fall by its own merits. The assembly emphatically state, that with Episcopacy, *as such*, they have nothing to do. But they do as distinctly and emphatically protest against *any* order of ecclesiastics being armed with judicial authority in matters civil and religious, affecting the entire community.

The Bishops' Courts are powerful and hurtful Popish institutions.

Their extinction would afford relief both to the rich and the poor, from an amount of wrong, of which persons unacquainted with the full working of the system have no adequate idea. The *facts* we have adduced are sufficient illustrations of the public injury sustained. These facts are wholly free from exaggeration or colouring. They are, for the most part, supplied by a report, signed and sealed by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Durham, and three other diocesans, and several of the most distinguished common law judges and civilians.

By transferring their civil jurisdiction (especially testamentary

and matrimonial) to Courts of Common Law, to which they legitimately belong, secular rights would be governed by more equitable rules,—be conducted at a less expense,—conduce to greater security both to property and morals, and establish one uniform system of executive justice in the country.

Those powers, which interfere with the free exercise of the rights of conscience in matters of religion, we propose should be wholly and at once abolished.

(*To be continued.*)

ATROCITIES PERPETRATED BY THE VICEROY OF EGYPT.

STATE OF EGYPT.

ALEXANDRIA, *February 22nd.*

Terrible
cruelties
perpetrated
by Saïd
Pasha.

SAÏD PASHA, the Viceroy, has returned to Alexandria, and is as busily engaged as ever in reforming and drilling his troops. The poor Bedouins have been suffering great cruelties at his hands, all those his Highness succeeds in catching are chained in couples, and cast into the vilest and most nauseous prisons. Last week, during several days, about 3,000 of these poor men were brought down to Alexandria, and on the way many of them died from the excessive cruelties they had undergone, the living were not separated from the dead, as the man in charge had to account for the whole number, and they were thus taken to the galleys.

Egypt, under Saïd Pasha, is governed with the same despotic sway as when under the dominion of the Pharoahs, and to speak of the Government of Egypt is to speak of the character of Saïd Pasha, who is exclusively his own prime minister, his own council, his own commander-in-chief, and even his own engineer.—*Times*, 3rd March, 1856.

TORTURE IN INDIA.

HOUSE OF LORDS, *April 14, 1856.*

Earl of
Albemarle
against tor-
ture in
India.

THE Earl of Albemarle, having presented a petition from certain inhabitants of the Presidency of Madras, complaining of the infliction of torture by the officers of Government

attributing the practice to weigh in the assessment of the Government revenue, and praying for protection, proceeded to move the following resolution :—

“That, by a report lately laid on the table, it is proved to the entire conviction of the house that torture, or the infliction of pain for the purpose of confession or extortion, has long been practised and still continues to be practised by the native officers of Government in the realisation of the public revenues and the administration of criminal law to a greater or less extent, throughout all the twenty provinces constituting the Government of Madras: that the aforesaid torture, although clandestine and unauthorised, has been for many years known and admitted by the constituted authorities at home and in India, as shown by the public records: that this house views the aforesaid practice of torture, affecting so many millions of her Majesty’s subjects, whether as an instrument for the realisation of the public revenues or the administration of criminal law, or for any other purpose whatsoever, as repugnant to natural justice, abhorrent to humanity, and highly disgraceful to the character of this nation: and that this House hereby pledges itself to pursue the speediest and most effectual measures within its power for the annihilation of the odious and barbarous practice of torture within the above-mentioned Government and Presidency of Madras.”

Horrible atrocities perpetrated in India under British rule.

The noble Earl said that the report on their lordship’s table had fully proved that the officers of the Madras establishment had frequently inflicted torture upon the inhabitants of the Presidency of Madras. Indeed, every report, from 1806 to 1852, established this fact beyond a doubt. It was said that those tortures were not of the class stated by the petitioners; and, indeed a resolution of the Court of Directors, passed on the 12th of September, 1855, went the length of stating that those tortures were imaginary. But that they were not so, the following list would show:—Deprivation of food and water; hindering a man from sleeping; tying a necklace of bones or other disgusting materials round the neck; compelling a man to sit on his heels, with brickbats or sharp stones under the hams; striking two defaulters against each other; tying two persons together by the hair of the head in a stooping posture; tying a man in a stooping posture to the wheel of a cart; tying a man by the hair of the head to the tail of an ass, and thus parading him through the public market; forcing a man into a

The Court of Directors of the East India Company feign ignorance of the dreadful deeds perpetrated by their collectors of revenue.

Unnatural
amuse-
ments per-
formed by
revenue
collectors
of the
" Honour-
able " East
India Com-
pany.

stooping position, with a man on his back ; binding a man to one tree, and hoisting his leg by a rope attached to another ; suspending the body by the heels to the bough of a tree ; placing the muzzle of a musket on the great toe, and forcing the party to continue with it for hours in a burning sun ; placing a stake on the chest, with a man seated at each end to produce partial suffocation. There was also a torture of lifting up a man by his moustachios, and tearing them up by the roots, which was a very great torture and indignity. They were also exposed to the punishment of the stocks, the process of which in India was, to lay the accused on his back, with his heels up in the air, exposed to the burning influence of the sun by day, and the damp and cold by night. Another mode of torture was placing a man, denuded of his dress, on a nest of red Indian ants, the bite of which was venomous, the creature infusing an inflaming acid into the part which it stings. Another mode of torture was, that of squeezing the fingers by an instrument (the kittee), and thus producing very great agony. Another great instrument of torture was, that by which the fingers were forced back on the back part of the hand ; pounding the joints with a mallet was another mode of inflicting torture. At page 80 of the report, their lordships would find that death frequently ensued from the infliction of those tortures to exact revenue. Among the varieties of torture was that of applying a bamboo pincers to a woman's breast. Those instances of torture were taken, he might observe, from a paper read at the board of the East India Directors, and furnished by one of the officers holding the rank of captain in their service ; and the despatch from the directors to the government of Madras, alluded to that passage in the report, in which it is stated by the natives, that the European officers connived at those tortures, although that was denied by the authorities. He (the Earl of Albemarle,) might say, that the natives in their petition, expressed the greatest confidence in their lordships, to whom they trusted for such a redress of their wrongs, as would put an end to the tortures so cruelly and unjustly inflicted upon them. He had merely stated the facts, and he would leave their lordships to draw their own conclusions. Now, in reference to the report, he begged to inquire whether it was true, as stated by the natives, that the European officers were guilty of connivance at the tortures inflicted upon them by the revenue collectors. Mr. J. J. Minchin, a sub-inspector of Nittore,

The Court
of Directors
of the East
India Com-
pany to be
prosecuted
as accom-
plices of
their col-
lectors.

stated that the answers to any questions of this kind did not show that the European officers connived at the tortures complained of; and it was also stated, the impression entertained by the natives was that the whole European Government was a void in relation to them. At page 115, Mr. T. W. Goodwin, a judge in the presidency, states that, as far as he was aware, there was connivance by the civil officers, exhibited in various ways. Another gentleman, the Hon. W. Elliott, who made a very able report on the subject of these complaints, said that of 215 responses only seven expressed a disbelief in the existence of the practice of torture, and seventeen gave no positive opinion; while 197 (of whom twelve were officers in the administration of the Civil Service of India) expressed their belief in the prevalence of torture in a greater or lesser degree. Judge Cotton, in answer to an inquiry, said,—If the civil service were asked “Did torture exist?” his belief was that, from the highest to the lowest, the answer must be in the affirmative. He (the Earl of Albemarle) might be supposed very uncharitable about the charge of connivance; but he could not help thinking that the civil servants were not in many cases free from it. The noble marquis referred to the answers of Mr. E. A. Thomas, and Mr. J. Borcham, indicating that torture had ceased to exist; and cited the case of a man in one of the districts of the presidency, whose body was rubbed over with cotton soaked in oil, and who died under the torture while being brought to Mr. Porteus, the surgeon. From 1847 to 1853, there were sixty offences, of which thirty-one resulted in convictions made by the Company’s magistrates, and thirteen of them were made by Mr. Wallhouse, who asserted that torture did not exist in the presidency, and who gave Mr. Danby Seymour the lie on the subject. In addition to the many tortures that he (the Earl of Albemarle) had enumerated, he might inform their lordships that many of the poor people were flogged to death; and in many of those cases torture was inflicted for so small a sum as twelve rupees by the magistrates. Now, in England magistrates would be dismissed from office if guilty of conduct of the kind he had described to their lordships. Those tortures, so disgraceful and so frequent and so cruel, would never have come to light had it not been that Mr. Danby Seymour, a private traveller in India, had discovered and exposed them. They had the evidence of several official persons that the Government of India considered it impossible

Unseemly
conduct of
Mr. Wall-
house
towards Mr.
Danby
Seymour.

British sub-
jects in
India flog-
ged to death
by order of
magis-
trates.

The Inquisition as practised by the Honourable East India Company.

to collect the revenues without having recourse, by their collectors and other officers, to those tortures; and a belief was entertained that, should they resort to any other mode than that of torture for collecting the revenues, a void would occur in the exchequer of Madras. On that head, Mr. J. J. Minchin, acting as sub-collector, says:—“ I believe there is not one native official who does not expect that the new system will be followed by a decrease of 50,000 rupees, or a lack and a-half, or £10,000, or £15,000 for the whole district; and if all the other collections were in the same condition as Nittore, the Madras revenue would be nearly 8 per cent., or £350,000, decreased;” and that, let it be remembered, was extracted from the natives by the practice of torture. Having shown that torture and high assessments were inseparable; he would now, from the same report, prove the converse by reference to low assessment, which did not hold out the same inducement to torture. Take, for instance, the town of Madras. In the town of Madras torture was not inflicted. The reason was obvious—because there was a fixed rent; and in Malabar and Canara, there was not that system of torture complained of practised, because the people were of independent spirit, and somewhat rebellious—and the assessment was consequently low. There was another system there known as the ryot-wurry, which was a system explained in *Wilson's Glossary of India*. That system was also productive of the greatest exactions. The assessors and collectors of the land revenues were natives, and received the low stipend of £12 a-year. They did not live on that pittance, and they raked out the rest by the ryot-wurry. He had over and over again endeavoured to prove the poverty of the people upon whom the ryot war tax was levied; but he was deprived of the advantage of the returns which he ought to possess, and was, therefore, obliged to take such information as the report furnished him with. Accordingly, at page 83 of the report he found Mr. Elliott stating that the number of ryots paying an assessment of only 20s. a-year was 630,704; and that in the five northern circars (or governments) the average number of pauper ryots was 30,000, and the population 4,250,000. If, therefore, the pauper population in the remaining fifteen provinces were in the same proportion, there would be no less than 786,426 pauper proprietors in the presidency. Was this system a *damnosa hereditas* from the Mahomedans? Had we inherited it from the barbarous Mahomedan Governments who

had preceded us in the occupation of India? No; there was a Government more barbarous than they. It was the East India Company. It was the cruelty and fiscal rapacity of the East India Company. It was by them and their means that these paupers had been created. Here was the statement of one of the company's own servants, and he implored their lordships' attention to it. Lieut. Grove said he could assert from his experience among the natives, that without using force a considerable portion of the revenue never could be collected; and the same difficulty would exist so long as men who were wretchedly poor and utterly unfitted for anything but coolie work (day labour) were permitted, either voluntarily or by force, to become cultivators. In every village there were some bits of bad land which the wealthier ryots would not cultivate; but as the annual demand of the Government must somehow or other be paid, the names of some of the poorer inhabitants, and sometimes without their knowledge, were put down for these bad bits of land. It was in vain for them to remonstrate, and urge the plea of poverty in their behalf. They were told that the Government money must be raised. If they refused to take the land, the village authorities brought them to the notice of the Zemindar, and then by force, moral and physical, they were constrained to cultivate. What was this but feudal slavery? The ryot was forced to labour at public works without reward, and torture was resorted to for the purpose of carrying out the orders of the Government. What was this, then, in the name of common sense, but substantial slavery? He came now to the union of the two offices of police and revenue in the same functionaries. In 1792, Lord Cornwallis made a complete separation of the administration of revenue from the administration of police, and his regulations were first carried out in Bengal. In 1802, they were introduced in Madras, but in 1816 they were rescinded, and the offices of magistrate and collector united in one and the same person, though it was not without some able and spirited protests that the inhuman order was carried into effect. Mr. Fullerton, the member of Council for Madras, expressly pointed out the consequences with respect to torture from the union of the two offices. He said it was not intended, he presumed, to make the police, the administrators of the criminal law, subservient to the collection of the revenue; to vest in the collector such a degree of overwhelming authority as to enable him to dictate the terms of

Cruel and fiscal rapacity of the East India Company.

The Honourable East India Company more barbarous than the Mahomedan governments of old.

The East India Company's slavery.

The East India Company responsible for the crimes of their servants.

cultivation, to infringe on the personal liberty and the free exercise of the labour of the ryots, and extract, by an organised system of compulsion, a revenue beyond the natural result of voluntary engagements. But that which was so horrible to Mr. Fullerton, was a recommendation to the East India Company. They knew well that the change was effected in order that they might dictate the terms of cultivation, infringe on the personal liberty of the ryots, and extract a revenue beyond the natural result of voluntary engagements. The reason why the present government of the East India Company was responsible for these things, was this—that with the evidence before them of the cruel working of this law, they, no longer ago than the 12th of September, 1855, recommended it to be also carried into effect in Lower Bengal—in Bengal, where he had the strongest reason to believe that torture already existed. What then was the obvious remedy? The evil, he had shown, was over-assessment. The remedy was, first, a reduction of that assessment; but a reduction of assessment alone would do nothing. There must be no annual assessment—no hopeless attempts without the intervention of a third party, to enter into arrangements with every individual collector—they must have a fixed and determinate rent or land tax, and that for a good long period; and there must be a condition annexed, that whenever an augmentation took place it should be a fixed and determinate one, say from 5 to 10 per cent. One of the recommendations upon which the commissioners laid great stress was, that there should be a larger number of European functionaries employed. Of the necessity of that there could be no doubt; but he (the Earl of Albemarle) confessed he could not see that it was practicable, on the ground of the enormous expense it would involve. In conclusion, he thanked the house for the indulgence it had accorded to him. The duty he had had to discharge was a painful one; but a serious and heavy responsibility rested upon their lordships. They might be pained and ashamed at the fiendish malignity of the native servants—they might be ashamed at the disgraceful apathy of the civil servants. He knew not in what terms to speak of that joint-stock company with whom they had made a covenant for one of the brightest jewels in the crown; but on their own heads was the responsibility, and they owed it to God and to their country, knowing the evil, to apply a remedy. He begged leave to move, “that by a report lately laid on the table, it is proved to the entire conviction of the house that torture, or

the infliction of pain, for the purpose of confession or extortion, has long been practised, and still continues to be practised, by the native officers of Government in the realisation of the public revenues and the administration of criminal law, to a greater or less extent throughout all the twenty provinces constituting the government of Madras; that the aforesaid torture, although clandestine and unauthorised, has been for many years known and admitted by the constituted authorities at home and in India, as shown by the public records: that this house views the aforesaid practice of torture, affecting so many millions of her Majesty's subjects, whether as an instrument for the realisation of the public revenues, or the administration of criminal law, or for any other purpose whatsoever, as repugnant to natural justice, abhorrent to humanity, and highly disgraceful to the character of this nation: that this house hereby pledges itself to pursue the speediest and most effectual measures within its power for the annihilation of the odious and barbarous practice of torture within the abovementioned government and presidency of Madras."

A patron-
age paid.

Parliament
quietly
blink at the
horrible
and unholy
deeds of the
East India
Company.

(To be continued.)

LEGISLATIVE EVILS PERPETUATE CRIME.

MEETING OF SWELL MOBSMEN.

A MEETING was held on Monday evening last, at the White Lion Tavern, Fashion-street, Spitalfields, where there was an attendance of about 100 persons, principally belonging to the class known as "swell mobsmen."

The meeting was convened for the purpose of taking the opinion of such characters with respect to the working of an institution which is designed to lend a helping hand to those offenders who may be disposed to "square accounts" with society, and to lead an honest life.

The room in which the meeting was held was well lighted and comfortable. A "free and easy" spirit pervaded, but everything was carried on in a decent manner,—the cries of "order," and "chair," being immediately followed by attentive silence. A stranger would have had no suspicion that the men there assembled were at war with society. They appeared well-fed, well-clad, and at ease with themselves. In the course of the evening

The aristocracy of
swell mobs-
men.

several showily-dressed youths, who were evidently the "aristocracy" of the class, walked into the room. They were habited as clerks, or young men in offices. Some wore gold guard chains to their watches, and others had diamond pins to their cravats. They were, however, all "mobsmen," as they are called—men who, in some instances, are gaining their ten or even twenty pounds a-week, by light-fingered operations. Indeed, several present were pointed out as "tip-top sawyers," "secing the first society," and "doing a heavy business." Besides these, there were a few notorious "cracksmen" (housebreakers), and one or two "fences" (receivers of stolen goods), who were said to be worth their weight in gold. On the entry of one who was unknown to the rest, a cry was raised, "only kenobes!" "no square men in the room;" which being interpreted, meant, "only 'mobs' or first-class thieves; none who are following an honest course of life are to be present;" whereupon it was represented to the stranger that the meeting was to be considered private, and he withdrew.

Mr. Henry Mayhew, who had convened the meeting, opened the business of the evening, by saying, "that he was about to found a society for the purpose of assisting those men who really and sincerely meant to help themselves. He was aware that many of them wished to give up their present courses, and that they would rejoice to see a way of escape from the circumstances in which they then were involved. No doubt, some of them liked their mode of life, and took a pleasure in it; but others had been driven to it by force of circumstances, by bad treatment at home, by early neglect, and other disastrous influences. He had represented the case of such persons to benevolent friends, and had found many gentlemen ready to come forward and proffer their assistance in the great work; indeed, he had already been promised funds to a large amount. It remained with themselves to close with these offers, and honestly to strive, if by any means they might redeem themselves, and be upright in all their dealings as Englishmen and good citizens ought to be. Those who felt disposed to choose the better way, would be treated, not as wild animals who required a cage, nor yet as children, to be kept in leading-strings—but as full-grown, thinking men, who might be trusted; for he knew there were many of them far from being insensible to the feeling of honour, and who were capable of appreciating sympathy and confidence. They must, however, steadily bear in mind, that if any trickery

or deception were practised towards the society, it must come to an end. Mr. Mayhew then recounted an instance in which he had trusted a notorious thief at a public meeting with a sovereign, requesting him to get it changed; but intimating that no prosecution would follow if he absconded with the money. That man had brought back the money, and proved that an appeal to his better nature had not been made in vain. He knew that many of the men present were tracked by the police, until they were utterly weary of their lives. He wished to give such persons a word of encouragement, to stand between the two great classes of society—the comfortable and the wretched—the rich and the poor—and, if possible, to save some of them from despair. He had occasionally found high virtues in what were called the dangerous classes, and he did not despair of any men in whom he could discern the germ of right feeling. His object was to found a “home” and industrial asylum, as well as an emigration society, for such as were tired of evil courses, and who sincerely wished to retrieve the place they had lost in the world; and he should be happy to learn how far they were disposed to embrace a proposal of that kind.

The police track men until they become weary of their lives and care not what end they come to.

After some little delay, a young man stepped forward and said that he wished to say a few words about the “kenobe” life, of which he, for his part, had seen quite enough. They all knew that this way of living was unsatisfactory. They might get ten pounds in a day, and go for a fortnight without earning a penny; or they might get six months’ imprisonment, which was “rather a cooler.” He would gladly give one hundred pounds to be rescued from such a state. He confessed that he was a thief himself, but he had seen trouble, and earnestly desired reformation. If he could only get an honest living, he would not be as he was then.

The next speaker was a returned convict, who had come back last September, and found work sometimes, but, failing that, said he was obliged to make up by plunder. For three months he had been employed in the docks, but since that time work had been scarce, and when he was short of provisions he was driven to steal, for starve he would not. But if he could obtain occupation he would readily give up his old habits.

The third speaker had been transported in 1839, and had been five years in this country since his return. He worked for a time at his trade, but when work was scarce he took to thieving, and got again into trouble. It was only two months since

he was last in prison. He was a tailor by trade, and if security for five pounds could be obtained, he could get employment. A gentleman present promised the required guarantee, an announcement which was followed by three rounds of applause.

Prisons and hulks, &c., are not places of reformation, but demoralization.

A very earnest, and apparently well-disposed man, next addressed the meeting. He was well known to them all, and had often been in trouble. He had often tried to alter his condition, and failed to do so. He was a good tradesman, and if he could get assistance he would go to work, and he knew that many of them felt the same. His wages ought to be 5s. a day, but he would willingly work for 3s., only he had no one to recommend him. If hunger and want oppressed him he was driven to plunder, but what could he do. He was not to starve in the streets. Still he would rather work for one shilling, than steal for a pound. He had often walked about in hunger, cold, and destitution, rather than do that which was wrong. He would go to work to-morrow morning if he could get it. He wished the public to know that the men there really wanted to work. In his opinion, prisons, hulks, and convict gaols, were not places of reformation, but demoralization.

Harsh treatment of the police to the unfortunate.

The police usurp their power to prevent reformation of unfortunate men.

The next speaker had a tale of grievance to record against the police. "He had come out nine months ago, and found occupation as a militia tailor, for the articles in which he worked were not saleable, and the authorities could trust him with such things. One day he was coming home with two coats, tied up in a bundle. A policeman, who had known him before, met him, and harshly accosted him: 'What had he got there?' He was obliged to go with the policeman to a public-house, and exhibit the contents of his bundle. He denounced such arbitrary conduct, as tyrannical. He believed that nineteen out of twenty among those present wished to get an honest living, but in London it was impossible. The policemen would insult them, and reproach them with being convicted thieves. Nay, they would insult their wives, however virtuous those wives might be. The kenobe life might be a merry one while it lasted; but when they got into the 'Steel' (Coldbath-fields Prison), it was a very different matter, and the horrors of transportation were truly awful. Those who felt this were to be relied upon. Try us (he added), and we will not deceive you."

This testimony was corroborated by another speaker, who observed, that "he had been a thief, but was now a costermonger, and worked hard, having to keep a wife and family. He was

going home with some groceries for his family, when a policeman came up to him and used him in a brutal manner. He wrote to Worship-street and then to Scotland-yard, to complain, whereupon an inspector came down, and said,—“So you have been complaining, have you? we know what you are.” He answered, “I am a man.” “Yes, but what have you been?” “That is nothing to the purpose.” “O yes, it is, and you had better say no more about this matter, or you may be knocked out of what you are, and be as you were before.” No more passed at the time; but, continued the speaker, the policeman who had originally struck him, came and asked pardon for the assault, begging him not to prosecute the inquiry.

Brutal conduct of the police permitted by the authorities.

The next person who addressed the meeting was described as an “Old Fake.” He had been, he said, a thief from his earliest childhood, or, as he expressed it, “from a pinafore,” all through the mistaken kindness of a fond mother, who gave him halfpennies, and encouraged him to spend money. He began by robbing his grandfather, and “thieved instead of schooling.” His mother finding that school was neglected, put him to work early, but he played truant from his master, and though he took home eighteenpence every Saturday night, yet the greater part of his time was spent in stealing; if he saw anything that “wanted moving, he moved it.” After various committals (one at the time of the Queen’s coronation) and sundry escapes, he was sent to Newgate and transported for seven years. The speaker then gave a graphic description of his work in “irons” at Portsmouth, and his transportation to Bermuda, where the governor, taking compassion on so young an offender, sent him to the carpenter’s shop, and kept him working at that trade for five years. He learnt his trade there. On his return to this country, he worked for a time, but afterwards resumed his old habits. Still he found this way of life too hard, and for the last nine years he had been honest. Nevertheless the difficulties were considerable, for the police had dogged his path, and even turned him out of several situations, by informing his masters that he was an old offender.

Criminal and unseemly interference of the police.

In proof of the above statement the speaker called upon a shopmate who was in the room to come forward and testify to the fact. The shopmate spoke in corroboration as follows:—“It’s all true. This man worked with me six months ago, and got turned off by a policeman telling his employer that he was a convicted thief.”

At this period of the proceedings, Mr. Mayhew more fully explained the character of the proposed institution. It was intended to have a lodging-house to receive the men immediately on their leaving prison. If they had any money which they had earned during their incarceration, they might deposit it in the savings-bank of the institution until an opportunity occurred for advantageously using the amount. A register would be kept of employers willing to take the men, with an understanding that the persons sent to them were to be treated without reference to their past lives, and that their faults were not to be thrown in their teeth. If the men could procure guarantees from their own friends so much the better; if not, the society would guarantee the employers to a certain amount. As a rule, however, they would not be placed in situations of trust, and therefore of temptation. If, however, there were any men who from their former habits were not disposed for regular work, arrangements would be made to send such characters out as street-sellers. For those, on the other hand, who wanted to emigrate, an opening would be made, and a passage obtained. In the lodging-house which he proposed, the inmates would make their own laws, and regulate their own affairs. They would be treated as if they really desired to elevate themselves, and every credit be given them for virtuous resolves; while all reasonable consideration would be taken of their peculiar circumstances.

In conclusion, a ticket-of-leave man whose language proved him to be a person of superior education, stated that for some time past he had been "on the square," that is, "he had relinquished his former courses, and lived honestly. He thought that all should not be condemned indiscriminately, and that every man should have a fair chance. When persons like himself, who could gain their five pounds a week regularly by "ringing the changes" (a mode of passing bad money), were determined to see if they could not earn 30s. by honest industry, that was the best possible proof of principle. It showed that they preferred a permanent benefit to the precarious, though deceitful, pleasures of a vagabond life. He had been a thief, and was now an honest man; and having himself been extricated by one of the gentlemen present, he wished to encourage others. They saw present men who were evidently above want. Why did they come there? It was because they were endeavouring to work out a principle. It was all very well for a hungry, desti-

tute man to profess principles of reformation ; but when a man with a pound in his pocket wished to reform, that was another matter, and that was what he wanted to see, for then it was not necessity, but principle. It was encouraging to see the "big-wigs" interested on their behalf, but, after all, the real spring of action must come from themselves. Might God and good reason speed them.

Three cheers were given for the chairman, who having begged them to disperse in an orderly manner, the proceedings terminated.

It is but right to add, that while some of the persons present were pointed out by the others as being men anxious to "square it," and who they knew to be willing to work, others, on the contrary, were spoken of as being incorrigible ; though from the frank, and even honest, expression of many of these young men (for they were mostly between twenty and thirty), it would have been difficult to have recognised them as habitual thieves. A few, indeed, candidly stated "they didn't seem to care" about reforming themselves, but they would gladly assist any of their body who were desirous of doing so.

At the conclusion, a good-looking boy was introduced, who was in the habit of gaining a few pence by reciting scenes from Shakspeare in public-house parlours. The men said it was a pity something could not be done for the poor lad, as they believed him to be honest and clever, and they feared, if not rescued from his present courses, he would, sooner or later, become one of them.—*Morning Advertiser*, 10th April, 1856.

THE GREAT LAND OF SLAVERY.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THE following are from recent American files :—

HORACE MANN ON SLAVERY.—Horace Mann delivered the first lecture of the Anti-slavery course at Boston, and said :

"Jesus Christ himself cannot, south of Mason and Dixon, have a hearing, unless he submits to a sort of Missouri Compromise, and adapts his teaching to his latitude. Thus, when the slaveholders find no comfort in the New Testament, they turn to the old book for aid, but here they are met with but little encouragement. They can there read of the first great abolitionist,

'Moses,' who ran two millions of slaves at one jump, gathering them out of Egypt, and taking them to the promised land. He, indeed, was a slave-runner, and should have been now alive to be the conductor of the Underground Railroad. This same incident, also," said he, "furnishes an example of the manner in which slave-hunters should be served. Look at the fate of Pharaoh, and you will find how the God of Hosts executed his justice upon them." Thus he held that the Old Testament, so often alluded to by slave-advocates, gives no comfort.

Aristo-
cratic ad-
vocacy of
slavery.

THE HON. MISS AMELIA M. MURRAY.—The *Liberator*, in giving place to a critique of Miss Murray's ridiculous book, says: "We are able to add, on what we deem reliable authority, that Miss Murray's credulity and vanity were worked upon by her *hospitable* Southern entertainers to such good purpose, that, while among them, she pledged herself to write and publish a book in favour of slavery!

"It should also be explained, that not only is Miss Murray a weak and silly aristocratic woman, but is not always quite sane. She is subject to attacks of depression, which compel her to be excluded and watched occasionally. In justice to all parties this fact should be known.

Royal per-
secution of
the goddess
of slavery.

"The slaveholders endeavour to excite sympathy in Miss Murray's favour, by representing her dismissal from the Queen's service as a case of persecution; and by alleging that she has given up 'her all' in the cause—her sole dependence being on her office. This is not true. Her office (Maid of Honour) gave her £400 a-year, and she has enjoyed it much beyond the usual term. She has property of her own, and many wealthy and powerful relatives. Moreover, the slaveholders are bound to reward her handsomely."

The *Boston Transcript*, speaking of Miss Murray's book, says:

"The next repulsive spectacle to seeing a woman drunk and swearing, we think, is to find one of the gentler sex defending human slavery. The institution for which even politicians and statesmen frame apologies, this woman defends in the abstract, and discourses of its practical advantages; but—'she has no children' to be sold—no husband to be disposed of under the hammer."—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, April 1, 1856.

HONOURABLE AND PIOUS MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ADVOCATE CORPORATE PECULATION!

MR. LOWE'S SHIPPING BILL.

THE second reading of this measure is fixed for this evening in the House of Commons, and, from what we learn of the opposition which has been organised against it, we shall not be surprised if the Government sustains a defeat. We confess that the proposal to abolish these passing tolls on shipping—an unnatural and oppressive tax upon the commerce of the world—deserves better success. The measure is a bold and liberal one. It has, however, occasioned much agitation in the principal seaport towns, where these tolls form a considerable branch of the civic revenues. In Bristol, Liverpool, and Hull, they regard the measure as an attempt at confiscation; on the other hand, in Manchester and the large inland towns, they denounce the exaction of tolls from passing vessels as an unconstitutional privilege, and an obnoxious burden upon commerce. They regard it as a legalised system of “black mail,” that the corporations of Hull, or Liverpool, or Bristol, should demand from vessels which pass the mouths of the respective rivers under their jurisdiction—in many instances from vessels driven in by a tempest, or by a lee wind—a tax varying from twopence to one pound sterling per ton. The “black mail” levied on the shipping of some foreign countries is very large; while in other instances, where foreign shipping are exempted by treaty from paying these obnoxious exactions, the British Government is obliged to make up the amount to the local corporations. In one year these payments in respect to the exempted shipping amounted to £40,000. This is paying for free-trade with a vengeance. If it could be shown that no more was collected than the necessary charges for facilitating navigation, there would be no occasion for the measure; but it is notorious that, in Liverpool especially, the dues collected from the shipping are applied to very different objects. The gas-trophic capacities of civic functionaries might probably answer for the absorption of a considerable portion of their amount. We anticipate an exciting debate on the subject this evening.—*Morning Advertiser*, 25th February, 1856.

Mr. HORSFALL strenuously opposed the bill. He contended that the town dues paid at Liverpool inflicted no hardship upon

Great consternation of corporate and local bodies at an attempt to check their system of black mail.

Thomas B. Horsfall, M. P. vindicates

corporate
speculation.
The Corpora-
tion of
Liverpool a
clique of
corruption.

shipping, and enumerated the large sums which had been expended by the corporation of that port for the benefit of the general commerce of the country. In defending the corporation of Liverpool against certain allegations of Mr. Lowe, he passed some severe strictures upon that gentleman's published speech, insisting that his statements, as regarded Liverpool, were not founded on fact.—*Times*, 26th February, 1856.

(To be continued.)

OPPRESSORS OF THE ANCIENT PEOPLE OF THE DIVINE KING.

Israelites,
unjustly ex-
cluded from
Parliament.

Narrow-
minded
members of
Parliament.

Unchris-
tianise an
usurped and
immoral
Legislature!

The clear
professional
head of
Sir F.
Thesiger,
&c.

THE House of Commons has again, by a considerable majority, expressed its disapproval of the exclusion of Jews from Parliament, and all the eloquence of some narrow-minded members has failed to convince it that the admission of Jews will place it in the woful condition they describe. Whether it is that the House does not clearly see in what its Christianity consists, or how it is to be perilled by the proposed innovation, or does not sufficiently prize the distinctive characteristic about which Sir Frederic Thesiger, Mr. Napier, and their friends, are so solicitous, we cannot pretend to decide. But though the question was submitted to it on Wednesday under twofold disadvantages, though it was told that the abolition of the oath of abjuration, while it would unchristianise the Legislature, would also endanger the Protestant succession to the Throne, it resolved to risk these calamities by a majority of 230 against 195.

Even the clear professional head of Sir Frederic Thesiger has not been able to bear the influence of the stupid prejudices which have so long crippled the City of London in its representation, without losing its power in this respect. It is argued, in favour of the abolition of the oath of abjuration, that it has excluded Jews without having been framed with any regard to them, and therefore accidentally. Sir Frederic replies that, in the reign of William and Mary, Jews had been excluded from Parliament by a direct act, because they were aliens, and no alien had a right to a seat in Parliament. The fact that the Jews were excluded expressly by that Act of Parliament, shows that there was no intention of excluding them by the oath of abjuration; and the fact, that that act was afterwards repealed, shows that the Legislature repented its decision, and would wil-

lingly have received Jews into Parliament. We need hardly allude to Mr. Napier's speech. That gentleman has rendered himself unpleasantly notorious of late by his ridiculous advocacy of the superannuated Irish judges, and the great advantage in the sister country of having justice administered by men as blind as she ought to be. But it may throw some light on the great benefits derived by the Legislature from the presence of that gentleman in Parliament, if we advert to the fact that in order to vent his bigotry against the Jews, he has actually taken the Roman Catholics to his breast, and for the nonce claimed as fellow-Christians those of whom on all other occasions he is one of the most uncompromising opponents, and whom he considers to be sunk in the lowest depths of religious corruption.

Mr. Napier
notorious
for his ri-
diculous ad-
vocacy, &c.

One phase of the opposition to Mr. M. Gibson's Bill is curious enough. It is essentially a bill for the emancipation of the Jews; but while availing themselves of the argument arising out of the eminent Christianity of the House of Commons, and opposing the bill on the ground that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, they chiefly rest their opposition to it on the very ground on which the oath was originally framed. In order to maintain it as a bulwark against Israel, they alarm the House with respect to dangers which they apprehend from Rome. Against these dangers, whatever they may be, the oath of abjuration is no longer a protection; and whatever protection is needed, is supplied by the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. There is a want of candour in this proceeding which we trust will open the eyes of many who voted with Mr. Napier and his friends for Sir F. Thesiger's amendment. Every security that could be required for the Protestant succession in the present family—a succession secured by far stronger guarantees than a practically obsolete oath—was offered by Mr. Gibson and others. But the intense bigotry which reigns in the minds of a section of the House upon the question of Jewish emancipation, would accept nothing less than complete surrender.

Legal legis-
lators ad-
mire Papis-
tical oath-
breakers
and despise
the sincere
Israelites.

We turn with feelings little short of disgust from the plea that Jews are to be excluded, lest the Legislature should be un-christianised, when we recollect how recently a member of the House of Commons—was it Mr. Heywood?—ridiculed the scriptural assertion, that the world had been created in seven days, to the great amusement of the House, but certainly not to its pious horror. It would be impossible to imagine a Legislative body made up of more incongruent creeds, or one com-

Legislature
fearful of
being
un-chris-
tianised by
the Israel-
ites ! but
not by
atheists !

posed of members of sects which have in times past fought against each other with greater virulence. We will venture to say, that if the Jews were to-morrow in Parliament, they would find it difficult to rival many of the Christians of that assembly in their periodical outbursts. We hardly know a body which we should so little desire to place before the world as a specimen of English Christianity than the House of Commons. But grant that our representatives are all they would have us think them as Christians, surely they show little faith in their own virtue when they feel it oozing out at their fingers' ends at the bare mention of a Jew making one of their number.

The House of Lords takes the lead in bigotry.

Let us hope now, that, after the defeat of Wednesday, all further opposition to the abolition of the bill will be withdrawn, and that the Lords, who have hitherto taken the lead in bigotry, will take a warning by the defeat of their sympathisers in the Lower House, and yield in time.—*Morning Advertiser*, 12th April, 1856.

USEFULNESS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS!!!

ARISTOCRATICAL GOVERNMENT.

THE fact is—it is of no use disguising it—we have always been living, since 1688 at least, under the government not of old lords but of old old lords. You could not sleep in your beds if some of those men that rule your country had the management of your affairs. You would know where you would be expected to be found in a very short time. But these men, having these titles, having had forefathers of whom we know little, and generally that little is not good—why, they are a grand illustration of the saying of one of our old writers, “If you will hood an ass with reverend purple, so you would hide his too ambitious ears, and he shall pass for a cathedral doctor.” What is it that causes nations to decay? Is it an inevitable law—is it a natural consequence with them, as with the human frame, that, born into the world, after a certain number of years this body becomes incapable of further life, and drops like a fallen leaf in autumn into the grave? We doubt very much whether there is any such law. If you look back to the different countries that have fallen—Athens, Rome, Venice, Poland, any country you choose

Grand illustration of Peers.

to name—if you look at the condition of Ireland, that, so long united to this country, was a weakness and not a strength. don't you think it likely, nay probable, nay certain, that some portion—probably a great portion—of the cause of the fall of those countries might be traced in some ruinous or mischievous policy which had been pursued? In this country we may have, as we have, a venerable and venerated monarchy, with half-a-dozen great palaces as symbols of its might and of its glory; we may have forty or fifty dilapidated peers, who come for an hour or two before dinner, under the pretence of legislation, into their gilded chamber; we may have an established church, with vast revenues devoted to less than one-third of the people, with its mitred prelates, also sitting in that gilded chamber. You may have fleets that scour every ocean and that frown upon and menace every coast, but if this question be not attended to, the question of your industry—of that upon which you live—by which monarch and peers and prelates and fleets are supported, then we say, even while you show to the world the exhibition of the greatest possible power, at the same time you may be sapping the very sources of that power, and the decay which we have pointed out may be going on while senators defend it and while the people frantically applaud it.”
—*Freeminer*, 2nd February, 1856.

Dilapidated
peers pre-
tend to
legisla-
tion
before
dinner

ADMIRERS OF THE ARISTOCRACY.

NEW CASE OF “SNOBBISHNESS.”

IN spite of Mr. Thackeray and his immortal *Book of Snobs*, the current runs more and more strongly in this false and vicious direction. Rank and title are more and more worshipped, without any reference to worth or talent, and *that* even by men who call themselves “Liberals.”

Admiral
and wor-
shippers of
rank and
title.

A little more than a year ago, the Presidency of Christ's Hospital became vacant. It had been filled by a practical man, a citizen, who gave constant attention to its duties. But now, some professed “Liberals” must needs go in search of a royal duke, who accepted the office, and in three months set off for the Crimea, and left the hospital, for almost a year, practically without any president.

Presidency
of Christ's
Hospital
and the
Duke of
Cambridge

The North-
Western
Railway
Company in
search of a
"Marquis."

Soon after, a most able and indefatigable manager, Mr. Glyn, felt obliged to give up the chair of the North-Western Railway. Instead of seeking for another commercial man, who understood finance, and the exigencies of public business, the directors went in search of a Marquis, who "did them the honour" to accept the chair, and some £1,500 or £2,000 a year. Of his peculiar fitness for managing a great commercial affair, we never heard anything. Had his name been plain "Mr. Temple," the Directors would never have discovered that extraordinary merit which they now *assume* to exist, even though it is not *shown*.

Liberal pa-
rishioners
in search of
a "noble
lord"

In the last session of Parliament an act was passed constituting a Board, to be elected by the people, to whom was to be committed the task of draining the whole metropolis. The people have elected a Board of forty-five persons, about thirty of whom are tradesmen of good reputation, who command the esteem of their neighbours. They are now to elect a chairman, who is to preside over their labours, and who is to receive from £1,500 to £2,000 per annum. And already "Snobbishness" is said to be at work, and even "Liberals" are reported to be looking out for a "noble lord," or a baronet, or some other titled person, to place in the chair!

If the noble lord, or the baronet, shall be personally the *fittest man*, by all means let him be selected. But if not, then to choose him, merely in the hope of being gratified by a smile from a Peer, or a gracious nod from "Sir John," is pure snobbishness, and nothing else.

Influence of
the aristo-
cracy at the
Horse
Guards and
the Admi-
rality.

The aristocracy use their natural influence at the Horse Guards, at the Admiralty, in Downing-street, and at Somerset-house; and hence it happens that there is scarcely a single name in the peerage which is not found in the *Army List*, or the *Navy List*, or in the *Royal Kalender* of men in office. Nearly one half of the junior branches of the aristocracy are receiving public pay. But, if even Liberals, and professed "Radicals," when they have an office to fill up, shew that they prefer a lord to one of their own rank, even though the latter should be the best qualified, how can they complain if the Treasury and the Admiralty, and all the public departments, follow in the same course, and give on all occasions, the preference to the son, or brother, or cousin, of a Peer?—*Morning Advertiser*.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

A LECTURE was delivered on Friday evening, in Exeter Hall, by the Rev. Dr. Rule, in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the martyrdom of Archbishop Cranmer. The spacious hall was crowded with a respectable audience, Mr. Wilbraham Taylor occupying the chair. After prayer,

Dr. Rule proceeded with his lecture. Three hundred years ago, he said, that day, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, was burnt to death. Such an event demanded a solemn remembrance; and when the question arose how it could be best and most appropriately commemorated, it was suggested, among other things, that an address or lecture should be delivered in that place, in order to relate some of the leading facts in Cranmer's martyrdom, and point out some of the principal features of his character. When they looked back through history for the long period of three hundred years they would find this country endeavouring to raise itself out of the darkness and ignorance which had so long prevailed in it. In Germany, Martin Luther was successfully raising the banner of ecclesiastical reform, while their own king, Henry the Eighth, was busying himself in writing a book to contradict his statements. The Pope was so pleased with this kingly and royal interference, that he called together his cardinals and great ecclesiastics, in order to confer with them as to what distinguished mark of pontifical honour they should confer upon the Royal disputant. Apostolic, said some, the distinction must be; angelic, said others, it ought to be; but the idea of associating the name of Henry the Eighth with anything angelic seemed somewhat out of course, and it was decided that he should be dubbed "Defender of the Faith." And accordingly he was installed by Leo the Tenth as such. But while Henry the Eighth and Luther were sharpening their pens and arranging their arguments, Dr. Thomas Cranmer was making himself busy in Jesus College, Cambridge, in sharpening the understandings of easy, lazy monks, by questioning them out of the Scriptures, and thereby, in his capacity of examiner in Divinity at that University, greatly promoting the study of the Word of God. The Reverend Doctor then referred to the circumstance which led to Cranmer being introduced to Henry the Eighth; such arising from the project of the King to be divorced from

Rev. Dr.
Rule and
Thomas
Cranmer,
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

King Henry
the Eighth
dubbed.
Defender of
the Faith by
the Pope of
Rome.

King
Henry's
wife Catherine
and
Anne
Boleyn.

The Pope's
adherents
in the
Houses of
Parliament.

The Roman
Bishop,
alias the
Pope.

Catherine, in order that he might marry Anne Boleyn; Cranmer, on the point in dispute between the Pope and Henry being referred to him, disregarding Papal authority, and treating it as a pure matter of conscience to be decided by the Word of God. He also detailed how he was sent to Rome by the King to argue the case; the circumstances connected with his stay in Italy; how he quitted the precincts of the Papal Court, confirmed in his Scriptural convictions, which were greatly strengthened by his intercourse with the Reformers of Germany, on his way home, and where he married the niece of one of the most distinguished of those Reformers, in emphatic defiance of the authority of the Church of Rome; and how, on his return to this country, he was at once installed Archbishop of Canterbury, being considered the fittest man of that day to be placed at the head of the Church of England. On his being so appointed, he, for the first time, protested against the oath of allegiance taken to the Pope. He, no doubt, read the words of the oath, but he publicly protested, at the same time that those words did not bind him to a foreign prelate, or prevent his obedience to his own natural sovereign, the King of England. Thus, then, did Cranmer publicly avow his secession from the Church of Rome. He went into the Houses of Parliament, where he was met by the Pope's adherents—for there were such in Parliament then as well as now—and there he declared that no foreign prince nor prelate ought to have jurisdiction in these realms; while he had the Bible translated into the vernacular language of the country, and compelled the priests to read it audibly to the people. Most of them, it would appear, could read it, but it was certainly much against their grain to do so; for while they read, "Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image," those images were staring them in the face; and in respect of their mode of reading it, a writer of the day said, they mumbled it and hacked it, making it as unintelligible as they could; but, in spite of all this mumbling and hacking, words of power would seem to have crept out from it, for there was a general cry after its doctrines over all the land. Besides conferring upon the country this gift of the Bible in the vernacular language, Archbishop Cranmer conferred another and highly-important gift, namely, the assertion of national independence. "The Roman Bishop (so he styled the Pope) has no greater jurisdiction allotted to him by God in the Holy Scriptures in this kingdom than any other foreign bishop." That was a declaration which held

good to this day, and was the charter of liberty of the Church of England. Besides this he promoted the Reformation by breaking up the monasteries and distributing plain Protestant tracts among the common people. He also brought about great reforms in the University of Oxford and reformed the worship of the Church, taking away Latin prayers, and giving the people the beginning of the Prayer-book of the Church of England. He was the means, too, of rendering this country an asylum and a home for the outcast Reformers of other lands, so that the German, the Italian, the Pole, and the Spaniard, found here a place of safety. It was not, however, to be supposed, that such a man as Cranmer would be free from the venomous slander of enemies. Such was heaped upon him with no measured hand by the adherents of Rome and the Jesuits. But that was to be, as he had said, expected; for he had himself read, in a French book, that John Kirby was a man of abandoned moral character, and also a drunkard, and if such things were said of a man whose memory was precious in this land, and whose name was far above the loftiest shafts of calumny, what might they expect to be said of one who, of necessity, had to mingle in the highest affairs of the State. and who, after, was obliged against his conscience, to submit to the will of a majority, and to the fiercer judgments and the darker consciences of the men with whom he was obliged to act? The Reverend Doctor then went over the leading facts connected with Cranmer's career, after the death of Henry the Eighth, down to his martyrdom, at Oxford, by order of Queen Mary, or Bloody Mary, as she was popularly designated. His recantation of the reformed faith in the course of the persecutions he was subjected to, he considered a great weakness in his character, and it gave a blow at the time to the reformed churches; but it was amply compensated for in the end, when, full of the truth as it in Jesus, he denounced the declaration which, in a moment of weakness, he had made, and suffered at the stake for the sake of that faith which he held so precious, and which he had done so much to defend. During Cranmer's imprisonment, England was reconciled back to the faith of Rome, but she could not be so by the same means now. Then she was so reconciled by the act of a single man, Cranmer's successor; but she could not be so by such means now. The system now was to bring about a gradual, almost imperceptible, recognition and reconciliation, by rendering them familiar with the doc-

It is necessary to reform the University of Oxford.

Archbishop Cranmer makes England the asylum for the German, Italian, Pole, and Spaniard. Adherents of Rome and the Jesuits pour out their venom.

Queen Mary
alias
Bloody
Mary.

Cranmer imprisoned and burnt at the stake by the Roman Catholics for the crime of adhering to the truth.

A something called the Archbishop of Westminister.

trines of Rome ; by having them talked about in Parliament ; by placing a sort of image, and tolerating a sort of image worship in their churches ; by setting up side by side with the Archbishop of Canterbury a something called the Archbishop of Westminister ; by having mass-houses with unfinished steeples, waiting for bells, silently imploring relief ; just as a beggar, who was not allowed to beg with his tongue, did so by his attitude, as he stood by the way-side, for the purpose of procuring relief. That was the mode a reconciliation with Rome was now attempted ; but let the people be on the alert ; let them search the Scriptures, publish them, and practise them, and all those insidious efforts would utterly fail.

On the Rev. Doctor concluding, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to him for his lecture, which was throughout listened to with the greatest attention.

A hymn, appropriate for the occasion, was then sung, and the meeting separated.—*Patriot*, 24th March. 1856.

A TRIED AND FAITHFUL GENERAL OF THE GREAT KING.

LOUIS KOSSUTH ON THE AUSTRIAN CONCORDAT

L. Kossuth the ex-Governor of Hungary.

LAST night the ex-Governor of Hungary delivered a lecture on the Austrian Concordat, at the school-rooms connected with Spa-fields Chapel, Exmouth-street, Clerkenwell. Although there was a charge for admission, the room was crowded to excess. The illustrious exile was cheered in the most enthusiastic manner as he ascended the platform, accompanied by a number of his friends.

The Rev. T. E. THORESBY, the pastor of the chapel, introduced the lecturer by observing that the illustrious man, to whom it would be their high gratification to listen that evening, needed no introduction to an English audience. He was sure they would give him a hearty welcome. It was necessary, however, for him to say one word as to the course of lectures which Mr. Kossuth was now about to inaugurate. The place was built for the instruction of children in the day, and of adults in the evening. They would attain that object by a variety of means. They would diffuse a knowledge of history, politics, science, art, litera-

ture, and also of social economics, our rights, duties, reforms, and progress. The gentlemen who had had the arrangement of the lectures, differed in their religious and political opinions. They were, therefore, in no case responsible for the opinions of the lecturers, nor were the lecturers to be supposed, in any case, to favour their opinions.

Mr. Kossuth then came forward, amidst loud and long-continued applause. After a brief introduction, he gave a very able historical sketch of Hungary, in relation to Protestantism; and showed the services that country had rendered to the cause of civil and religious liberty. He showed also the advantages it had conferred upon Europe by distinguishing between religion itself and the tyrannical ambition of the Papacy. The Hungarian people drew a broad distinction between Church and State, and would not allow the former to encroach upon the latter. This had led to a great deal of manly independence on the part even of the Hungarian Catholics themselves. They had even refused to become the tools of the Papal Sec. In the centre of Europe, Hungary had always constituted a great barrier to Papal aggression. Their Diet, and their municipal privileges, enabled his patriotic countrymen not only to speak against tyranny, as Englishmen could do in public meetings, but to counteract its intentions. But this free expression of opinion had been put an end to by foreign bayonets. England looked on, without saying a word, while Russia destroyed the liberties of Hungary; but Europe—particularly England—had already suffered retribution for her indifference upon that occasion, and would suffer still more. Had Hungary still been free there would have been no Concordat, no war, no Paris Conferences, and no temporising, unsatisfactory peace. How was it that this feeble and vacillating Pío Nono had been able to accomplish that which many of his ablest predecessors had attempted, but which none of them had effected? Because, time was when the Pope and temporal tyrants were at variance; in this case they had united for the common object of the subjugation of the peoples. Rome never changed in her endeavours to secure universal dominion; although, as to the means by which she sought to attain her ends, she was perpetually changing. He showed the importance to liberty and Protestantism of Hungary being free, by asking his audience to consider what would have been the fate of Europe, if Hungary had embraced Mahomedanism, instead of repulsing its aggressions on Europe? or if it had

The Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria an enemy of the Great King.

The Hungarians will not allow the church to encroach upon the State.

The rulers of England, in opposition to her people, withhold aid from the Hungarians.

Oliver
Cromwell's
opinion
with respect
to Austria
and Hun-
gary.

gone over to the Church of which the Czar was the head? The fear of Hungary going over to the Greek Church, or becoming entirely Protestant, had, whilst she was in possession of her ancient freedom, served as a check to the Papal See, and prevented it from encroaching, so much as she otherwise would have done, upon civil and religious freedom in that country. But the Pope had well chosen his opportunity to make this advance upon poor Hungary; and, in fact, upon Protestantism and liberty throughout the world; for where was there a nation which had been exempted? He concluded by quoting an expression used by Oliver Cromwell in the House of Commons in 1658—"Look how the house of Austria is preparing to destroy the Protestantism of Hungary! You may say, 'It is a great way off, and what is it to us?'" I tell you it is something to you. It concerns the religion of you all, and all the best interests of England."

The second and concluding lecture is to take place next Wednesday, in the same rooms, and at the same hour. Mr. Kossuth has announced that he will then go into the details of the Concordat, and explain the position of Protestantism in Hungary. Last night he was listened to throughout with the most profound attention, and warmly applauded very repeatedly. The lecture was a masterpiece—full of choice and instructive historical allusions—abounding with facts which Englishmen ought to ponder, stated with that elegance, earnestness, dignity and ability, for which the illustrious lecturer is so deservedly celebrated, and of which a brief paragraph necessarily conveys no idea. As the lecture will probably be repeated in several places, we abstain for the present from giving a full report.—*Morning Advertiser, March, 1856.*

(To be continued.)

PROTECTED DESPISERS OF A LOYAL PEOPLE.

THE IRISH PRESBYTERIANS.

SIR,—There are in Ireland 700,000 Presbyterians—as industrious and loyal, as intelligent and well-informed, as any portion of her Majesty's subjects—and there is no class in the community (except the Jews) who are so badly used. They are the

descendants of the men who peopled Ulster when it was a wild waste, and themselves have made it a hive of art and a seat of trade. But they have been treated, in return, as "hewers of wood, and carriers of water." They are a proscribed race—nothing more and nothing less.

Presbyterians and Israelites despised by a bigoted State-church.

By nearly every Government they have been cajoled, neglected, and disowned; and they are well trampled on by their "brother Protestants" of the Established Church. The result is, that they have scarcely any social position; and they are virtually excluded from all offices of dignity or profit in their native country. Let us look at a few figures, in illustration of this.

Unseemly treatment of the Presbyterians by the Church of England.

The Episcopalians of Ireland are not a whit more numerous or deserving than the Presbyterians; yet there are upwards of 2,000 magistrates belonging to the former body, and only sixteen to the latter! The Establishment can also point to its nineteen assistant barristers (or County Court Judges); and the Presbyterians have been allowed but one; nor was an Irish Presbyterian ever raised to the bench of a superior court. Again, there are 60,000 children of the Presbyterian Church attending the schools of the National Board of Education, and 24,000 merely of the Church of England; but the Episcopalians have six Commissioners on the Board, and the others *two*! In the Queen's Colleges, Presbyterian students greatly out-number those of the Established Church, though, on the senate of their university there are ten of the latter to two of the former. On the Board of Charitable Bequests, there are seven Churchmen and one Presbyterian; and in all the other Boards of a national character the Episcopalians have a number of members, and Presbyterians none. In fact, out of a population of 700,000, only two Presbyterians have been admitted to offices of any importance, in a country which owes to them a large share of its wealth and prosperity; for the same two gentlemen (and this is not the least of the singular circumstances on which we are commenting) occupy seats on the National Board, and on the Senate of the Queen's University; whilst one of them enjoys the solitary Assistant-Barristership, and the other the Commissionership of Charitable Bequests, above alluded to? The endowment of the two churches is in similar proportion—the one receives about £800,000 a-year, and the other less than £40,000! For the army or navy, respectable Presbyterians have no chance of access; even in the militia, they have been

Systematic abuse of patronage against Presbyterians in Ireland.

Shameful administrative injustice towards Presbyterians.

refused admittance ; and in the constabulary force, numbering 14,000, there are only three Presbyterian officers, to a host of the favoured class.

Presbyterians in Ireland are slighted by the Government to secure the votes of papistical senators.

It is manifest from these, and other facts which might be stated, that the Presbyterians of Ireland are a slighted people ; and their position is the more anomalous, when it is remembered that, although they do not now, as formerly, rank amongst them many of the highest orders of society, they include a smaller proportion of the lowest than any other religious denomination. They consist almost exclusively of that middle class which is the strength of any country, and should be peculiarly powerful in theirs ; and they possess in a marked degree many of the elements of influence—intelligence, energy, and industry. They enjoy, too, by their peculiar position in Ireland, an extraordinary advantage, which, if rightly understood and efficiently used, would give them a preponderating weight, since they are placed as a balance in the scale between the Catholics and the Episcopalians, and might easily control them both.

But they have, in fact, neither influence nor weight, and are the merest ciphers in the State—despised by every party, and spurned on all occasions. They are useless to themselves, and formidable only to one another. And the cause of all this is as simple as it is melancholy. From an idle, childish fear of Catholic ascendancy, their clerical leaders have sold the great mass of them to the Orange faction of the Established Church—sold them, “neck and heels ;” and both priest and parson now tread on the entire body with corresponding contempt, while the Government ignores them as a separate community altogether ; and the men of character, thought, and attainments, who are still true to the principles of Presbyterianism, and will not seek without it the rank and influence that are denied them in it, retire within themselves, and eye its degradation with mournful disgust and bitter scorn.

The peace and safety of Ireland dependant upon the loyalty of her Presbyterians.

They should remember, however, that they have a duty to discharge ; for, in their hands, to a large extent, is the safety of the liberal party in Ireland—of the friends of real progress and reform. It is true, they have much to complain of in the previous neglect of that party ; but the secession of the bulk of the Presbyterian people was the main cause of that neglect ; and, although the present administration makes “mountains out of mole-hills,” when asked (as it has been) to redress the grievances

above detailed, and to place the educated and deserving members of the Presbyterian Church on an equal footing with other Protestants in the distribution of public honours and rewards, it does not at all follow that future Governments will imitate the bad example. I would say, then, to those injured but trusty friends—endeavour to forget the past; come out from amongst the timorous and the apathetic; cheer them by your example, and encourage them by your precept; expose the traitors, too, and denounce the slaves; while you dissolve the “banns” that were published at Hillsborough years ago, and have ever since weighed on your Church like a nightmare. An honest Presbyterian can be neither a Tory nor an Orangeman.

I am,

HONEST PRESBYTERIAN.

Morning Star, 15th April, 1856.

MODERN SODOMITES OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

It has only of late become positively known among us that an infamous trade is carried on between England and the continent for the mutual supply and interchange of young girls, for the most hideous purposes. And even yet we do not know with what business-like energy, precision, and regularity, that fearful trade is carried on. Large houses, say in London or in Paris, have their established agents in all the principal towns of Europe. They send out, moreover, at fixed times of the year, their “commercial travellers,” or *commis voyageurs*, who make bargains, settle prices, effect exchanges, and gain customers. He carries with him a list of all the women in the establishment to which he belongs, their ages, “length of service,” acquirements, &c., together with a minute description, generally a daguerreotype, of their persons. If there happens to be either a demand or a superabundance of a particular kind of physique—dark, fair, short, or tall—the necessary sale or exchange (they supply their masters both ways) is made, and the *commis voyageur* returns with his living cargo, precisely as if they were so many bales of silk or cotton. The poor creatures receive a certain per-centage for themselves on what they gain; but from this—which is very trifling—is deducted the whole expense of their board, lodging and clothing; so that it is impossible for

Trafficking
in English
and French
girls.

them, while they are young, to purchase their liberty, or in other words, to pay off their legal debt, and buy themselves back into virtue. When they are old, and after they have been sent to every branch of the establishment, they are turned out to starve; or, if willing and capable, are made of more infamous service still.

These are the bare business facts of the trade, dealing with its recognised and consenting members. But there are darker facts even than these, with which we are more especially concerned and interested. We mean the abduction of young girls, ignorant of their fate, and unwilling to accept it when made known to them.

This matter has been before the public under more than one form. Articles have been written in newspapers, and magistrates have delivered decisions thereon. But we know how apt human nature is to be satisfied with the spoken intention, how the indignant heart is relieved by the published word, and how, after these acts of vigour, it goes to sleep on the fact, and lets the future run on undisturbed in the rut of the past. We will bear the charge of reiteration, even of weariness, for the sake of again impressing this most important matter on the English public; coming as it does to-day through the living anguish of a father, appealing to the laws, and to his countrymen, for the protection and restoration of his child.

English
girls kid-
napped for
home pur-
poses.

Zelpha Barge, a "steady serious girl," aged fifteen, has disappeared in that strange mysterious way in which others of her age and class have disappeared before; the mystery to be cleared up in after-years by the fearful revelations of the hapless street-walker. The father of the girl dreads, very naturally, that she may have shared the same fate as the daughter of Thomas Evans—saved from destruction by the prompt interference of the stoker of a steam-boat. But in the matter of poor Zelpha Barge, not so certain as to her place of destination, and therefore, so far as appears at present, not so easy of remedy. It may be also that the girl has been kidnapped for home purposes; and if so, her recovery would be even more difficult, excepting under such a rigorous house-search as our laws and institutions hardly warrant. At all events, even as only a fear—as a mystery susceptible of another explanation than the one the father dreads and we have assumed—it does not weaken the necessity for the most active measures of protection for young girls, which it is possible for the laws to frame.

Knowing that the courtesan's life is one not only of loathsome sin, but of frightful misery—knowing that it is not, in nine cases out of ten, future pain bought by present pleasure, but that it is unredeemed wretchedness throughout—knowing that, until she has taken to drinking, which then brings in a second vice, stronger than the rest, almost every woman kept in the establishments of which we have spoken—for *almost all have been entrapped, and none are free agents*—would gladly exchange her life for any amount of toil and poverty with freedom, and the possibility of virtue—we urge most earnestly on the attention of all, the legislature and the people alike; men who can act, and women who can influence, of every class, not to let this subject drop until something has been done as well as said; not to be satisfied with words, however eloquent, but to require, and obtain, that these fiends in human shape be bound down with laws and penalties so strong, that virtue may be safe walking in the daylight in the very midst of us, and that fathers may not have to lament their young daughters, stolen away for foreign prostitution, from the very threshold of their homes.—*Morning Star*, 28th March, 1856.

(To be continued).

FEARLESS ADVENTURE OF GAVAZZI INTO THE CAMP OF HIS IMPERIAL HOLINESS THE POPE OF ROME AT OXFORD.

DURING the week the celebrated Father Gavazzi, the self-styled "Christian Crusader," has been lecturing in the Town-hall, Oxford, but, as was anticipated, his reception clearly showed, as in the case of Cambridge last week, the mistaken judgment of selecting the universities for a visit. On Tuesday evening the subject was, "The Papal Army in Great Britain and its Protestant Allies." There was upwards of 500 persons present, including the undergraduates, who mustered in great force, and in the course of the "Crusader's" address manifested their disapprobation of his doctrine and arguments by incessant rounds of hooting, hissing, and stamping, which rendered hearing what the lecturer had to say a matter of much difficulty. On Wednesday "Tractarian Encroachment" was the text of the

The Papal army in Great Britain, and its Protestant allies, *alors* Papists in Protestant attire.

Generals of
the Pope of
Rome at
Oxford,
Dr. Pusey
and the
Bishop of
Oxford.

The police
necessary
to keep the
Pope's vo-
lunteers of
Oxford Uni-
versity in
check.

lecturer, and it soon became evident that the undergraduates, who had mustered in still greater numbers, would not allow him to proceed in silence. For half an hour after Gavazzi appeared on the platform he was unable, owing to the noise and confusion which prevailed, to commence; and when at length he did begin, only a disjointed sentence here and there was audible. The names of Dr. Pusey and the Bishop of Oxford, which were shouted out several times by members of the University, were quickly caught up, and were received with long and general applause, unmistakably showing the estimation in which the right reverend prelate and Dr. Pusey are held in this University. The scene, on the whole, was a most exciting one; but, we may add, as being highly creditable to the undergraduates, that they confined themselves to the modes of expressing their disapprobation which we have described, without having recourse to any more violent demonstration. On Thursday evening the oration was on "The Inquisition, Ancient and Modern." A repetition of the same proceedings of the previous evenings would no doubt have been witnessed, had not the police been present in strong numbers, which, we understood, included the junior proctor, marshal, and the "four bull-dogs," four pro-proctors, and nine of the city police. At the commencement of the proceedings the undergraduates were inclined to kick up a noise, but the remonstrances and persuasions of the above University authorities and college dons were successful in producing order, and the lecture in the main was listened to with attention. On Friday afternoon Gavazzi delivered a concluding lecture on "Nuns and Nunneries," and was listened to with great attention; the number present was about 150.—*Morning News*, 28th April, 1856.

THE VERY HONOURABLE PEACE!

War arose
out of the
effeminacy
and incapacity
of the
Earl of
Aberdeen.

By the fourth Article of the treaty of the "very honourable peace," which has just been concluded, the Allies are to restore to His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias the towns and ports of Sebastopol, Balaklava, Kamiesch, Eupatoria, and Kertch; and we may very well inquire for what purpose the war, in which England alone has suffered deep humiliation and disgrace, was undertaken. His Majesty the Emperor is kindly replaced in

the very position which gave Russia the command of the Black Sea ; which prompted the invasion of the Turkish territory ; facilitated the dastardly but unrequited massacre at Sinope ; and, in point of fact, generated the war itself. This very article proves that the peace will be of no long duration. So much of the treaty as has been published does not contain a single word of indemnity for the past, or of security for the future ; yet these are the only objects which belong to a legitimate war. It is true, that a portion of a territory formerly taken by force from Turkey, is ceded in exchange for the ports and towns of the Crimea ; which is, in other terms, the same thing as when a burglar gives up a portion of his plunder, on condition that he may keep possession of part of the house to enable him to rob it at another time ; for the Crimea is an acquisition by robbery and massacre, and is required by Russia, as commanding the Black Sea, and affording a base for the invasion of Turkey.

Dastardly massacre by the Russians at Sinope.

Insecurity of the peace, &c.

The Allies gain no benefit by the war, for nothing is more hollow than "the neutralisation of the Black Sea," mentioned in some of the articles. And that the treaty itself is a mere sham, appears from the fact, that there is no guarantee given, or demanded, that any of its conditions shall be observed. Russia triumphs. Her cowardly massacre of the Turks at Sinope passes off as an achievement of honourable warfare. Her butchery of the wounded and dying, as they were struggling in agony on the ground, is unavenged ; and the treacherous murders at Hango Head are honoured with a silence, which may be logically construed into tacit approval. To celebrate these splendid results of a war, in which the cavalry was destroyed by the sheerest incompetence of its principal officers, and upwards of 10,000 of our bravest troops perished through blundering ignorance and unfeeling neglect, on the part of the aristocratic administrators of our military affairs, £8,000 of the public treasure is to be squandered away on the boyish diversion of firing off squibs and crackers.

The treaty of peace a mere sham.

Treacherous murder of British sailors by the Russians.

Ten thousand brave troops perished through blundering ignorant aristocrats.

In the meantime, it is probable that our astute ally of France has gained all that he wanted. His nephew has either already been advanced to the dignity of a Cardinal, or is to receive the Cardinal's hat ; and thus it is rendered clear, that the fate of Poland is to be that of Italy. France will keep possession of the Papal States ; Austria is preparing for the enlargement of her Italian dominions, as is proved by the continued extension of her military area in Italy ; and before the two larger Powers

Dangerous designs of France and Austria.

Sardinia herself may fall. From all appearances, the partition of Italy may soon take place ; for there is nothing now to prevent the formation of an alliance between the Emperor of France and the Czar, with the object of promoting the long-cherished designs of Russia on Turkey, and those of France on Italy, Belgium, and the Rhenish provinces. The want of statesmen in the ruling classes of England has allowed her to be most egregiously deceived, from the beginning of the war to the conclusion of the sham peace.

A want of statesmen in the ruling classes of England.

Austrian designs to be supported by a cunning priestcraft.

We may now comprehend something more of the Austrian Concordat. Austria, with her designs on Italy, is to be supported by all the machinery of a cunning priestcraft. France, in which liberty is crushed, and a persecution carried on against the rights of conscience, has a military power which supersedes the necessity of concordats ; and if, as seems to be in preparation, a nephew of Napoleon be elected Pope, on the demise of the present Nero of Rome, the fate of Italy will be sealed beyond recovery. It will be Austrian and French. The Austrian bishops are active in their way. They proscribe all religions but their own, wherever they have the power. Their organs have already recommended the extinction of Protestantism ; and the Archbishop of Olmutz continues to fulminate excommunications, which, however, at present, have only the effect of ejecting the members of his own church. Everything appears to be in train for a repetition of the savagery committed by Frederick II. on the most orderly and industrious of Austrian subjects.

The Archbishop of Olmutz continues to fulminate excommunications. Savagery committed by Fred. II. of Austria in train for repetition.

It is not easy to see, that England could do anything to prevent a Russian, French, and Austrian alliance from effecting their designs upon Italy and Turkey. We may be reminded of the grand naval review, which, we suppose, was to strike terror into all the world ; but we have given ample proofs, that we have both admirals who will do nothing but spare an enemy's ports and strongholds, and admirals who can do nothing. Neither is our army any better provided for offensive warfare. Nothing has been altered in the system of promotion, which taught both pretended friend and real enemy, that if our soldiers were as brave as lions, they were without commanding officers. It escaped no one's observation that it was only the intrepid bearing and steady endurance of the private men that saved the whole expedition from annihilation on several important occasions, when the French bore off all the glory of the conflict. In what other army should we ever see common

Admirals who will do nothing but spare enemies' forts and strongholds.

soldiers left to storm a fortress like the Redan, while the generals of division, who ought to have led them, were carried about in litters, with their heads inclosed in handkerchiefs or nightcaps, or skulking in trenches from the shot? There is no appearance that this disgraceful state of things will be changed for the better. The Sebastopol Inquiry ended in smoke, nor is there any promise of a more useful result from the Military Commission now sitting. The oligarchy are too firmly seated, and German influences are too strong for that. An effete aristocracy, fondly adhering to feudal prejudices, and a feudal *quantum* of knowledge in the second half of the nineteenth century, will continue to furnish both army and navy with twaddlers for officers; and this is as well known in France and Russia as in England, and very probably better appreciated. Owing to this blighting cause, and this absolute dead weight upon the national energies, we are really powerless, with the show of a great military and naval strength. But a time may come, when a new alliance will turn its knowledge of our true situation to advantage. Vast armies and fleets, provided with the most formidable storming apparatus, are only great encumbrances unless they have competent directors; and for want of these it is certain that an invasion of our shores is more practicable, and more likely to be successful, than when it was contemplated by Napoleon the Great, and prevented by the Nelsons and Cochranes of a time when England was both feared and respected. All this has been changed by the late war. The reverse holds good; and even the wretched Bomba, of Naples, can treat our representatives with contumely, without apprehending remonstrance, much less chastisement.

Common soldiers fight without leaders. Generals of division very careful of themselves.

The peace formed on such a treaty cannot be durable; and if our apprehensions of sinister consequences to Italy, Turkey, and ourselves, should prove to be unfounded, we shall owe it to the forbearance of our late ally and late enemy, and not to the display of a showy fleet, or the ability of our rulers to ward off danger.—*Morning Advertiser*, 25th April, 1856.

A peace founded on sand cannot be durable.

THE NATIONAL GALLERY JOBBERY.

To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.

SIR,—Whilst the Chelsea Commission is endeavouring to entangle some small fry of puppets in its meshes, permit me

French
judgment
compared
with Eng-
lish fore-
sight at
Sebastopol.

Official mis-
application
of the peo-
ple's money
in purchas-
ing worth-
less pic-
tures.

Services
of the
National
Gallery Di-
rectors, &c.,
a slight
shade worse
than use-
less.

to call its attention, or, better, the attention of your readers, to the following brief summary of facts:—Whilst our gallant allies, the French, were successfully approaching the redoubtable Malakoff with the assistance of 4,000 sappers and miners, the English were trying to approach the equally formidable Redan with but 250 sappers and miners. The French leaped into the Malakoff and victory, from their ten yards distant entrenchment, without the loss of a single man. The English, in attempting a similar feat, from their two hundred yards distant cover, only realised death or ignominious defeat. Thanks to the Philo-Russians at home, who, instead of emulating the French in forwarding to the Crimea a *quantum sufficit* of engineers, of whom no country in the world could have furnished a more ample supply than England, had our rulers willed it. But these preferred rather to devote the funds which my fellow-countrymen cheerfully contributed towards the vigorous prosecution of the war, to the buying of pictures!—and such pictures! to the paying, for the first time, one thousand per annum to a National Gallery Director—and such a director! to the paying, for the first time, some seven or eight hundred a-year to the Director's Secretary to draw up a *Catalogue Raisonné*! (shades of mutilated Claudes and Canaletti!) to the appointing and paying, God knows how much, to a foreign collector of pictures, that he might buy up such “vamped up” Paul Veroneses as the newly-installed “Adoration of the Magi,” at the price of blood, £1,977. For who would deny that, had this one thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven pounds, in addition to the foreign collector's commission, added to the slight shade worse than useless National Gallery directors' £1,000 per annum, added to the £800 a year of the suspicious *Catalogue Raisonné*, been offered, in the shape of increased pay, to some two or three hundred able-bodied and intelligent mechanics, a sufficient number of sappers and miners could have been improvised in six weeks to have enabled our brave soldiers to realise as glorious a victory at the Redan as, on the contrary, they were betrayed into so deplorable a defeat? But if such convicting letters as that of Mr. W. Cunningham's, of the 30th ult., and the startling *denouncer* of the 17th inst., from the pen of that veteran foe to picture mutilation and disgraceful National Gallery jobbery, Mr. Morris Moore, fail to shame the betrayers of public trust into the *amende honorable*, then, indeed, should I feel disposed to endorse the following concluding paragraph of the *Times* leader of Saturday:—

"It is England's own fault if she commits her armies, her men, her treasure, and her honour to men, whom even experience will not make wiser, and who, while alone responsible for their calamities, seem alone unconcerned."

NEMESIS.

It will be the people's fault if the present misgovernment continues.

SHAMEFUL TREATMENT OF THE AMERICANS BY THE ENGLISH!!!

To the Editor of *The Times*.

SIR,—The country is, I have reason to believe, deeply indebted to you for having hitherto exercised a wise and statesmanlike forbearance by withholding from publication any document which, in your opinion, might revive the memory of grievances now happily forgotten, or in any way exacerbate the ill feeling which is already but too prevalent against England in the United States. But, as you have now published the President's Message, in which, under the title of "Recruitment," he has deliberately promulgated to mankind in every region of the globe alleged misconduct on the part of Great Britain, "infringing the municipal law, derogatory to the sovereignty of the United States, and requiring not only a cessation of the wrong, but its reparation." I trust you will see no objection to my submitting, through your columns, to the judgment of the advocates of peace, to the great and good men of all nations, a few facts, which I resuscitate, not for the purpose of proving that in the act complained of we have committed no wrong, nor for the mean object of recrimination, but to convince the enlightened classes of the United States that, as our Christian brethren, it is their bounden duty to terminate the trifling question in dispute by magnanimously forgiving us our trespasses, as we forgave them when, as I will briefly show, they trespassed against us. President Pierce in his able Message rests, or rather constructs his complaint against Britain, on the following basis:—"It is," he declares,—

An able one-sided message of President Pierce!

"The traditional and settled policy of the United States to maintain impartial neutrality during the wars which from time to time occur among the great Powers of the world. Performing all the duties of neutrality towards the respective belligerent

2 B 2

States, we may reasonably expect them not to interfere with our lawful enjoyment of its benefits.

President
Pierce per-
petrates a
deception
upon the
universe.

"Our municipal law, in accordance with the law of nations, peremptorily forbids not only foreigners, but our own citizens, to fit out within the limits of the United States a vessel to commit hostilities against any State with which the United States are at peace.

"While the laws of the Union are thus peremptory in their prohibition of the equipment or armament of belligerent cruisers in our ports, they provide not less absolutely that no person shall, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, enlist, or enter himself, or hire or retain another person to enlist, or enter himself, or to go beyond the limits of jurisdiction of the United States with intent to be enlisted in the service of any foreign State, either as a soldier or a marine, or seaman on board of any vessel of war, letter of marque, or privateer."

Now, with a desire to convince the people of the United States that they have not always fulfilled this doctrine, I beg leave simply to recall to their recollection the following historical facts, which took place when their present Minister of War, Mr. Marcy, was Governor of the very State (New York) in which these facts occurred.

1. Previous to 1837, in a time of profound peace between Great Britain and the United States, the Government of the latter country, who, like everybody else, clearly foresaw that, sooner or later, there would be an outbreak in Canada, deposited on that frontier a quantity of United States' artillery and of new muskets, for which they had no ostensible use, and which, to say the least, they took no precautions to guard.

American
brigands in-
vade British
territory for
an unlawful
purpose.

2. In the year 1837, after the three days' insignificant but long expected rebellion in Upper Canada had, without the aid of troops, been effectually suppressed, two American citizens, self-styled, in large printed placards,—“General Van Ransalaer, commanding 1st Division of the Patriot Army,” and “Major-General T. S. Sutherland, commanding 2nd Division of the Patriot Army,”—which army, by public advertisements and at public meetings had been openly levied in the United States—took possession of these unguarded cannon and muskets, the property of the Government of the United States.

3. Major-General Sutherland, sailing with a part of his “Division” on board an American vessel, directed a heavy fire of the cannon he had thus seized upon the inhabitants (women

and children) of Her Majesty's town of Sandwich, under the pretence, explained in his placarded "Proclamation" of liberating them, instead of which the people of Sandwich made him and the whole of his sympathizing force prisoners.

4. The remainder of Major-General Sutherland's division landing on another part of Canada, after killing and wounding thirty of her Majesty's soldiers, under the command of Colonel the Hon. S. Maitland, maltreated and robbed the British inhabitants of Point Pelé Island of horses, hogs, sheep, cattle, and poultry, valued at above £1000. sterling, the whole of which they carried off to the United States.

Rapine and murder perpetrated by United States mercenaries upon British territory.

5. Another portion of this "Patriot Army" took forcible possession of, and then burnt, a large British steamer, named the Sir Robert Peel.

6. In the harbour of Buffalo, in the United States, in broad daylight, in the presence of the United States' Marshal and of other high authorities of the Federal Government, of the Government of the State of New York, and of a militia regiment quartered in the immediate neighbourhood, 1,000 men were set to work by the American General Van Ranslaer to saw the Caroline steamer out of the ice, in which she was firmly imbedded. Seventeen American citizens openly and publicly signed a bond to indemnify the proprietors in case of her loss. The American collector of customs gave her a license, under the authority of which, and amid acclamations of triumph, she sailed for Navy Island, Her Majesty's territory, where, acting as a passage boat, she assisted in conveying American-born citizens and twenty-two pieces of artillery, belonging to the United States' Government, which for a fortnight were fired from Her Majesty's territory upon her unoffending subjects in Canada!

Americans legalize piracy against British subjects.

When the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and Mr. Fox, Her Majesty's Minister at Washington, called upon Governor Marcy in particular, and the several American authorities in general, in deference to the laws of nations, to recover from General Van Ranslaer the United States' artillery which was waging war against Great Britain, Colonel Sir Allan M'Nab received in reply an official letter, laid before Congress, from the American Commissary-General Arcularius, reporting and confessing, as Governor Marcy had previously reported and confessed, his utter inability to do so.

The United States government look at the brigandage of its subjects.

Now, for all these violations of those laws of neutrality, the strict maintenance of which President Pierce, in framing this complaint, has just declared to be the "traditional and settled

policy of the United States," no offence was taken by the British Government, no "apology" was required.

England
disgraced
by her
rulers per-
mitting
American
brigandage
to go un-
punished.

England has had dark pages in her domestic history—cruel-
ties and follies not a few to answer for; but in all her annals,
from the beginning of what may deserve to be called her inter-
course with foreign nations, from the day she had a foreign
policy and a national character to support, she never tamely sub-
mitted to so much insult—was never so degraded and disgraced
—as she was in 1837 and 1838, by the outrages which she suf-
fered to be committed against her subjects in Canada, not only
without chastisement but without anything like a spirited
remonstrance.

The United
States gov-
ernment
take advan-
tage of the
forbearance
of England.

But after having exercised this extraordinary forbearance,
after having practically shown to the citizens of the United
States that England preferred patiently to endure almost any
insult rather than commit the sin of embarking in a fratricidal
war with them, would it, I submit, be creditable to them, at a
moment when England's right hand is engaged in fighting the
world's battle of "liberty against despotism," to add to her
difficulties and to increase her sorrows, by insisting on taking
offence at the British Minister at Washington having made
arrangements for enlisting, not in the United States, but in the
territory of Her Majesty's Colonies, whoever might voluntarily
repair there with a desire to join the British army nobly fighting
in the Crimea for the freedom of mankind?

Yankee in-
solence will
not always
be endured
by Britons!

The American people before they resolve to call England to
account for an alleged "violation of the laws of neutrality," so
minute that the solar microscope of their sharpest-sighted
lawyer can but barely perceive it, ought surely, *per contrà*, to
remember the good temper with which the old country has
submitted to a repudiation by the State of Florida of about
2,000,000 dollars, by the State of Arkansas of all their debts,
by the State of Mississippi of 5,000,000 dollars of their debt.
They should also remember the unpaid debts to this country of
the States of Alabama, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

Hoping that the good sense which characterizes the people of
the United States will induce them to feel, from the foregoing
facts, that it is their duty and our duty, their interest and our
interest, to forgive whatever injuries we may intentionally or
unintentionally commit against each other.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

F. B. HEAD.

Oxendon, Northampton, January 17th, 1856.

MIGRATION OF SODOMITES TO THE SALT LAKE.

MORMONS.—*The Wolverhampton Chronicle* states that early this week a party of Mormonites, numbering upwards of 180, arrived at the Queen-street station, in that town, by the Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton Railway, *en route* for the Salt Lake. This large body of pervers to the mischievous and evil doctrines of the impostor Joe Smith, were chiefly from the agricultural districts of Worcestershire. The greater proportion were young people, varying from sixteen to twenty-five years of age, although among the number were several infirm and decrepit old men and women, accompanying their families and grandchildren.—*Morning Advertiser, May, 1856.*

Joe Smith
the recruit-
ing officer
of his
Satanic Ma-
jesty.

WHY WOMEN BECOME MORMONS.

It has been a matter of great wonder to me how the women could be induced to consent to polygamous marriages. It is so repugnant to all the instincts and feelings of a true woman, that I could not understand it. The mystery is partly solved. It seems that one part of their ridiculous creed is, that a woman cannot be saved unless she is sealed or married to a Mormon ; and he must be one, too, who will remain steadfast to the end ; and, as they are noted for a great number of apostates, it becomes an object with these silly fools to get into the harems of the priests and elders, because it is believed they will not apostatise. Of course, any one with half an eye can see the object of the prophet Smith in promulgating such a doctrine ; and the wonder is, that its transparency is not obvious to all. I made this discovery by talking with Aunt Shearer, about an old lady by the name of Western—commonly known as “Mother Western”—one of Brigham’s wives. I was marvelling why she should marry in her old age, especially as fiftieth or sixtieth wife, when my oracle said “She was only sealed for the sake of salvation.” She further informed me that Brigham had more wives in this way than anybody knew of—that he did not even know himself, the sealing to him being considered a more certain guarantee for salvation, because he was the reigning prophet, and was sure to remain faithful. One scarcely knows whether to be amazed most at the profane profligacy of the leaders, or the superstitious credulity of their dupes. The effect of the Mormon creed is, evidently, to gather together a low class of villains and a still

Harems of
Mormonite
priests and
elders.

Prophets of
the Em-
peror of
Sodomny.

lower class of dupes ; and it follows that the latter are easily governed. The only disturbing element is, that the villains may quarrel among themselves ; and, so far as I can learn, this has happened on more than one occasion. A further effect will probably be to operate as a Botany Bay to society generally, by relieving it of its superabundance of both classes.—*Mrs. Feris's Letters from Utah.*

LIFE AMONG THE MORMONS.

How Mr. Parrott became entangled in the meshes of the Mormonites.

We stated last week that we had received a long letter from a person named Parrott, residing in Bristol, in which he detailed his experience among the Mormons, which sect he had left with the greatest disgust. This person's statement, the accuracy of which is vouched for by the Rev. J. B. Clifford, is to the effect that, some time since, he became entangled in the meshes of Mormonism, through the influence of a "leader," a most pleasing and fascinating man, who introduced the subject to him, and he was led to join a "church" which met in Milk-street. For a time he was perfectly enchanted with the system, and, with his wife and children, was preparing to leave his home and take his departure for the settlement on Salt Lake. At first he observed the strictest sanctity in their public services and movements, but after a while their real character began to develop itself, as he says, "in the most Satanic manner." After honestly watching their private and public actions, and carefully observing their principles, and having been, by the priest, favoured "to attend one of their secret council meetings held every Monday night, until midnight, when they secretly concoct their hellish and diabolical purposes to entrap the innocent," he determined to withdraw from them, and on March 18th last, he wrote a letter to the pastor requesting to be excluded from the "church." For this course of conduct he was publicly anathematised in the following language :—"May his eyes sink in their sockets ; his flesh rot and fall from his bones ; may he wish to die, but not be able ; may his right arm wither ; may he beg his bread, but none be given him." Mr. Parrott states Brigham Young, the present head of the Mormons, has now about twenty women, whom he denominates as his wives, besides the keeping of all the wives of the missionaries while they are away on missions for five and seven years together, and he instances the case of an "elder" or "priest," who has just been removed from Cheltenham for having seduced twenty young women. The

The head quarters of Solomites and their object.

Mormons now number, in officers, as follow :—Three presidents, seven apostles, 2,086 seventres, 715 high priests, 514 ordinary priests, 471 teachers, 227 deacons, 331 missionaries, altogether “4,345 trained officers, or black spirits, ready for anything their leader Brigham Young has for them to do.” Mr. Parrott states, in conclusion, that the real object of the American Mormon leaders, called priests, in their mission to the United Kingdom, is, under the mask of religion, to recruit men, women, and children, for the purpose of raising an army, to carry the Book of Mormon, by the sword and fire, into the present peaceful States of America, of which army Brigham Young, like a second Mahomed, is to be the king. The men, on leaving England, are expected to provide themselves with a six-barrelled revolver, a Minié rifle, a sword, and a large knife, under the pretext of killing buffalo; while the women are taught to make bullets, &c. The Mormons intend to call to their aid the neighbouring disaffected powerful tribes of Indians around Utah, in order to assist them in deluging the States in rivers of blood.—*Bristol Times*.

Governing officials and emissaries, &c., of Satan.

The Book of Mormon, *alias* creed of Satan, to be forced upon the people by the sword and fire.

PERPETUAL IMPRISONMENT OF YOUNG WOMEN BY PERMISSION OF PARLIAMENT.

WE recommend English fathers and mothers to give some attention to the case which has just been brought under their notice in our law reports, respecting the alleged deportation of a young girl, named Mary Ann King, from this country, through the agency of a lady superior and other officials in a convent at Norwood.

Deportation of a young girl through the agency of a sister of mercy.

The girl in question, who was fifteen years of age in May last, was, through the influence of one of the priests at St. George's Church, admitted to the Convent of Our Lady at Norwood. The mother of the child, who may or may not in the first instance have been satisfied with the admission of her daughter to this convent, was, after a few months, anxious that she should return home, and had several interviews with her at Norwood, but those interviews were conducted in such a manner, and accompanied with such restraints, as to prevent any interference with the control of the nuns over this young person. It appears that the daughter was really anxious to return home, and that

Before Mr. Justice Crampton, 10 March, 1856.

The Popish
prison at
Norwood
for girls,
alias pa-
pistical
seraglio.

it was only in consequence of the entreaty of the nuns, that she was allowed to remain in this Popish prison for six months longer. Subsequently, the mother called again from time to time ; but it was evidently the study of the " Reverend Mother " and her assistants to prevent all free intercourse between the parent and her child.

At length, before the time fixed for the return of this young girl to her home, her mother, on applying at the convent of Our Lady at Norwood, found to her great distress, that her child had been removed. She called, with her solicitor, to see the " Reverend Mother," and was informed that the girl was in France.

A reverend
mother and
her accom-
plices neu-
tralise the
Queen's
writ.

A writ of *habeas corpus* was applied for, and obtained, for the production of the girl, and we have now an opportunity of learning the manner in which a " Reverend Mother " and her accomplices can neutralize the force of the Queen's writ. In the return it is not alleged that any of the facts asserted are untrue. Those facts are too recent, and too easily proved, to render it safe or prudent to attempt their denial. We have, then, the allegation which it is usual to give in such circumstances, and the untruth of which there are no means of proving. The hypocritical pretence now set up is, that the girl has gone to France "*of her own free will*," and had obtained a situation there. If this most holy mother, and the veracious sisters, who are bound to obey her in all things, are to be believed, neither she, nor any one else in the convent, has had any control over this young girl, nor had they the custody of the child at the time of her departure for France. There are people of enormous faith, who would deem it a mortal sin to question the truth of anything which a " Reverend Mother " may find it politic to utter in defence of herself and her nunnery. We think, however, that there are others who will find it impracticable to swallow the wholesale dose presented in the statement now before us. It should be remembered that on one of the last interviews between Mary Ann King and her mother, the child " expressed her dislike to go abroad, and appeared pleased when she heard that she was to be at the convent only six months longer."

A papistical
judge in a
Protestant
gown.

The Learned Judge before whom this allegation has been made, has expressed himself satisfied with the defence given by the " Reverend Mother " and her assistants. We must confess that we have no such satisfaction with this defence. We have here precisely the answer which it is usual to give under such

circumstances, and which any one may have anticipated who is at all aware of the practice in the Romish Church of inveigling young people, shutting them up in convents, and cutting for ever the tie that had bound them to their relations and friends.

The good people who have now to lament over the removal of their daughter, may have sufficient confidence in the veracity of the "Reverend Mother," and the pious virgins and holy confessors around her, to believe that their daughter was wayward, and wilful enough to abandon them and go off to France, instead of returning to their home, according to her own anxious wish. If they have such a belief, they must have strange credulity indeed, but we do not think that credulity will be shared with them by half a dozen sober-minded people in England.

It is true that the writ appears to have compelled the keepers of the place to give information respecting the girl, which the applicants could not procure before the serving; and, so far, the law has not been quite a dead letter. But there can be little doubt that the whole of the story is not laid before the public. Generally speaking, the law of England is a complete blank, in regard to these prisons, where every precaution that guile, covetousness, and cruelty can devise, is taken to conceal the immured from the knowledge of their relations and friends. They are locked up, and never permitted to go outside the gate, without the licence of a bishop; they pass under false names within the houses; and when they die, no one out of the house knows the manner of the deaths, or the nature of the disease. For slight offences they undergo disgusting and humiliating punishments; for more grave faults they suffer the lash, with their mouths gagged, and are imprisoned in underground rooms, without light or a fire. Miss Henrietta Griffiths was confined in a darkened closet, in the Norwood Nunnery, without a bed. Under these false names, it is a common practice to transport nuns to foreign countries, where cruelty can be put in force, with even less fear of detection and punishment than in England.

The law is rendered perfectly nugatory by these artifices for ensuring secrecy. If Mary Ann King had died in a prison, a workhouse, a hospital, or any other public institution, her friends would have had the satisfaction of an inquest into the causes of her death: but owing to the remissness of the Legislature in the case of nunneries, if she had been murdered, neither her friends nor the public would ever have learned the

The pious virgins and holy confessors of Norwood convent and St. George's Church.

Nunneries *alias* receiving-houses for girls, until exported to the Continent.

Disgusting and humiliating practices in the Papistical seraglios of England.

Report of
Llorente,
Secretary of
the Inqui-
sition.

A capuchin
sentenced
by the in-
quisitors
and horribly
murdered in
a nunnery.

fact. Now it is a well-known truth, that people are put to death by slow torture in convents. Llorente, the Secretary of the Inquisition, relates the case of a capuchin, who was sentenced by that tribunal to be confined under discipline in a convent of his own order. The man, in great concern and fear, humbly besought them to change the sentence into imprisonment in the prison of the Inquisition, but the inquisitors told him that their sentence was the milder of the two. "Having been a provincial and guardian," said he, "I know better than you do the treatment which I shall have to undergo in a convent; it will cost me my life." The inquisitors did not think proper to commute his sentence, and his prediction was verified; he died in the third year of his imprisonment, after suffering more than death. According to Erasmus, the Franciscans buried one of their order alive! A few weeks ago, a curious room was discovered on the spot of the Franciscan convent in Cologne. "When the workmen were demolishing the Minorite's convent," says the *Augsburgh Gazette*, "they found the old prison of the convent: a prison whose sole view reminds us of accursed ages and horrible deeds. This prison has been excavated twenty feet below the surface. Its walls are of an incredible thickness; the space is eight feet in length, and four in width. There is only one piece of furniture, a massive stone fixed to the wall. To this very stone is fastened a heavy iron chain, measuring five feet, and having a terrible manacle attached to it. At one end of the stone is an opening without a cover, in the form of a narrow funnel, going down to a deep channel connected with the convent sewers. At the other end is a small hole, intentionally made for the purpose of feeding the prisoner. Over the ceiling there is an aperture, through which the victim was lowered, with the executioners who had to chain him to his eternal bed. The floor was soiled with dust, and human bones were found therein."

The Arch-
bishop of
Toulouse
complained
to a King of
the cruelties
of monks.

Mabillon, a learned monk of the Benedictine order, mentions a convent prison, which was called the *Vade in Pace*—the *Go-in-Peace*—a name perfectly describing the last judgment of man upon the fated prisoner. The Archbishop of Toulouse, in the fourteenth century, complained to King Jean le Bon, "of the horrible cruelty exercised by the monks on their brethren, by sending them for life into a dark place, which they call a *Vade in Pace*." The King, notwithstanding the outcries of the monks and others, decreed that abbots and priors should visit

their prisoners at least once a week. In England these prisons had the same name, *Go in Peace*, the imprisonment being perpetual; and, in the reign of Edward III., the abbots of Northampton decreed "that, in every monastery there should be a prison, in which great delinquents should be punished." One of the punishments among the Gilbertine nuns, near Lichfield, was perpetual penance and imprisonment, with severe discipline—meaning the whip on the bare back. Bale copies a shocking instance of this severe discipline and everlasting imprisonment from Alfred of Beverley.

Abbots of Northampton decreed every Monastery to have a prison.

It may be easily conceived that the darkest crimes are systematically committed in these jealously-guarded and secret receptacles of daughters and sisters, whose presence in the world is no longer desirable. Parliament, in rejecting the Bill to provide for the inspection of nunneries, sinned against humanity and Christianity, laid the law of England prostrate at the feet of human fiends, and left the weakest and most helpless of the weaker sex without a refuge and protection. Yet there could not have been a member in the House so feeble of intellect, that he could not understand the fevered alarm which was felt by the Romish clergy on account of that measure, which is no less necessary now than it was at that time. As to the *habeas corpus*, it can always be evaded by a *Go in Peace* in a different convent. In the cases of betrayed, abandoned, or tortured nuns, it is a mere farce to apply for that writ, which to all mankind else is a noble charter of English liberties.

Horrible crimes permitted in Nunneries by permission of Parliament.

We wish this subject to receive the consideration it demands. It is one of great seriousness, and deeply interesting to all English parents, whether in or out of the Roman Catholic Church. If the people of England are not watchful, they will find a system of kidnapping set up by these holy nuns throughout the country. Their children will pass, by the advice of some ghostly confessor, into a nunnery school, and there be gradually kept back or removed to a distance from them, when they visit the nunnery for the purpose of an interview, until at last they will be spirited away to situations in France, "unbeknownst" to the holy mother, or any other of the simple and unsuspecting people who form her *personnel*.—*Morning Advertiser*, 13th March, 1856.

People of England must be watchful against nunhood kidnapping of their daughters for immoral purposes.

(To be continued.)

TREATMENT OF CHANCERY LUNATIC WARDS.

Afflicted
and cruelly
treated
wards of
Chancery.

WE are induced for the better protection of the afflicted and cruelly treated lunatic wards of Chancery, to give a greater publicity to the practice of the administration of the two Masters in Lunacy and the board of Chancery Lunatic Visitors than has hitherto been made, not doubting that they ought all to be removed, or that all their proceedings should be in public, and a more extensive power given to them proportioned to the vast extent of property, and the rank and character of the afflicted individuals connected with it.

Chancery
masters
with the
evils of
Private
Lunatic
Asylums
must be
abolished.

The consideration of this branch of the Chancery Masters' duties is of the utmost importance, if only to clear the character of the Masters and the Board of Visitors, for while sixty out of a hundred pauper lunatics are restored to health, and twenty-seven out of a hundred of lunatics placed in lunatic asylums kept by private individuals, recover, not one in five hundred Chancery lunatics are ever restored to their property, their family, or their home: although, a talented author states, "it is now known that insanity is as curable as any disease to which mankind are subject; that it arises from deranged bodily functions, not mental affections, and that by kindness and proper medicine, there is less difficulty in removing this malady than many others of which juster notions have been long entertained by the faculty."

Naval Sur-
geon at
Haslar Hos-
pital on
Lunacy.

Dr. Scott, the late naval surgeon at Haslar Hospital, (see p. 55, of his Lectures,) says, "that it is exceeding rare, to find a man insane on many points at one period, and never on all points," so that the agony of the educated wards of Chancery when turned over to the tender mercies of *irresponsible strangers* who receive the whole allowances granted for their maintenance—who place their own creatures around these victims—who exclude the relatives from visiting them, or place them at their will in lunatic asylums, is surely a subject for the most serious enquiry.

Improper
control over
property of
lunatics by
the Lord
Chancellor.

Of the individuals denominated committees there are two classes—committees of the estate, and committees of the person. The parties thus called, seldom I believe exceed two to the estate, and two to the person of each lunatic, and are appointed by directions of reference from the Lord Chancellor to the masters, who most absurdly have the sole approval of the committees. The Lord Chancellor may object to a person approved of by the Master, but cannot appoint a committee. The late

Lord Cottenham recommended the Master to re-appoint A., one of the committee, the Master refused. A. appealed, but found the Lord Chancellor had no power to appoint him. The practice of the court has been to view with jealousy the nearest of kin, who have generally been excluded from being committees, although most interested in protecting the estate as well as the lunatic. Lawyers and doctors find that they can make it too lucrative a concern to let it escape through their hands; and the Masters, from the difficulty of finding other honourable persons willing to undertake an office so undefined, have been driven to accept persons from those professions as committees. The committee of the estate has to pass the accounts before the Master, or his secretary, every year; this is done in a most imperfect manner, for the accounts only detail what the committee receives, and what he disburses, *but not what is due*. Take the following example—a committee has to pass his account on the 1st of February, he neglects to receive the January dividend, and by not being obliged to bring it into the account which he then presents, when he afterwards receives the January dividend, he retains it in his own hands until the following year. Mr. Brougham required committees to state what dividends were payable, and would not allow accounts to be passed without the committees *stated also what was due*, and first brought into their accounts the dividends that could be obtained. A solicitor and the mother were committee to the late Sir G— P— T—, we can easily understand how lucrative an advantage it must have been, if he, as a professional man, availed himself of this practice tolerated in the passing of the accounts of wards in Chancery.

Lord
Cottenham.

Lawyers
and doctors
interested
in keeping
up the
Chancery
furnace and
its Dun-
geons.

A solicitor who is trustee of £100, refuses to pay the interest to the lunatic's estate, and though this is annually represented to the Master, he connives at it, on account of the expense that would attend a petition to the Lord Chancellor.

Master of a
Lunatic's
estate con-
nives at the
peculation
of a solic-
itor.

The expense of passing the accounts is so great, that the Master sometimes allow them to be passed only once in two years. This expense is occasioned by committees being obliged to bring in their accounts by solicitors, instead of *themselves appearing* with it before the Masters or their clerk; but this is the practice in all the Masters' offices in Chancery. The presenting of this simple debit and credit account annually to the Masters, is an expense to the 530 or 560 Chancery lunatics of between £8000 and £10,000 a year, of which above one-third is paid as fees to

Between
500 and 600
Chancery
lunatics
fleeced in
the Court of
Chancery.

the Masters in Lunacy, and which might be wholly avoided or otherwise appropriated to the lunatics' benefit. In addition to the above sum, there is in this particular office one per cent., charged upon the income of all Chancery lunatics, which realises considerably above £3000 a year.

Also in lunacy affairs a higher scale of fees for the office copies is charged than in the other Chancery offices, and they now charge fourpence a folio for what the law stationers charge three halfpence. Another source of expense is, the numberless and useless warrants charged on these occasions to the lunatics' estate.

Solicitors and medical men are forced by the Master in Chancery upon suitors against their will.

The committee of the person is sometimes chosen from the nearest of kin; but in many instances solicitors and medical men are selected, being recommended by the Master to the Lord Chancellor, frequently against the wishes of the majority of the relatives. The Masters have a most difficult task to select committees owing to the system of affidavit, instead of *virâ voce* evidence. The committee of the person, upon being appointed, are awarded at the Masters' recommendation a sum out of the income for the maintenance of the lunatic—this allowance the committee receive, as a schoolmaster does a sum for the care of a lad. The Lord Chancellor may discharge a committee, but in his Lordship, under the existing law, (as decided in the case of *Drax versus Grosvenor*.) cannot require an account of the money which they withhold from disbursing upon the lunatic. A Master once appointed himself committee to the person of a wealthy lunatic, but the court of late years has prohibited that, although there is nothing to prevent them appointing their own relatives and friends. Indeed, it is very natural for them to do so, because, exclusive of the means afforded to their friends of improving their incomes, the Masters may believe that they will take better care of their lunatics than any one else. The extent of this patronage may be surmised by a reference to the Parliamentary Paper, No. 505 of this year.

Lord Chancellor's power. A master in Chancery forms himself into a committee.

In 1843 the Masters had to appoint 28 Committees.

44	..	..	30	..
45	..	..	20	..
46	..	..	23	..
47	..	..	31	..
48	..	..	18	..
49	..	..	30	..

All the cognisance taken by the Court of Chancery of the money entrusted to committees will be understood by the following extracts from the annual accounts of the committee of the estate of two different lunatics :—

“ Retained for the committee of the person, on account of twelve months’ maintenance, at the rate of £374 per annum :

“ From the 1st of February, 1850, to January

30th, 1851 £374 0 0

“ Pocket money at the rate of £20 per annum 20 0 0

“ For clothes at the rate of £30 per annum . 30 0 0

“ £424 0 0”

But not a single voucher of this expenditure is produced, although applied for when appearing before the Master; and whether the whole or half the money is laid out, is not enquired into. Again in another case :—

“ Retained on account of two years’ maintenance

“ from November 1848, to November 1850,

“ at the allowance of £400 per annum*... £800 0 0”

The same Parliamentary paper shews that to these persons an income of £65,000 was entrusted in various amounts for the care of the 180 persons made lunatic wards of Chancery during that period. These individuals possess an authority greater than that of a father over an infant; for, as we already stated, they render no pecuniary account of what they disburse to any earthly being, not even to the Court which appointed them, while the extent of liberty or restraint is solely with them—they can send the invalid to any asylum they please, without consulting the heir at law, or the Lord Chancellor’s visitors in lunacy, they can keep him in the house of a medical man objected to by the invalid himself, as well as by his nearest relatives,—they go further,—they clothe him as they please—they dole out, according to their liberality, the few shillings he may solicit permission to disburse, or be allowed out of his fortune; and as they have the selecting of the persons by whom the invalid is

Terrible
unlimited
powers of
Masters in
Chancery.

The liberty
of the peo-
ple in the
power of
Masters in
Chancery.

* In this instance the allowances are larger than the income; but, on account of the heavy expense of applying to the court, the master discountenances any application to have the allowances reduced within the income, and has made a compromise with the committee, which committee consists of a solicitor and a medical man, who do not disburse all which they receive upon the lunatic for maintenance.

surrounded, they control a mass of evidence which enables them, under the plea of its producing excitement, to discard relatives from the house of the invalid, to prevent him seeing his friends, or to have any communication, even by letter, with any of them; they refuse him permission even to go to the house of a brother, when that brother is willing to receive him, nor have the Masters any power to grant the wishes of the lunatic against the fiat of the Committee. It can only be obtained by petition to the Chancellor.

Masters in Chancery incarcerate people in Private Lunatic Asylums, &c.

Number of Chancery Lunatics whose fortunes have not been ascertained.

Miserable state of legislation on the subject of lunacy.

Few of the Committees disburse *more than two-thirds* of the allowance for maintenance on the invalid entrusted to their care, many of them less, and none ever restore these victims to the society from which they were intended only to be temporarily removed. Of the 537 Chancery lunatics, 238 are placed by the Committees of the person in lunatic asylums, others in private residences. A few only are living with their relatives or friends.

This is the position of the Chancery lunatics, and the four following returns will give an insight of their numbers—the vast and annual amount of their real property—the allowances granted to Committees for maintenance—and the number of those who have been made lunatic wards of Chancery, but whose fortunes were not ascertained, and the allowance for maintenance fixed. So dilatory are these nominations of committees, that in July, 1851, there was a lady at Bath without a committee being appointed, who was made a lunatic ward of Chancery eighteen months previous, while the useless expense attending it is a source of great oppression; the extent of such arrears of business will be seen in the returns, from which the following extracts are made, and shew the miserable state of Legislation under the present arrangements.

Years.		Number of Wards of Chancery, whose Incomes are known.		Number of Arrears of those whose allowances were not fixed by the Court.
1832	..	386	..	43
1833	..	399	..	48
1839	..	494	..	61
1849	..	531	..	39

RETURN, dated 5th June, 1832 (the first of the Returns to Parliament) of the number of Lunatics confined under the authority of the Lord Chancellor.			Parliamentary returns of the number of Lunatic wards of Chancery incarcerated under authority of the Lord Chancellor.
103 Lunatics, whose property amounts to less than £200 per annum, each :			
Total annual amounts of such property.....	£11,219	14 3	
231 Lunatics whose property amounts to £200 each per annum, and upwards :			
Total annual amounts of such property	264,464	14 7	
43 Lunatics whose income is not ascertained.	£275,675	8 10	
326			

A RETURN, (dated 7th March, 1833), made up to the latest possible period, of the number of Lunatics confined under the authority of the Crown, and of the total amount of their annual incomes.

There are 399 Lunatics, confined under the authority of the Crown,		
the total of whose annual incomes amounts to	£269,153	1 9
Of which number there are :		
57 who individually have less than £100 per annum, and whose incomes amount to	3,254	11 9
61 who have £100, and less than £200 per annum, and whose incomes amount to	8,675	2 0
50 who have £200, and less than £200 per annum, and whose incomes amount to	12,130	0 3
31 who have £300, and less than £400 per annum, and whose incomes amount to	10,050	15 16
152 who have £400 per annum, and upwards, and whose incomes amount to	235,047	11 11
and		
48 whose incomes are not ascertained.		
399	£269,153	1 9

RETURN to an ORDER of the Honourable House of Commons, (dated 21st February, 1839). RETURNS made up to the latest possible period of the number of Lunatics against whom COMMISSIONS of LUNACY are now in force, and of the Total Amount of their Annual Incomes, and the Total Amount of the Sums allowed for their Maintenance.

	Income.	Maintenance.
86 persons who individually have less than £100 per annum, and whose incomes amount to £4,654 15 10		
And the total of the sums allowed for their maintenance to		24,032 0 4
83 who individually have more than £100, and less than £200 per annum, and whose incomes amount to 11,702 16 9		
And the total of the sums allowed for their maintenance to		8,960 5 4
98 who individually have more than £200 and less than £400 per annum, and whose incomes amount to 26,567 6 1		
And the total of the sums allowed for their maintenance to		20,723 4 8
		2 c 2

	Income.	Maintenance.
49 persons who individually have more than £400, and less than £600 per annum, and whose incomes amount to.....	£24,700 0 1	
And the total of the sums allowed for their maintenance to		£17,451 8 7
46 persons who individually have more than £600, and less than £1,000 per annum, and whose incomes amount to	36,195 13 7	
And the total of the sums allowed for their maintenance to		25,764 7 0
71 Persons who individually have more than £1,000 per annum, and whose incomes amount to	174,170 11 11	
And the total of the sums allowed for their maintenance to		91,551 14 2
Of the 494 persons above-mentioned, many are recent cases, and the number where the fortune is not yet ascertained, and the allowance for maintenance fixed, is 61		
61		
494	£277,991 13 8	£169,388 0 8
20th June, 1839.		

RETURN to an ORDER of the Honourable the House of Commons (dated 28 August, 1848). RETURNS, made up to the latest possible period, of the number of Lunatics against whom COMMISSIONS of LUNACY are now in force, and of the Total Amount of their Annual Incomes, and the Total Amount of the Sums allowed for their Maintenance, (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 78, of Session 1839).

	Income.	Maintenance.
There are 531 persons against whom Commissions of Lunacy are now in force, and the total of whose annual incomes amounts to	£333,781 8 11	
And the total of the sums allowed for their maintenance to		£213,074 13 2
94 Of the above there are 94 who individually have less than £100 per annum, and whose incomes amount to	5,594 6 6	
And total amount of the sums allowed for their maintenance to.....		5,228 3 7
106 who individually have more than £100, and less than £200 per annum, and whose incomes amount to	15,176 11 10	
And the total of the sums allowed for their maintenance to		13,099 4 4
104 who individually have more than £200, and less than £400 per annum, and whose incomes amount to	30,214 7 11	
And the total of the sums allowed for their maintenance to		23,500 19 10

	Income.	Maintenance.
63 who individually have more than £400, and less than £600 per annum, and whose incomes amount to.....	£30,033 18 11	
And the total of the sums allowed for their maintenance to		23,452 17 0
51 who individually have more than £600, and less than £1,000 per annum, and whose incomes amount to	39,125 3 0	
And the total of the sums allowed for their maintenance to		26,672 8 0
74 who individually have more than £1000, and whose incomes amount to	213,637 0 9	
And the total of the sums allowed for their maintenance to		121,121 5 5
39 whose incomes have not yet been ascertained, nor their maintenance fixed		
531	£333,781 8 11	£213,074 13 2

N.B.—The above Return comprises *all existing lunatics* by *inquisition*, without reference to any former Parliamentary Paper.

(Signed)

THOMAS CARTLEDGE,

February 27th, 1849.

Secretary of Lunatics to the Lord Chancellor.

All of these returns are out of print, and the last was ordered, but has never been printed, by the House of Commons, so that the members of the two Houses of Parliament are kept in ignorance of these startling facts.

Houses of Parliament kept in ignorance of startling facts.

Nothing is more unfortunate than the general confidence in the watchfulness of the Court of Chancery over this property; the whole process is as destructive as it is visionary, and certain expense, with possible ruin, must attend any person who attempts to protect his invalid relative, by petition to the Lord Chancellor. A petitioned Lord Cottenham that a reference might be made to the Master to inquire into the actual state of his brother, and whether a milder course than that pursued might be beneficial to the lunatic. Lord Cottenham refused the application with costs against A, which amounted to £120. This apparent injustice was most considerate of his Lordship, for had the petition been granted it must have cost A, or the estate, at least one thousand pounds. Upon the retirement of Lord Cottenham from office the committee adopted successfully the course recommended by A. evidently fearing Lord Lyndhurst's humane interposition, who was supposed to be personally acquainted with the case.

Returns of property, &c., of lunatic wards kept back by the Honourable Court of Chancery.

The perpetration of gross injustice by Lord Cottenham.

Everything connected with this branch of the Lord Chancellor's duty as guardian, after the Committee has been appointed, is conducted with the secrecy of the tribunal of the Roman

The Court of Chancery conducted with the

secrecy of
the Roman
Catholic in-
quisition.

The Crown
of England
slandered by
the enormi-
ties perpe-
trated by
its High
Court of
Chancery.

Lord
Brougham's
Bill on
behalf of
lunatics.

Salaries of
the perpe-
trators of
Chancery
persecu-
tions.

Catholic inquisition, no reporters being permitted in the master's office, and even relatives being excluded, except the heir at law, and he is said to be allowed to be present, not by right, but by sufferance. In these remarks we beg respectfully to repudiate the remotest intention of any personal attack upon the honour of the Lord Chancellor, the masters, or their subordinates; it is the precedents upon which they are bound to act, that we would expose—for they all tend, as regard lunacy, to vitiate justice, perpetuate persons, wards of Chancery, and encourage cruelties which are a stain on the jurisprudence of a Christian land.

This was felt by Lord Brougham, who in 1833 introduced a Bill dated 24th July, to diminish the expense of commissions in the nature of writs *de lunatico inquirendo* and to provide for the better care of lunatics. Under it, authority is given to the Lord Chancellor to appoint, as visitors of lunatics, three persons, two of whom shall be physicians, and one a barrister of not less than five years standing. Also, a secretary, with salaries and expenses as follows:—

Two physicians £500 a year each	..	£1000	0	0
One barrister, at	..	300	0	0
One secretary	..	300	0	0
For an office and general expenses	..	300	0	0
		£1900	0	0

Exclusive of travelling expenses, which might be allowed by the Lord Chancellor.

By a return ordered July 8th, 1851, it appears there was paid to this Board.

From June 1844 to January 1845	..	£3268	14	0
„ 1845 „ 1846	..	3043	8	0
„ 1846 „ 1847	..	3009	16	0
„ 1847 „ 1848	..	2839	10	0
„ 1848 „ 1849	..	2756	0	0

Reports of
medical
visitors of
the Court of
Chancery to
be kept
“*secret*,” &c.

The Act further says, that each of such persons so found lunatic shall be visited at least once a year, by one of such medical visitors, who, after such visitation, shall respectively make a report to the Lord Chancellor, in writing, of the state of mind and bodily health and general condition, and of the care and treatment pursued to each such person visited, which reports are to be duly filed and kept secret in the office of such visitors, and shall be open to the inspection of *no person whatever, except*

the said visitors, their secretary, and the Lord Chancellor, or such as the Lord Chancellor shall appoint.

This Bill was passed in 1833, when the number of Chancery lunatics was 386; their numbers now are about 600.

The Board consisted of Dr. Southey, Dr. Bright, Mr. Phillimore, barrister, and Mr. Enfield their secretary, who, when the Masters in Lunacy were appointed, became also chief Clerk to them, with a salary of £800 a year, in addition to the £300 he previously had.

Officers of
the Court
of Inquisi-
tion.

It must be evident *these two medical gentlemen in general practice* cannot be expected to watch over the care and treatment of the 531 Chancery lunatics, nor do they pretend to do so. The Board is constructed for the purpose of assisting the Lord Chancellor, but it is not paid to *regulate the treatment* or watch over the expenditure of the Committees, beyond mentioning in the 531 Reports the state in which they find the lunatics; nor with such salaries can more be expected of them.

If all men were taught that none were exempted from this malady, on adequate existing causes being applied, such an opinion might be useful, by inducing them to reflect on the possibility of their becoming the victims of its humiliating influence, as in the cases of Lords Liverpool, Castlereagh, Ward, and others of both Houses of Parliament; and might lead to the real amelioration of the treatment of lunatic wards of Chancery. Nothing is more cruel and unnecessary than that of sending any person possessed of wealth to the ordinary lunatic asylums, where he is compelled to witness scenes, and encounter degradations, in the way of society and otherwise, tending not only to retard his recovery, but to render his malady permanent. Yet there are 238 of the lunatic wards of Chancery so treated. The money annually paid for their maintenance, without further additional expense, would amply enable a Board and the two Masters in Lunacy, (if adequate powers only were given, under the authority of the Lord Chancellor), to place them all at asylums solely appropriated to wards of Chancery, under the care of medical men who would have an interest not in continuing them there, but in restoring them to society. Detached cottages for convalescents might surround these dwellings, and means of attending public worship be afforded.

Lords
Liverpool,
Castlereagh, &c.,
on lunacy.

Atrocious
treatment
of Wards in
Chancery.

The absence of protection to Chancery lunatics is illustrated in the two following examples :

A Chancery patient charged £300 per annum and employed to perform revolting services.

"Mr. C., the committee to a lunatic, receives £300 a year by Lord Chancellor's order, pays £200 for his maintenance in a lunatic asylum. A similar prisoner, Mr. Owen Gray, a Chancery patient of £600 a year income, used to be employed in scouring the chamber-pots, shaking the carpets, making the beds, sweeping the rooms, and carrying water. He was to be seen every day, when the weather was fine enough, seated on a stool in the garden, near the muck-heap, with tucked-up shirt-sleeves, and cloth in hand, washing out the chamber-pots in a tub of water. He paid five guineas a week (that is, it was paid out of his income), for the rooms occupied by me during my abode in the madhouse; he certainly was never in them all the time I was there."—*Richard Paternoster, Barrister.*

(To be continued.)

TERRIBLE INCREASE OF LEGAL TORMENTORS.

THE PLAGUE OF LOCUSTS.

Society is to be afflicted with a further increase of 239 solicitors.

On Tuesday notices required by the act were given in the Court of Queen's Bench to the number of 239 to be placed on the roll of attorneys, already numbering upwards of 10,000.—*Morning News, May, 1856.*

HUGH MACCARMONT CAIRNS, ESQ., M.P. FOR BELFAST, Q.C., EQUITY DRAUGHTSMAN AND COMPOSER TO THE INQUISITION!

THE twenty-fourth or last interrogatory put by the learned barrister to Charles William Gregory and to his brother Edward Henry Gregory, for the purpose of entertaining the audience of the High Court of Chancery (or otherwise to puzzle the defendants, who, by not replying satisfactorily, become candidates for the Bastile) reads thus:—

Extraordinary composition of an equity draughtsman.

"Have or hath, or had not the said defendants, or one and which of them, or the agents or solicitor's agent, or solicitor of them, or some and which of them, now or lately, and when last in their, his, or her possession, custody, or power, divers or some and what deeds, evidences, and writings, drafts, copies, and abstracts of deeds, evidences, and writings, securities, letters, copies of letters, accounts, books of account, receipts, vouchers, memorandums, and paper writings, deed, evidence, writing, draft, copy, or abstract of a deed, evidence, or writing, security, account, book of account, letter, copy of a letter, receipt,

voucher, memorandum, or paper writing, belonging or relating to the said partnership, or to the trade carried on by the defendant under the firm of Desnaux and Company, or the other matters and things in the said bill stated, or some and which of them, or whereby if the same were produced, or otherwise, and how the truth of such several matters and things, or some and which of them, would appear—set forth a proper list or schedule of every such deed, evidence, writing, draft, copy, or abstract of a deed, evidence, or writing, security, account, book of account, receipt, voucher, letter, copy of a letter, memorandum, or paper writing as aforesaid, distinguishing such of the same as are from such as are not in the possession, custody, or power of the said defendants, or their agents or solicitors, or any of them respectively, and set forth what hath become of such of them as are not now in their possession, custody, or power.”

Note.—The defendants are respectively required to answer all these interrogatories.

April, 1856.

H. M. CAIRNS.

Time-consuming fuel for the Court of Chancery.

H. M. Cairns, M.P. and Q.C., a *patronage* seeking candidate for the Bench or any other situation requiring *genius*.

COURAGEOUS ASSAULT BY THE TIPSTAFF OF THE COURT OF CHANCERY.

*Bastile of the High Court of Chancery,
alias Queen's Prison, Borough,
Southwark, 22nd April, 1856.*

MESSRS. GREGORY, CHINERY AND CO.

MY DEAR SIRs,

I arrived at my office in Ingram-court yesterday as usual, at a quarter past eight o'clock, and while seated at my desk writing to the Secretary of State for the Home Department on public business, a powerful man introduced himself to me as the Tipstaff of the High Court of Chancery, who, without the ceremony of reading his warrant or handing to me a copy, seized me by the collar and dragged me with great force off my chair, tearing the buttons off my waistcoat. I was quite unprepared for such harsh treatment, either from him or my partners, as I had attended my office for upwards of twenty-six years, without (from any cause) absenting myself, until last June, when I was recommended to proceed to Switzerland. I could not therefore surrender my liberty without knowing for what ; and, after some

C. W. Gregory wrote to the Secretary of State for the Home Department on the 6th July, 1855, suggesting suitable military music for the people on Sundays, also on the same subject on the 14th and 21st April, 1856.

Signature of Lord Cranworth for the Commitment of C. W. G. to the Bastille of the Inquisition.

A legal scorpion and his mild accomplice.

Vice-Chancellor Wood in league to stop exposure of the perpetration of atrocities in his Court.

The Legislature composed of too many lawyers.

persuasion, I succeeded in inducing the officer to permit one of my clerks to read his warrant. I then asked him to release his grasp, as I told him I could not escape, which he declined, until another clerk came up and spoke to him. As I was not permitted to touch the warrant or to take a copy, he pointed to the signature of the Lord Chancellor "Lord Cranworth." I thereupon surrendered myself a prisoner and am confined here. This morning information was brought to me that last evening a Sheriff's officer had introduced himself into my private residence at Forest-hill, as from me, when he gave my sisters to understand he had been sent to distrain my goods and chattels, for costs of sixty pounds, and for seven pounds Sheriff's fees, &c., incurred by the respectable solicitor Robert Blackburn, Esquire, of Surrey-street, Strand, the accomplice of Frederick Desnaux, referred to in my printed report of proceedings against me in Chancery. No bill was ever furnished to me, neither had Mr. Blackmore, or his client, applied to me for payment.

The Vice-Chancellor having decreed that I am not to touch my money, but to leave it all in the hands of my partners, Ogilby, Moore and Power, it is possible he and they with the legal profession may be in league to stop my movements for the exposure and suppression of the cruel atrocities perpetrated and encouraged against mankind in the High and Honourable Court of Chancery, under the garb of honour, righteousness and reputation. Their object is not, however, likely to be successful ; and as the Legislature is composed of many interested members of the legal profession, it is not likely the people will get any redress there ; so that they must now begin to prepare law for themselves.

As it is not possible for me to be released out of this, unless I commit perjury, by swearing I am sorry for treating with contempt the injunctions obtained from the Court under corrupt and false evidence, I shall do all I can for my fellow-prisoners while here.

Remaining, my dear Sirs,

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES ADOPTED IN CHANCERY,

UPON WHICH HIS HONOUR VICE-CHANCELLOR SIR W. PAGE, WOOD, KNIGHT, ORDERED THE COMMITMENT OF CHARLES W. GREGORY TO THE BASTILE OF THE HIGH COURT OF CHANCERY.

"It is a privilege to comment stringently, and, if necessary, severely, on the proceedings of courts of justice; freely to canvass their decisions, and, if need be, to hold them up as erroneous."—LORD CAMPBELL, *House of Lords*, July 6th, 1855.

In the High and Honourable Court of Chancery of England, (were it called the Papistical Court of Inquisition of England, its meaning would be better implied).

LEGITIMATE commerce between England and the native traders of the West Coast of Africa condemned by the honourable free-trade Member of Parliament, John Forster, and Andrew Swanzy, Esqrs., African barterers, and confirmed by Macgregor Laird, Esq., a director of the African Steam Ship Company, whose evidence, prepared in secret by affidavit, by those highly respectable solicitors, Tatham, Upton, Upton and Johnson, Esqrs., of Austin-friars, was successfully pleaded by those talented advocates of truth and justice, John Rolt, Esq., Queen's Counsel, and Hugh MacCalmont Cairns, Esq., Queen's Counsel, Equity Draughtsman, an unpaid member of the House of Commons, and a professed advocate of the liberty of the people. The learned and penetrating honourable Vice-Chancellor, Sir W. Page Wood, Knight, ultimately deemed it necessary to grant the required injunction for the committal of the defendant.

The following report of his Honour's judgment appeared in the *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette* of the 15th of March, 1856:—

CHANCERY COURT.

Ogilby v. GREGORY.—(Before Vice-Chancellor Wood.)—This cause came before the court again on Thursday last, when the Vice-Chancellor gave judgment as follows:—

This is a case in which I entertain as little doubt as it is now presented to me, as I did when it was formerly before me under different circumstances. The question now is one of a very different character. It is, whether or not this gentleman (the

J. Forster, the Hon. Member for Berwick-on-Tweed and Andrew Swanzy, enemies to freedom of commerce. Secret unscrupulous evidence prepared by Tatham, Upton and Co., for the Court of Chancery. Hugh MacCalmont Cairns, a talented equity draughtsman. The penetrating Vice-Chancellor Wood.

Clandestine notions of a Knight of the Chancery furnace.

defendant), in the course he has thought fit to take, in the clandestine manner in which he has acted, has not justified the plaintiffs now in saying that they have no longer that confidence which ought to exist between partners, and that the time has arrived when the court must see its way clearly (and in the present state of circumstances, I must say I do see my way very clearly to it) whether the result of the cause would not be a dissolution of the partnership, and, if so, whether they would not be entitled to an injunction? Then the question is, whether there are not also acts done by the defendant which justified the plaintiffs in saying that, until that dissolution and winding-up, the defendant ought to be restrained from interfering with the affairs of the partnership, using the partnership name, or pledging its credit, and from receiving or disposing of the partnership debts or assets. With regard to what has taken place in this gentleman's conduct, I think it is of a most reprehensible character. The partnership articles distinctly provide that no partner shall, without the consent of the others, "enter into or engage in any other trade or business in any way whatsoever, either separately or jointly, directly or indirectly, with any other persons whomsoever; nor become agent or assistant to any person or persons whomsoever for any purpose whatsoever." Nothing can be more plain or clear, than that none of them shall, without the consent of the others, directly or indirectly, enter into any other trade or partnership business whatsoever.

Broad ideas
of a Vice-
Chancellor.

The articles of partnership provide for the payment of a sum of money as liquidated damages for breach of the articles in this respect; but I look on this injunction as asked upon this much broader ground, and in these much broader terms, because he has been guilty systematically of a breach of these partnership articles, and has concealed that fact during the whole time he has been carrying on other business, which, by the articles, he was prohibited from doing. It has been argued that a partnership can only be dissolved where there has been a systematic breach after continued complaints and remonstrances. Now, how could there be any remonstrance here, when it has been going on, in fact, during the whole duration of the partnership, without any one of the partners, until now, knowing anything about it? Therefore, the case comes simply to this, whether or not, in a partnership, where the first rule of the court is, that among partners there must be *uberrima fides* in every respect, a partner who has carried on a separate business,

Inquisitorial
rule of the
Court of
Chancery
unaided by
a jury.

contrary to the articles, without informing his partners of it, can be allowed to continue any longer to have the direction or management of any portion of the business of the partnership? The case was this: The defendant was himself an active agent in the promotion of the African Steam Ship Company. One of the rules framed by the company, was, that no director, agent, or servant of the company, should directly or indirectly be engaged himself in the African trade, because it is obvious that the merchants would have their jealousy excited if the directors, who were to be the carriers of the goods, were to be themselves traders, and give themselves advantages with reference to freight, rapidity in loading or unloading, and the like. The answer of the defendant was not a very creditable one, I must say, to him. It is this:—"I, knowing that I was precluded, as a director of the Steam Navigation Company, from directly or indirectly being engaged in any business, took on myself to become a trader under another name, in order that it might not be known I was so engaged in that business. I traded under the firm of Desnaux and Co." And in his affidavit, he says he did it because he knew it was not competent for him to do it as a director. That, in the outset, is a very unfortunate statement for this gentleman to make. But then he says, as regards his partners, he did not believe it would be any damage to them, but, on the contrary, that it was to their interest as agents that the company should have as large a business as possible. But, in order to secure the confidence of traders, it was of equal importance to the company that their agents should not be traders, and some of the merchants have, in fact, taken umbrage at discovering that the defendant, one of the partners in Messrs. Ogilby's house, the agents of the company, was carrying on business as a trader; so that this gentleman not only engaged in a concern which he concealed from his partners, but engaged in a way, as it appears to me, extremely detrimental to the interests of his partners, and this without their having the slightest notion of it until they are accidentally informed of it in a manner which is in itself an aggravation of the defendant's conduct. The way in which they became acquainted with it is this:—The defendant and Mr. Desnaux* had disputes of their own, and the defendant, finding goods coming to Desnaux and

Unfortunate mis-conception of Vice-Chancellor Wood, Monopolizing merchants supply his honour Wood with selfish evidence.

* His Honour, from evidence before him, was aware Desnaux was Mr. Gregory's salaried servant and had misappropriated eight hundred pounds of his money to his own private purposes.

Vice-Chancellor
Wood's
gravamen
of the whole
offence, &c.

Co., by one of the Steam Company's ships, he, without consulting his partners, used the name of the firm of Ogilby and Co., as agents of the Steam Ship Company, to give an order for delivering goods out of the docks to an agent of the defendant not in the firm of Desnaux and Co., or Ogilby and Co.; thus making Ogilby and Co. liable to Mr. Desnaux for anything wrong which had happened to these goods from their misdelivery to a person against the consent of Mr. Desnaux. The gravamen of the whole offence here is, that the defendant had not only carried on the business clandestinely, but has used his position as a partner in the firm of Ogilby and Co., to make use of the name of the firm of Ogilby and Co., in order to determine the destination of goods which are in dispute between him and another person with whom Ogilby and Co. had no transaction, and as to whose connection with the defendant they were entirely ignorant. He settles his dispute with Mr. Desnaux in his own favour, by using the name of the firm of Ogilby and Co., to order their goods to be handed over to his own agent, as against Mr. Desnaux, who claims to be entitled to the goods, as partner with the defendant. I think a proceeding like that justifies a total want of confidence in the parties who entered into partnership, and justifies them in putting an end to the partnership, as I apprehend they would be entitled to do, at the hearing of this cause. Under that state of circumstances, I think they have a right to say he ought not to be any longer intrusted with using the name of their firm at all. Accordingly, it seems to me that that part of the injunction which asks to restrain him "from interfering in the affairs of the partnership, and from using the partnership name, or pledging the partnership credit, and from receiving or disposing of the partnership debts or assets, and from intermeddling with the affairs, should be granted; but I do not mean to prevent this gentleman attending at the office of the partnership, and looking at the books and other concerns there.

Unjust and
oppressive
injunction
of a Knight
of the Court
of Chan-
cery.

An injunction was then granted to restrain the defendant from acting or interfering in the affairs of the partnership firm of Ogilby, Moores, Gregory and Co., and using the partnership name, or pledging the partnership credit, and from receiving or disposing of the partnership debts or assets.

3, *Ingram Court, Fenchurch-street,*
March 18, 1856.

To the Editor of the *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*.

SIR,—I was sorry to find, by your gazette of the 15th instant, that that valuable mercantile organ had been made an instrument of designing persons to publish the case in the High Court of Chancery of *Ogilby v. Gregory*, in a very incorrect form, leaving out most important and valuable matter referred to by the Vice-Chancellor in my favour, and introducing, in its stead, misstatements.

The Shipping and Mercantile Gazette an instrument of designing persons.

As it is of the utmost public importance that correct reports of law intelligence should appear in your columns, will you oblige me with the name of the person who had the temerity to furnish you with such an atrocious report; at the same time publishing this letter as a caution to persons unscrupulously disposed.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY.

Austin Friars, March 22, 1856.

SIR,—Messrs. Ogilby, Moore and Power, inform us, that you are drawing checks, through the instrumentality of your brother Edward, which, we have no doubt, is an evasion of the injunction; and we trust it will not be persisted in, or our clients will be compelled to apply to the Court for redress.

A legal idea of an evasion of an unjust injunction.

We are, Sir, your obedient servants,

TATHAM, UPTON, UPTON AND JOHNSON.

C. W. Gregory, Esq.

3, *Ingram Court, Fenchurch-street,*
March 27, 1856.

To the Editor of the *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*.

SIR,—On the 18th instant I wrote to you for the name of the person who had furnished you with an incorrect account of the atrocious proceedings perpetrated against me and my brother, in the High Court of Chancery, of which I am sorry you have taken no notice.

The proceedings I am preparing for bringing to a criminal court of justice persons moving in the highest circles of society, will be such as, I fully expect, will condemn the Court of Chancery in its own furnaces. It is not now my wish that you should take any further notice of the matter, as the criminal

The Shipping and Mercantile Gazette takes no notice of an injustice perpetrated through its columns.

proceedings I am about to institute, at the Mansion House and Marlborough Police Courts, will place before the public startling facts. In conclusion, permit me to give you the words of Vice-Chancellor Wood, which were so studiously left out of the report sent to you:—The Vice-Chancellor observed, in delivering judgment against me (upon secretly obtained, perjured evidence), on the 13th March :—

Vice-Chancellor Wood's opinion as to a detective policeman, &c., placed over C. W. G. in his own office.

“ However, the present case seems to be rested upon entirely different grounds, though I am rather sorry that the old ground has, in some degree, been brought in question. If anything, my opinion is stronger than ever as to the state of this gentleman's mind; for it appears to me that, notwithstanding the great provocation, which I very much regret, the extreme provocation—everything which could have possibly brought out any latent remaining disposition towards insane action, if any such there were,—he has been perfectly calm, tranquil and composed, under circumstances of irritation of no ordinary character. Therefore I have little doubt that the gentleman is at present in a perfectly sane state of mind, and is likely so to continue.”

My crime, sir, for having again been cast by my partners into the Chancery furnace is, my having, under their imaginary ignorance, sent out circulars to the native traders of Africa, of the facility afforded them by the ships of the African Steam Ship Company (in which I am a considerable proprietor) of sending their produce direct to this country, taking our manufactures for their own advantage, instead of submitting to the old plan of bartering, at a great discouraging sacrifice, to selfish, monopolizing merchants.

As you will have to deal with some most momentous matter resulting from the proceedings which have been adopted against me, it might be well for you to permit one of the gentleman of your establishment to call upon me, and witness the fact, that I am under the surveillance of a detective policeman, placed by my partners in my own office, within four feet of the desk at which I am writing this letter, notwithstanding the remarks of the Vice-Chancellor thereon.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY.

P.S.—It was intimated to me last evening, that unless I submitted to give up my just rights and ideas of freedom of commerce and exposure of injustice, I subject myself to imprisonment in the dungeons of the “*High Court of Chancery*.”

In Chancery.

Between WILLIAM LAW OGILBY, SAMUEL BROWNING

POWER, and ANDREW FERGUSON MOORE *Plaintiffs,*
and

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY and EDWARD

HENRY GREGORY * *Defendants.*

I, JOHN FORSTER, of New City Chambers, in the City of London, merchant, make oath and say as follows :—

1.—I say that I have been engaged as a merchant in the African trade for twenty years, and have been in the habit of shipping goods by the ships of the African Steam Ship Company running to the West Coast of Africa.

Scrupulous
oath of the
righteous
free-trade
Member for
Berwick-on-
Tweed.

2.—I say that the conduct of the defendant, Charles William Gregory, in entering into the said trade, was unfair to the merchants in the trade ; because the circumstance of the said Charles William Gregory's firm being agents of the said company gave him advantages and facilities which the other merchants in the trade did not possess, and might enable him also to injure the other merchants, by retarding the shipment and delivery of their goods and by various other acts, and might turn his knowledge of what shipments they were making to his profit and their disadvantage. And I say that the merchants who ship goods by the said company's vessels instead of other ships, ought to have the assistance of their agents, and ought not to be exposed to their competition.

What John
Forster
would do
himself he
lays to the
charge of
C. W. G.

An honest
free-trader
fearful of
competition

3.—I say that on discovering that the said Charles William Gregory had been carrying on the said business under the firm of Frederick Desnaux and Company, I complained of it to his partners, Messrs. Ogilby and Moore, who assured me, and I verily believe it to be true, that the said Charles William Gregory had done it without their knowledge and had concealed it from them.

Solicited
evidence
gladly given
by John
Forster,
M.P.

J. FORSTER.

{ Sworn at my Office, No. 1, White Hart Court,
Lombard Street, in the City of London,
this 8th day of March, 1856,

Before me,

PETER A. BURRELL,

A London Commissioner to administer
Oaths in Chancery.

A desire to
procure
C. W.
Gregory's
incarcera-
tion into a
madhouse
defeated.

* Made a defendant because he would not join his partners, Ogilby, Moore, and Power, and upwards of twenty-six suborned, bribed, false-witnesses, amongst whom were the inspired Doctors Alexander John Sutherland, Forbes Winslow, Herbert

In Chancery.

Between WILLIAM LAW OGILBY, SAMUEL BROWNING

POWER, and ANDREW FERGUSON MOORE, *Plaintiffs,*

and

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY, and EDWARD

HENRY GREGORY, *Defendants.*

Discovery
of a mare's
nest by a
non-pro-
prietor in
the African
Steamship
Company.

I, ANDREW SWANZY, of 39, Clement's Lane, in the City of London, merchant, make oath and say as follows, that is to say :—

1.—I say, that having seen an advertisement in the *London Gazette*, of the fifth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, of the dissolution of partnership* between Frederick Desnaux, and Charles William Gregory, I called upon Messieurs Ogilby and Company for an explanation, deeming it to be very improper and unjust towards the regular merchants in the African trade, that one of the agents of the African Steam Ship Company should have gone into that trade, because his position as agent gave him facilities for competing with and injuring them.

The free-
trader
Andrew
Swanzy,
objects
to the
enlighten-
ment of
native Afri-
can traders.

2.—I say that, in particular, the agent of the Company might get undue preference given to goods shipped by him, and might get other merchants' goods delayed and kept back by the influence he would have with the captains, and otherwise.

3.—I say, that it is my intention to call upon the directors of the said company to remove the agency of the said ships from the firm of Ogilby, Moores, Gregory and Company, in consequence of such conduct of the said Charles William Gregory, in entering into the said Trade.

4.—I say, I have been informed, and verily believe, that the said firm of Frederick Desnaux and Company caused circulars to be delivered by one or more of the captains of the said Company's steamers, to correspondents of mine, and of other merchants in the said trade, with the view of diverting ship-

Henry Southey, (one of the Lord Chancellor's Visitors of Lunatics), and Thomas Harrington Tuke, the noted proprietor of Chiswick House, who profess, with the aid of lucre, to make men sane or insane at pleasure. More unscrupulous evidence was never manifested, but which the Honourable Knight considered on the 16th of January, to use his own words, "extremely fair evidence," treating the evidence of Professor Taylor, on behalf of the defendant, with contumely.

* Not a dissolution of Partnership, but merely a protective notification that all matters between the defendant and Desnaux were at end, inserted, however, against the conviction of Mr. Gregory, but urged as a precaution by Mr. Sandilands.

ments from us to the said firm of Frederick Desnaux and Company, that they might obtain the sale thereof.

A. SWANZY. {	Sworn at my Office, 29, Lombard Street, in the City of London, this 8th day of March, 1856, Before me R. SWEETING, A London Commissioner to administer Oaths in Chancery.
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In Chancery.

Between WILLIAM LAW OGILBY, SAMUEL BROWNING

POWER, and ANDREW FERGUSON MOORE, *Plaintiffs.*
and

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY, and EDWARD

HENRY GREGORY, *Defendants.*

I, MACGREGOR LAIRD, of number 3, Mincing Lane, in the City of London, shipowner, make oath and say as follows :—

1.—I say that I was the projector, and, up to the thirty-first of October last, was the managing director, of the African Steam Ship Company referred to in the affidavit of the defendant, Charles William Gregory, sworn in this cause, on the first day of March, instant ; and I am still a director of the said company.

2.—I say, that on the formation of the company, it was decided that no one engaged in the trade with the West Coast of Africa should be a director of the company ; and that no officer or servant of the company should be allowed to trade directly or indirectly, or act as agent for any person engaged in the African trade.

A scrupulous Director takes up an untruth.

3.—I say, that the defendant, Charles William Gregory, was a party to, and aware of, this arrangement ; and that, as managing director of the African Steam Ship Company, I stated publicly, and at all times, to the merchants engaged in the African trade, that such arrangement existed, and would not be allowed to be infringed upon.

Had such been the fact the Company would never have been formed.

4.—I say, that I was not aware that the said Charles William Gregory had any connection with the African trade ; and that if I had been aware that such was the case, I would have ceased to employ Messieurs Ogilby, Moores, Gregory and Company, of which firm he is a partner, as brokers to the company's ships. And the said Charles William Gregory, by forming such con-

nection, has very much perilled the appointment which his said firm holds as agents of the said company.

MACGREGOR LAIRD.

{ Sworn at my office, 11, London Street,
in the City of London, this 10th day of
March, One thousand eight hundred
and fifty-six,

Before me

WILLIAM MURRAY,

{ A London Commissioner to Administer
Oaths in Chancery.

In Chancery.

Between WILLIAM LAW OGILBY, SAMUEL BROWNING

POWER, and ANDREW FERGUSON MOORE *Plaintiffs.*

and

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY and EDWARD

HENRY GREGORY *Defendants.*

WE, CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY and EDWARD HENRY GREGORY, both of Ingram Court, Fenchurch Street, in the City of London, Ship and Insurance Brokers, severally make oath and say as follows :—

1.—We both say that the defendant Charles William Gregory was one of the parties principally concerned in establishing the African Steam Ship Company, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, and acted as a director and temporary secretary in the formation of the said company, and contributed much, as we believe, thereto, by his exertions and influence. The defendant Charles William Gregory also became a considerable shareholder in the said company, and his services and those of his then partners were rendered on the understanding that the firm were to be the agents of the said company and were to exert themselves as much as possible in obtaining cargoes for the vessels of the said company. We know the facts above stated of our own knowledge.

2.—We both say that we never heard or suspected, until it was so alleged in the affidavit of the plaintiff William Law Ogilby, sworn in this cause on the third day of March instant, and we do not believe, that when the said firm were appointed agents of the said company, it was upon the express understanding that the said firm should not become traders, and we deny the fact of any such understanding, expressed or implied. If any such understanding had existed, we believe it to have been impossible

but that it must have become known to the defendant Charles William Gregory, as a director and temporary secretary of the said company, or to both or one of us as members of our said firm. The object of the Government in paying a sum of upwards of twenty thousand pounds per annum to establish a line of steamers to the West Coast of Africa, which was the origin of the said African Steam Ship Company, was to remove the restrictions upon native traders and to afford and encourage the greatest facilities of communication with the said coast. It is very common for ship and insurance brokers to ship goods on their own account, and we have never in the whole course of our experience heard of any objection to such a practice, and we believe that if such complaints have been made to the plaintiff William Law Ogilby as are stated in the second paragraph of his said affidavit, they have been invited by communications previously made by himself to the parties making such complaints. We (each of us speaking for himself,) say that we have never heard of any such complaints being made by any one until mentioned in the said affidavit.

The object of a Government subsidy to open up trade with the West Coast of Africa attempted to be defeated by Mr. Laird.

3.—I, the defendant Charles William Gregory, say that, when it first occurred to me to make the experiment of endeavouring to open up a trade with the said West Coast of Africa, I did not believe or suspect that in doing so I should be, in any degree, acting in contravention of my articles of partnership; and no doubt ever arose in my mind on that subject, until my attention was drawn to it by my solicitor, in the month of November last. I believe, in fact, that, in the state of relations which existed between myself and partners, until the month of June last, our articles of partnership were scarcely ever adverted to by any of us. I had no copy or minute of such articles myself, and I never saw them from the time of their being signed until after the said month of June last.

4.—We both say, that the said Charles William Gregory never intended, in making the said experiments, to devote his own time or attention to it beyond giving occasional direction and advice as to its management; nor was it his intention to continue it; but, on the contrary, his object and intention were, if it turned out successful, to place one or more of our brothers in it in connection with Frederick Desnaux, the person in whose name it was instituted; and the said Frederick Desnaux was perfectly aware of such intention. I, the said Charles William Gregory, know the facts stated in this paragraph of my own

knowledge; and I, the said Edward Henry Gregory, know them from constant communication with the said Charles William Gregory, at the time, and during the continuance, of such experiment.

5.—I, the said deponent Charles William Gregory, further say, that the said experiment was commenced in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-three, during the time of my partnership with the plaintiff, William Law Ogilby, and the late Robert Ogilby Moore, and before the time of my present partnership; and both the said William Law Ogilby, and Robert Ogilby Moore, had, on several occasions, without my consent or concurrence, engaged in speculations or adventures on their own private account, as well as on account of the firm; and on two of such speculations in grain engaged in by them on account of the firm, one with Messieurs G. L. Jackson and Sons, without my concurrence or even knowledge; and the other with Messieurs W. and R. Hickson, not without my knowledge, but without my consent, losses (and, in the latter case, of considerable amount) were sustained. I believe that such speculations were contrary to the articles of partnership existing at the time, but that such articles were not adverted to by any of us.

6.—In reference to the statement contained in the third paragraph of the said affidavit of the said William Law Ogilby, that, in the month of September last, he put a stop to the insurance therein-mentioned being continued in the name of our said firm and put it into his own name, and that it was his intention to let the firm have the benefit of any profit that might result from it. We both say, that the paper writings marked A and B, hereto annexed, are true extracts from the ledger of our said firm, for the months of September, October, and November last. The paper writing marked A, is the account of insurances undertaken and done by the said firm on their own account and risk; and the paper writing marked B, is an account of insurances undertaken and done by the said William Law Ogilby on his own account and risk; and the said papers show that the statement of the said William Law Ogilby is not correct, that he stopped the insurance in the name of the said firm; but that insurances were continued to be made by the said firm at the same time that the said William Law Ogilby was making insurances in his own name. The insurances so undertaken by the said William Law Ogilby in his own name were without the

consent or concurrence of either of us, and we have never heard, and do not believe, that it was intended that either of us should participate in any benefit from such insurances.

7.—In reference to the statements contained in the sixth paragraph of the said affidavit of the said William Law Ogilby, expressing his belief that the screen therein referred to was erected by the plaintiff Andrew Ferguson Moore, and that the man therein referred to had been employed by him, solely from a sincere conviction in his mind that it was necessary for his personal safety; we both say that the office in which such screen (or more properly barrier) is erected, is a room of the length of thirty-five feet or thereabouts, and of the width of twenty-one feet and upwards, having a fire-place at each end, and fronting eastwards upon Ingram Court aforesaid, from which it is lighted by five windows, aided as to two of such windows by outside reflectors; the eastern side of such room nearest the windows, to the width of about nine or ten feet, is railed or partitioned off, and fitted up with desks in succession for the partners and clerks of our said firm, and at the extremity of the room from the entrance are two desks, one on either side of the fire-place, nearly in a line with each other, both of which derive their light principally from one of the before-mentioned windows, which is partly in a line with such desks, and partly a little to the rear thereof. The desk on the western or dark side of the room is that occupied by the said Charles William Gregory, and that nearly in a line with it near the window is the desk occupied by the plaintiff Andrew Ferguson Moore. The screen or barrier referred to, which is a most unsightly and conspicuous object, covered with unpainted sheet iron on the side next to the desk of the said Charles William Gregory, has been constructed so as to intervene between the desk of the said Andrew Ferguson Moore and that of the said Charles William Gregory, and to intercept or obstruct the light from about three-fourths of the window from which such last-mentioned desk is lighted as aforesaid. A straight line drawn from the centre of the desk of the said Charles William Gregory to the last-mentioned window touching the top of the said screen or barrier, terminates at the lower end of the uppermost pane of such window, below which nearly the whole window is covered or intercepted by the said screen or barrier. The position of the person employed by the said Andrew Ferguson Moore to watch the said Charles William

Partnership
indignities.

Gregory is within little more than three feet of his said desk, and such person sits facing the said Charles William Gregory, in an oblique direction at that distance whenever the plaintiff Andrew Ferguson Moore is in the house, and from his position there is barely room for the said Charles William Gregory, or any one, to pass to or from his said desk, and at times such person is obliged to move his legs to allow a free passage.

8.—Although the said plaintiffs were apprized, by a letter from our solicitors, on the seventeenth day of January last, of the intention of the said Charles William Gregory to return to his place of business on the twenty-first day of January, such screen or barrier had not been erected in anticipation of such return; but it was brought there on the day of the said Charles William Gregory's return, during the hours of business, while we were both in the office, and was partly fitted under our own eyes and in the presence of the clerks of the firm and customers, who from time to time came in and made observations upon it; and on the day following in like manner during business hours, and in our presence, and in the presence of the clerks and customers, it was permanently fixed.

9.—If the said Andrew Ferguson Moore had really felt any apprehension for his personal safety on the return of the said Charles William Gregory to his said place of business, he might have consulted his security much more effectually by changing his present desk for one at the further extremity of the room. In that case he would have been entirely removed from the said Charles William Gregory, and the said Andrew Ferguson Moore would not then have been obliged, as he is now, to pass and repass in close proximity to the said Charles William Gregory in going to or from his said desk. We believe, however, that it is the fact, and that the plaintiffs well know it to be the fact, that the object of the said Andrew Ferguson Moore, in erecting the said screen or barrier and employing such persons as afore-said, was to endeavour to annoy and degrade the said Charles William Gregory in the eyes of the clerks and customers of the house, and by that means to drive him out of the said firm, and several of the respectable clients of the house, whose attention has been attracted by the said screen or barrier, have expressed to us in strong terms their indignation at the proceedings of the said plaintiffs. The person so employed by the said Andrew Ferguson Moore does not attend him in the streets or anywhere except in the said office.

10.—We both say that the statements made by Joseph Norris, in his affidavit filed in this cause on the third day of March instant, on the part of the plaintiffs, that the said screen is a simple screen, and is not conspicuous, and is not so high as to exclude any light from the said Charles William Gregory's desk, and that there is no reason whatever for him to burn gas throughout the day, are wholly false. The light is, in fact, so obstructed by the said screen or barrier, as to oblige the said Charles William Gregory at almost all times, except in very bright weather, to burn a gas-light for the purpose of transacting his business during the day. The paper screen of three feet three inches long, stated by the said Joseph Norris to be placed round the said Charles William Gregory's desk, between him and the said man, consisted of two half-sheets of cartridge paper placed between the desk on which the said Charles William Gregory writes, and the light top-rail which surrounds it; and such paper has recently been used by the said Charles William Gregory to intercept the obtrusive curiosity of the said man who, otherwise, would at all times be in a position to look him in the face while at his said desk. The said Charles William Gregory has since caused a ground glass screen to be put up in the same position as the paper for a similar purpose.

CHARLES WILLIAM
GREGORY.
E. H. GREGORY.

Sworn at my place of business, 32, Fenchurch Street, in the City of London, this Eleventh day of March, One thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, by both the deponents.

Before me,
WILLIAM WELD WREN,
A London Commissioner to administer
Oaths in Chancery.

In Chancery.

BETWEEN WILLIAM LAW OGILBY, SAMUEL BROWNING

POWER, and ANDREW FERGUSON MOORE *Plaintiffs,*
and

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY and EDWARD

HENRY GREGORY *Defendants.*

WE, CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY and EDWARD HENRY GREGORY, both of Ingram Court, Fenchurch Street, in the City of London, Ship and Insurance Agents, severally make oath, and say as follows:—

1.—By the articles of partnership of the firm of Ogilby, Moores, Gregory and Company, in the pleadings of this cause mentioned, it is stipulated and provided that on the thirty-first day of December then next (meaning the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four), and on the thirty-first day of December in every succeeding year, during the continuance of the said partnership, a full and general account in writing shall be made and taken of all the dealings of the trade or business thereof, and of all the monies, stocks, debts and effects which shall then be due, or owing, or belonging to the said copartnership, and that on the settlement of every such annual account, the clear gains and profits of the said trade or business, or such parts or portions thereof as the said partners may mutually agree on, shall be divided between them in the several shares and proportions in which they respectively are to be entitled to the same, and that the surplus or residue thereof (if any) shall be retained and employed in the said joint trade or business, for or towards the improvement or increase thereof.

2.—A similar provision was contained in the articles of partnership of the firm which preceded the said firm of Ogilby, Moores, Gregory and Company, and in which the said Charles William Gregory was a partner.

3.—Very large profits have been made by both the said firms ; but the books of the said former firm have never been made up and closed, so as to shew the gains and profits thereof ; and in like manner, the books of the present firm have never been made up and balanced, so as to shew the gains and profits thereof ; and we verily believe that the making up and balancing of such books has been studiously avoided by the plaintiff, William Law Ogilby, and the other plaintiffs, to prevent the amount of the gains and profits of the said firms being known, while the said plaintiffs were making offers to us for our retirement from the present partnership.

4.—If the books of the said present partnership had been made up and balanced in accordance with the said articles, we verily believe that, giving the said Charles William Gregory credit for what is due to him from the said former firm, it would appear that he would now have standing to his credit in such books between six thousand pounds and seven thousand pounds ; and we believe the statement made by the plaintiff, William Law Ogilby, in his affidavit, sworn in this cause, to the effect that all the money the said Charles William Gregory has now in the

said firm, that can be considered as capital, amounts to the sum of one thousand two hundred and twenty-four pounds, two shillings and one penny, down to the first April instant, is a misstatement and subterfuge, to give an erroneous impression of the amount of the said Charles William Gregory's interest in the said partnership business.

5.—That the said plaintiffs, in the month of February last, through their solicitors, made to us, through our solicitors, an offer of two thousand pounds to retire from the said partnership ; and although we declined such offer, as utterly inadequate, and we further declined to negotiate under threat of an appeal against the order of this court, which had then recently been made in this suit, and the suit instituted by us against the plaintiffs, the plaintiff's solicitors were, as we are informed, told by our solicitors, that we should be willing to retire from the said partnership on being paid three years' purchase of the amount of our respective interests therein, or to that effect ; but the said plaintiffs have never made to us any offer of arrangement based upon or having reference to our shares of the profits of the said partnership business.

6.—Although the said Charles William Gregory had at first some doubt as to the application of the order of the thirteenth day of March last, made in this cause, which led to the signing of two cheques by the defendant Edward Henry Gregory for him, we have since understood, and believe, that the said order was not intended to prevent the said Charles William Gregory from drawing such cheques for his own private purposes as he might reasonably have done if such order had not been made ; and it would be most unjust towards the said Charles William Gregory, that the said order should prevent him, while having so large an amount in the said firm, from drawing for his own purposes, and that other members of the said firm should be permitted to draw for their own purposes when and as they may think proper. Since the said thirteenth day of March last, the said William Law Ogilby, in the name of the said firm, has drawn out of assets of the said firm at their bankers, for his own private purposes, the sum of two thousand pounds, and he has altogether drawn for his own purposes out of the assets of the said firm since the month of July last, nearly eight thousand pounds over and above anything paid in or placed to his credit, and a considerable portion of the amount so drawn by him has been drawn by him without any authority for the same under the said articles of partnership.

7.—The said order of the thirteenth day of March last has not, as we are informed by our said solicitors, and verily believe, been completed, and the defendant Charles William Gregory has had no formal notice thereof; but the terms of the said order have not, as we verily believe, been infringed by the said Charles William Gregory, although it is our intention to have the same reconsidered by means of an appeal against the same.

8.—The said William Law Ogilby has, without our consent or knowledge, been engaged on various occasions in speculations in railway companies, mines, and otherwise, which we believe to have been contrary to the said articles of partnership of our said firm, and we only yesterday discovered that the said William Law Ogilby was put forward as a director in a speculation of which we had not previously had any intimation. The printed paper produced and shewn to us at the time of swearing this our affidavit, marked with the letter x, is an advertisement which appeared in *The Times* newspaper of the third day of April instant, and William Law Ogilby therein named is the plaintiff in this suit.

C. W. GREGORY.
E. H. GREGORY.

{ Sworn by both the deponents, Charles William Gregory and Edward Henry Gregory, at the Record and Writ Clerks' office, Chancery Lane, in the county of Middlesex, this 7th day of April, 1856,
Before me,
S. C. WARD.

Austin Friars, April 2, 1856.

OGILBY AND Co. v. YOURSELF.

Tatham,
Upton &
Co., Soli-
citors, and
manufac-
turers of un-
scrupulous
affidavits
for the
Chancery
furnace.

SIR,—We wrote you on the 22nd instant, at the instance of Messrs. Ogilby, Moore and Power, to protest against your drawing checks upon the banking account of your firm through the instrumentality of your brother. We now find that, although you have desisted from that course, you have been drawing and signing checks in the name of the firm yourself. To put a stop to a repetition of such conduct, Messrs. Ogilby, Moore and Power, have been compelled to give the bankers notice not to honour your checks on the banking account of your firm; so you had better, therefore, desist from any further attempts of the kind.

Messrs. Ogilby, Moore and Power, cannot, of course, allow your conduct in setting the order of the court at defiance to

pass unnoticed, and have instructed us to bring it before the court, and you must be prepared to take the consequences. You had full notice not to disregard the order, and have, therefore, no excuse that we can see, for what you have done.

We are, Sir, your obedient servants,

TATHAM, UPTON, UPTON AND JOHNSON.

C. W. Gregory, Esq.

Ingram Court, 4th April, 1856.

TATHAM, UPTON, UPTON AND JOHNSON, ESQUIRES.

YOUR arrogant and insulting notes of the 22nd ultimo and 2nd instant are before me. My partners, Ogilby, Moore and Power, as you are aware, finding their felonious act towards me and several members of my family (in July last, in dishonestly withdrawing the whole of the partnership balance from the bankers, when we had upwards of ten thousand pounds capital in the business, and Mr. Andrew Ferguson Moore and Mr. Samuel Browning Power none), was not countenanced by the Vice-Chancellor, who, in January last, ordered them to restore the balance to its proper account with Messrs. Barclay and Co., sought another atrocity, by placing a detective man in my office, within four feet of my desk,—a species of surveillance not tolerated in the most despotic country, not even I believe Austria; and although this act was simply alluded to by His Honour Vice-Chancellor Sir W. Page Wood, on delivering judgment on my second appearance in his furnace, when he observed on the 13th ultimo:—

Mercantile
despotism
not toler-
ated in
Austria.

“However, the present case seems to be rested upon entirely different grounds, though I am rather sorry that the old ground has in some degree been brought in question. If anything, my opinion is stronger than ever as to the state of this gentleman’s mind; for it appears to me that, notwithstanding the great provocation, which I very much regret,—the extreme provocation,—everything which could have possibly brought out any latent remaining disposition towards insane action, if any such there were, he has been perfectly calm, tranquil, and composed, under circumstances of irritation of no ordinary character. Therefore I have little doubt that the gentleman is at present in a perfectly sane state of mind, and is likely so to continue.”

A sorrowful
allusion of
His Honour
Wood on
the second
appearance
of C. W. G.
in his fur-
nace.

This was studiously left out of the report of His Honour’s judgment sent to the Editor of the *Shipping and Mercantile*

The milk
and honey
administered
by Vice-
Chancellor
Wood, &c.

Gazette for publication, to militate against me. The milk and honey so mildly administered by His Honour to ease the deliverance of the poisonous venom he had extracted from the wilful and corrupt evidence prepared under the shadow of your reputation against me, seems rather to have encouraged you and my partners in continuing to perpetrate atrocities against me; but all the threats of a continuation in the furnaces, or removal into the Bastile of the Honourable Court, are not likely to have the effect upon me so much desired.

I shall continue to draw my own money as usual, and the responsibility of dishonouring my checks will be at the peril of the perpetrators of such an atrocity.

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY.

Fraudulent
entry of
Tatham
and Co.'s
clerk, into
the house of
C. W. G.

This notice was delivered to Mr. Gregory at seven o'clock in the evening, at his private residence, the clerk from Messrs. Tatham and Co. representing himself as from the office of Messrs. Symes and Co. :—

In Chancery.

BETWEEN WILLIAM LAW OGILBY, SAMUEL BROWNING

POWER, and ANDREW FERGUSON MOORE, *Plaintiffs,*

AND

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY, and EDWARD

HENRY GREGORY, *Defendants,*

A special
move in the
Court of
Inquisition.

TAKE NOTICE, that, by special leave this day obtained for that purpose, this honourable Court will be moved on Monday next, the 7th day of April instant, or soon thereafter as counsel can be heard on behalf of the above-named plaintiffs, that the defendant Charles William Gregory may stand committed to the Queen's Prison for breach of the injunction granted against him by this honourable Court, in this cause, on the 13th day of March last.

Dated this 4th day of April, 1856.

Yours, &c.

TATHAM, UPTON, UPTON AND JOHNSON,

20, AUSTIN FRIARS,

Plaintiffs' Solicitors.

To the Defendant

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY.

VICE-CHANCELLOR WOOD.

Wednesday, the 9th day of April, One Thousand Eight
Hundred and Fifty-six,

BETWEEN WILLIAM LAW OGILBY, SAMUEL BROWNING

POWER, and ANDREW FERGUSON MOORE, *Plaintiffs.*
and

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY, and EDWARD

HENRY GREGORY *Defendants.*

WHEREAS, by special leave obtained for that purpose, Mr. Rolt and Mr. Cairns, of counsel for the plaintiffs, on the 4th day of April instant, moved that the defendant, Charles William Gregory, might stand committed to the Queen's Prison, for breach of the injunction granted against him by this Court in this cause, on the 13th day of March last. Whereupon, it was ordered, that the said application should stand over until the next day; when, upon renewing the said application, it was ordered that the said application should stand over, with leave to give a further notice to the defendant Charles William Gregory. And whereas the said Mr. Rolt and Mr. Cairns, of counsel for the plaintiffs, by special leave this day obtained for that purpose, and by way of amendment to the notice of motion given on the 4th day of April instant, this day moved and offered divers reasons unto this Court, that the defendant Charles William Gregory might stand committed to the Queen's Prison for breach of the said injunction, or that he might be further restrained by the order and injunction of this court, from attending the office of the partnership firm of Ogilby, Moores, Gregory and Company, and from intermeddling with the property, negotiable instruments, books, papers, accounts, or affairs thereof. Whereupon, and upon reading an affidavit of the plaintiff William Law Ogilby, filed the 4th day of March, 1856, and the Exhibits therein referred to, viz.—Exhibits A, B, C, D, E, F, G and H., being checks drawn on Messrs. Barclay, Bevan, Tritton and Company, Exhibit I* being

Special leave obtained for the commitment of C. W. G. to the Bastille, &c.

* EXHIBIT I, ONE OF THE DIVERS REASONS REFERRED TO :—

Notice is hereby given, that the first volume is now publishing, illustrated, and in royal octavo, of a religious, social, and political work, entitled *Public Opinion, and Record of Educated, Talented, and Talented Perpetrators of Crime and Injustice*. Dedicated to humanity, progress, and civilization; for the use of societies, universities, colleges, schools, &c., and dealing with all the present momentous topics. By Charles William Gregory, a Promoter and ex-Director of the African Steam Ship Company, second member of the firm of Ogilby, Moores, Gregory & Co., and for upwards of twenty-six years unceasingly engaged in navigation, commerce and civilization.

An objectionable intimation to respectable criminals.

a print of an advertisement ; Exhibits J and K, being respectively orders given by the defendant Charles William Gregory, to insert such advertisement ; and Exhibits L, M, O and P, being newspapers containing such advertisement. An affidavit of James Botwright, filed the said 4th day of April, 1856, and the Exhibits therein referred to, viz : Exhibit A being a copy of a letter from the plaintiff's solicitors to the defendant Charles William Gregory, dated the 22nd day of March, 1856. Exhibit B being a copy of another letter, from same to same, dated the 2nd day of April instant ; and Exhibit C being a letter from the defendant Charles William Gregory, to the plaintiff's solicitors, dated the 4th day of April, 1856. An affidavit of George Dennis Connell, filed the said 4th day of April, 1856. An affidavit of Edmund Gooding, filed the 5th day of April, 1856. An affidavit of Murray Maxwell Johnson. An affidavit of the plaintiff, William Law Ogilby. And a joint affidavit of all the plaintiffs, all respectively filed the 7th day of April, 1856. And a joint affidavit of both the defendants, filed the said 7th of April, 1856. And upon hearing what was alleged by counsel for the plaintiffs, and Willcock for the said defendant.

This Court doth order, that without prejudice to any application in respect of the said defendants' contempt for breach of the said injunction, an injunction be awarded to restrain the defendant Charles William Gregory from attending the office of the partnership firm of Ogilby, Moores, Gregory and Company, and from intermeddling with the property, negotiable instruments, books, papers, accounts, or affairs thereof, until the further order of this Court.

Ingram Court, February 29th, 1856, 8 P.M.

To the SUPERINTENDENT of the LONDON DOCKS.

The London Dock Company unable to justify themselves.

DEAR SIR—As I have not been favoured with a reply to my letter of this morning, wishing to be informed whether Desnaux had any ground for alleging that the London Dock Company refused to recognize orders to deliver certain goods ex *Ethiophe* and *Retriever*, to my brother Lesley Alexander Gregory, and that such attempt was defeated, I conclude that he was justified in affirming thereto owing to your friendly desire to serve my kind partners, Messrs. Ogilby, Moore and Power, and therefore it is not now necessary for you to favour me with a reply. You will in due time receive such instructions

from the Court of Chancery as will place it out of your power to facilitate my partners lending their friendly aid to an ungrateful servant of

Yours truly,

C. W. GREGORY.

THE London Dock Company, after having Mr. Gregory's support for upwards of twenty years, do what they can towards procuring his imprisonment, by permitting their clerk to give the following secret evidence against him, through those highly respectable (!) solicitors, Tatham, Upton, Upton and Johnson, Esquires :—

I, George Dennis Connell, of the London Docks, make oath, and say as follows : that on the 26th day of March last, I went to the office of Messrs. Ogilby, Moores, Gregory, and Co., to request that a vessel lying in the St. Katherine's Docks, called the *Christiana Carnell*, of which the said firm were the agents, might be removed into the London Docks and discharge her cargo there, to meet the wishes of the consignee of the cargo. I say that I made the said request to the said Charles William Gregory, and he at once refused it, saying, I might tell Mr. Chandler, the Superintendent of the London Docks, that this was the first ship he had lost, (meaning, as I verily believe, that the London Dock Company would not be allowed to have the benefit of the vessel's unloading in their docks), and that it should not be the last, and that he, the said Charles William Gregory, would use all his influence against the said Dock Company, to prevent ships going into the docks, as the said Mr. Chandler had chosen to go with the stronger party,—alluding, as I verily believe, to the circumstance of the said Mr. Chandler* having sent a clerk to the office of the said firm, to enquire the name of the ports of shipment of some goods consigned to F. Desnaux and Co. by the *Retriever*, mentioned in an order given in the name of the said firm, for the delivery of the said goods to Mr. Lesley Alexander Gregory, and the said Charles William Gregory added, "My partners have got an injunction to prevent my interfering in the business, but they cannot stop my mouth or my pen."

The London Dock Company's gratitude and condescension.

Lesley Alexander Gregory, of the firm of Gregory, Chinery and Co.

* While Mr. Gregory was interesting himself with the owner of the ship *John Greys*, to get her into the London Docks, Mr. Chandler was acting against him.

20, *Austin Friars*, April 9, 1856.

C. W. Gregory ordered away from his office by scorpions of the Court of Chancery.

SIR,—We beg to give you notice that the Court has this day made an order that you are not to attend at the office of your firm in Ingram Court, and we trust therefore that you will see the propriety of withdrawing from further attendance there. At the same time, it is our duty to add, that in the event of your setting the order of the Court at defiance, by persisting in your attendance at the office, you will be forthwith committed to prison for contempt of Court.

We are, Sir, your obedient servants,

TATHAM, UPTON, UPTON and JOHNSON.

C. W. Gregory.

In Chancery.

Between WILLIAM LAW OGILBY, SAMUEL BROWNING

POWER, and ANDREW FERGUSON MOORE *Plaintiffs*,
and

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY, and EDWARD

HENRY GREGORY *Defendants*.

Special leave obtained to move the Honourable Inquisition to rob C.W. Gregory of his liberty.

TAKE NOTICE, that, by special leave this day obtained for that purpose, this Honourable Court will be moved before His Honour the Vice-Chancellor, Sir William Page Wood, on Saturday, the 12th day of April instant, or so soon thereafter as counsel can be heard on behalf of the above-named plaintiffs, That the defendant Charles William Gregory may stand committed to the Queen's Prison for breach of the injunctions granted against him by this Honourable Court in this cause, on the 13th day of March last, and the 9th day of April instant; and that the said defendant Charles William Gregory may be ordered to pay to the plaintiffs their costs of this application and consequent thereon, to be taxed by one of the taxing masters of this Honourable Court.

Costs the god of the legal profession.

Dated this 11th day of April, 1856,

Yours, &c.,

TATHAM, UPTON, UPTON and JOHNSON.

To the defendant, C. W. Gregory.

A. F. Moore's tool and also material for the Inquisition.

AFFIDAVIT of SAMUEL BROWNING POWER, one of the above-named plaintiffs, sworn 11th April, 1856, say,—

1. I say that the defendant, Charles William Gregory, attended at the office of my firm in Ingram Court, Fenchurch Street, on

the 9th and 10th days of April instant, and is attending there this day, notwithstanding the order made in this cause by this Honourable Court, on the said 9th day of April instant, and I verily believe that he will continue to attend there until he is removed by legal process.

Fenchurch Street, 11th April, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,—The enclosed documents have this moment only reached me. Pray let me know if I can instruct Mr. Wilcock to say anything, or otherwise be of any use in the matter.

I am, my dear Sir, yours very faithfully,
C. W. Gregory, Esq. W. S. T. SANDILANDS.

Ingram Court, 12th April, 1856.

W. S. T. SANDILANDS, Esq.,

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received your note, with enclosures. As I foresaw, the law administered in the High Court of Chancery was carried on under the regal shield of honour, the usual protection for the unscrupulous, it will be useless my longer struggling against such powerful odds.

Remaining, my dear Sir, your humble servant,

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY.

“I would rather trust to the judgment of Israelite magistrates than to Christian judges such as England boasts of.”—C. W. GREGORY.

Justice of
Israelite
magistrates
better than
Christian
judges of
England.

The following correspondence has arisen out of the foregoing:—

25, Throgmorton Street, April 10th, 1856.

YOURSELF v. DESNAUX.*

DEAR SIR,—We much regret, that, after our conversation this morning, we think ourselves bound to inform you that we can no longer act as your solicitors in this suit, and we will therefore thank you to instruct some other gentleman to obtain the usual order in such cases. We have also felt it our duty to advise Mr. J. J. Travers to withdraw the affidavit made by him yesterday, as we feel confident that, had he been aware at the

Solicitors'
attempt to
coerce
C. W. G. to
submit to
Chancery
oppression
and injustice.

* Robert Blackmore, Esquire, Office 5, Surrey Street, Strand; residence 22, Circus Road, St. John's Wood; Solicitor and accomplice.

time of what has since transpired, he would not have made it. We lament the necessity for coming to the conclusion we have done, but hope you will agree with us that we cannot act as your solicitors with any benefit unless you consent to be guided by our advice.

We are, dear Sir, yours truly,

AMORY, TRAVERS and SMITH.

C. W. GREGORY, Esq.,

Ingram Court, Fenchurch Street.

Ingram Court, 8.15 A.M., April 11th, 1856.

MESSRS. AMORY, TRAVERS and SMITH.

GENTLEMEN,—I am this moment in receipt of your note of yesterday's date, by which I regret to find it is too true, what I expressed to your Mr. Travers, to the effect, "I feared he had not the moral courage to deal with truth and justice against the corrupt practices of the Honourable Vice-Chancellor Sir W. Page Wood, in a case between me and my partners."

You seem to overlook the fact that you are not my solicitors in the case you seem so desirous of meddling with, and of advising me. Messrs. Symes, Teesdale, and Sandilands are my solicitors therein; and when they abandon me to untruth and injustice, it will be time enough for me to apply to you for aid.

I therefore cannot permit you to abandon (on the ground you allege) your duty in the case you have in hand between me and my unscrupulous servant Desnaux, and I give you notice that any loss I may sustain by your act I shall hold you responsible for.

I am, Gentlemen, your humble servant,

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY.

25, Throgmorton Street, 11th April, 1856.

YOURSELF v. DESNAUX.

DEAR SIR,—We have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, the tenor of which tends to confirm us in our opinion that we cannot any longer continue to act as your solicitors in this suit; and we hope you will consider this as our final determination; and we express an earnest desire that you will *immediately* consult some other gentleman, in order that you may not sustain any prejudice as respects the present proceed-

ings. We have to remind you that to-morrow is the last day for filing affidavits in support of your application to be appointed receiver. We have sent to the office three times to-day for the purpose of communicating with Mr. E. H. Gregory on the subject.

We are, dear Sir, yours truly,

AMORY, TRAVERS AND SMITH.

C. W. Gregory, Esq.,

Ingram Court, Fenchurch Street.

Ingram Court, 8.15 A.M., April 12th, 1856.

MESSRS. AMORY, TRAVERS AND SMITH.

GENTLEMEN,—I am this morning in receipt of your note of yesterday's date, by which you seem to transfer my note to you of yesterday to your own advantage, that you may enter the ranks of the legions of His Honour Vice-Chancellor Sir W. Page Wood.

Amory,
Travers and
Smith, ac-
complices
of His
Honour Sir
W.P.Wood.

I have, as you are aware, already suffered a loss of between two and three thousand pounds by the atrocious delay of the Honourable Court's proceedings, and every day reduces the value of the palm oil, gums, &c. &c., which need not have arisen had it not been for the corrupt state of the judicial and legal professions. Had I been permitted to bring Desnaux before the Lord Mayor, the matter would have been settled in a few minutes; indeed, I do not think he would have ventured his appearance in a magisterial court, because he would not have the facility of swearing in secret what he dare not do in open court. The facilities and encouragement given to the evil disposed in the high and honourable Court of Chancery, I am unable to contend with, and shall wait patiently and see whether "His Honour, Wood," repeats upon me another atrocity.

Remaining Gentlemen, your humble servant,

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY.

P.S.—The evidence of Mr. John Ingram Travers and Mr. Merry, already filed by you on my behalf, to enable me to be appointed by the Court as receiver of my own property, I consider sufficient for the most unscrupulous court of law to admit.

Ingram Court, 8.15 A.M., 15th April, 1856.

MESSRS. AMORY, TRAVERS AND SMITH.

GENTLEMEN,—I much regret to find, from my friend Mr. Carter, who waited upon you yesterday, on my behalf, that you

Unseemly
conduct of
Amory,
Travers and
Smith.

were pleased to put forward the usual legal difficulties, with a view to deter him from accepting the duties of a receiver of my property out of the hands of the unscrupulous Desnaux, the High Court of Chancery, and its legal accomplices. One of the arguments used by you, was the requirement by the court of security for £10,000. from Mr. Carter, should he seek the office of receiver, to dispose of my property; another was, an intimation that Desnaux would avail himself of my imprisonment to his own advantage with my friends in Africa. I cannot but consider such proceedings as exceedingly unseemly, and had better been avoided, unless intended to intimidate me to compromise a felony perpetrated through the instrumentality of the Vice-Chancellor and his accomplices. As my determination to oppose the injustice of the Vice-Chancellor is not to be shaken, I have to request you will communicate to the honourable court, that, on my being lodged in its Bastile, I shall fit up my cell as an office, so that brokers and tradesmen who are employed by merchants to buy and sell will have the same facilities of communicating with me as at present, while I am under the surveillance of a detective officer.

I am, Gentlemen, your humble Servant,

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY.

Declaration
of war
against the
unconstitu-
tional Court
of Chan-
cery.

P.S.—Your intimation of inducing Mr. John Ingram Travers to permit you to withdraw his affidavit filed in my favour, I do not think he would allow, as I informed him, at the time he made it, that the Court of Chancery should not be permitted to continue in peace so long as I was enabled to expose its atrocities.

Vice-Chancellor Wood's Court,

Lincoln's Inn, Saturday, April 12, 1856.

OGILBY v. GREGORY.

John Rolt's
appeal to
Vice-Chan-
cellor Wood
to set Mag-
na Charta
aside.

Mr. ROLT.—Would your Honour allow me to mention the case of Ogilby v. Gregory. We duly served the notice. Your Honour gave leave, I think, on the 9th, to give notice of motion for to-day, and Mr. Power, one of the firm, says that Mr. Gregory has attended at the office "on the 9th and 10th days of April instant, and is attending there this day." This is sworn on the 11th:—"Notwithstanding the order made in this cause by this Honourable Court on the said 9th of April instant,

and I verily believe that he will continue to attend there until he is removed by legal process."

The VICE-CHANCELLOR.—There is the affidavit of the service of the order?

Mr. ROLT.—The affidavit of service.

The VICE-CHANCELLOR.—And affidavit of notice of the order?

Mr. ROLT.—The affidavit of the notice of the order. The affidavit of James Botwright and Charles Bryan is this. Mr. Botwright says, "That the following is a copy of the letter delivered by me for him to his brother Edward Henry Gregory." He appeared on the motion. The solicitor was in Court when the order for his non-attendance at the office was made. He appeared on that motion, and his solicitor was in Court at the time. Then this letter was delivered on the 9th of April to his brother:—"We beg to give you notice." [Mr. Rolt read the letter to the words, "contempt of Court."] Then Mr. Bryan says:—"The following is the copy of another letter." [Mr. Rolt read extracts from the affidavit to the words, "annexed copy of it."]

The VICE-CHANCELLOR.—Then you served him with that same notice?

Mr. ROLT.—Then we delivered a copy of the draft order:—"When I delivered the letter he said he had received the letter of the 9th. [Mr. Rolt read the affidavit to the words:—"when Edward Henry interposed with the remark that it was a very impertinent question."]* We have not gone into any other evidence.

The VICE-CHANCELLOR.—Edward Henry seems to be behaving almost as badly. Have you any affidavit of service of this notice of motion?

Mr. ROLT.—The affidavit of service of this notice of motion I have not at this moment. It will be produced to the registrar immediately.

The VICE-CHANCELLOR.—It must be produced to the registrar. There is no other course but to commit this unfortunate gentleman.

* After Tatham's clerk asked me if I had received the letter of the previous evening, the 9th, and on my replying in the affirmative, he handed me a copy and notice of the Court about my commitment for contempt. He shortly returned, and asked me if I intended to disobey the order. I desired him to put in writing any question, which I should reply to in the usual way, to prevent mis-statements. My brother observed, such a question should not have been put; which, as usual with the legal profession, he, the clerk, converted into an affidavit for His Honour to deal with.—C. W. G.

An insolent remark made by Vice-Chancellor Wood.

Misconduct of Tatham and Co.'s "ferret," alias clerk.

Unlimited imprisonment of men, women and orphans, ordered by the High Court of Chancery, with trial by jury. Vice-Chancellor Wood having violated his oath by setting aside Magna Charta, is guilty of high treason.

Mr. ROLT.—We have not entered into evidence any further. It is one of those unfortunate cases, which are too numerous, comprising committals for contempt, in which gentlemen, to serve their own ends, from some mistaken view, determine to be committed, in order that they may have the pleasure of speaking of the remorseless conduct of the Court of Chancery.

The VICE-CHANCELLOR.—There is nothing to be done now but to commit him. Everything has been done to avoid it.

Mr. ROLT.—Everything has been done to avoid it that was possible. I believe it is usual to make it part of the notice of motion, and it is part of the notice of motion that he do pay the costs of this application.

The VICE-CHANCELLOR.—That would be the usual course, I should think. It must be according to the usual course.

Mr. ROLT.—It is in the notice of motion; and, if such a course is usual, the registrar will make it part of the order, and the affidavit of service of this notice of motion must be produced to the registrar.

(*To be continued.*)

PARLIAMENTARY PROTECTION TO SCHEMING ADVENTURERS.

The Editor of *The Times* writes in favour thereof, thus :—

The Times a powerful advocate for protection to bubble companies.

EVERY ONE who has had the pleasure of listening to or reading the writings of Lord Overstone must regret that one so singularly gifted with powers of argument and illustration, with the command of elegant language, and with practical knowledge and experience of commercial matters, so seldom addresses the House of Peers. Any observation that falls from him receives, as it well deserves, the greatest attention, and those who differ from him must well weigh the arguments which they oppose to so great an authority. Still, after all, authority is no safe guide on such matters of opinion as can be reduced to the test of reason and argument, and, like habit and association, often misleads the soundest judgment and perverts the clearest reason. In presuming to differ from Lord Overstone on a matter of commercial policy and morality we are quite aware that the weight of authority is against us; but argument is of more avail than authority, and we rely on an appeal to reason against the

unsupported aphorisms of any one, however competent to judge and to give expression to his judgment. Lord Overstone states that the measure for limited liability of last session was brought forward in the teeth of the evidence taken before the commission. This we emphatically deny. We have not taken the trouble to count the numbers on each side, but in weight of argument and power of reasoning there is really no comparison at all between them. Again we must deny that Lord Overstone has any right to stigmatize the present legislation on the subject of limited liability as hasty. The bill was introduced on the first working day of the session, it has passed its second reading, and will be committed after Easter; so that there is no great probability of its reaching the House of Lords before the beginning of May—a period of full three months—sufficient, we should presume, to bring to maturity the judgment of the most deliberate capitalist. Neither can we admit that Lord Overstone has a right to say that he speaks on behalf of the commercial interest of this country. The opinions of the great mass of commercial men are, as nobody knows better than ourselves, strongly in favour of the introduction of a system of limited liability, and a peer who denounces that system, and at the same time assumes to represent the commercial interest of England, is either no representative at all, or misinterprets the message which he was instructed to convey. What reason has Lord Overstone for thinking that the measures of the government were not well considered? Their principle—all with which Lord Overstone attempts to deal—was affirmed by the House of Commons without a division, and has been received with unanimous and almost unexampled favour by the press and by the country. Lord Overstone states that, had limited liability existed in 1825 even barter would have been brought to stagnation. He does not favour us with the proof of this assertion, and perhaps it would not be very easy to do so. Had limited liability existed in 1825, we may confidently presume that the following, among many others, would have been the results:—First, joint-stock companies would have been less trusted if people had known the exact amount with which they were trading. This would have operated by way of prevention. Secondly, when joint-stock companies failed, the loss to the shareholders would have been ascertained and limited, and those scenes of unmerited distress which we are just now witnessing in the case of the Tipperary bank would have been spared; the

Unlimited denial of *The Times*. An emphatic denial of truth by *The Times*.

The Times in the secret of swindling adventurers.

Untenable mercantile arguments of *The Times*.

According to *The Times* creditors may be swindled by bubble-mongers.

creditors would have suffered, but, having trusted less, they would have lost less. This would have been by way of cure. What there would have been in such a state of things to bring us to barter, or make barter impossible, Lord Overstone does not tell us ; but, as the main effect of the crash of 1825 was the temporary annihilation of credit, and as barter is a species of contract in which credit is neither asked nor given, the connexion between the crash of 1825 and the stagnation of barter is by no means obvious.

Mercantile
professed
knowledge
of *The
Times*.

Lord Overstone next launches into a disquisition on currency and on credit. He asserts that, notwithstanding the recent drain of the precious metals, commerce is in a sound condition, because, we presume, from the context of what he says, commerce is now only in a slight degree based on credit. The inevitable tendency, he says, of limited liability is to extend and intensify the principle of credit, and therefore, we presume, to render us more liable to be affected by the exportation of the precious metals. Surely such reasoning is neither specious nor solid. Supposing a trader under the present law to require additional capital without wishing to take in a new acting partner, he has no alternative but to borrow money at the current rate of interest in the market. This places him to the greatest possible extent at the mercy of those causes which lead to the exportation of the precious metals, and the consequent contraction of the currency. He may find, without any fault of his own, that the interest demanded from him is doubled or tripled, or that it is impossible to obtain discount even for the most approved bills. A system which leaves the trader no resource except to go to the money-lender for accommodation places him as much as possible at the mercy of the money-market. Suppose, on the other hand, some system of limited liability introduced, the trader has then another resource. He may obtain capital on terms of receiving a share of the profits of his business, because the receipt of those profits will no longer be attended by the terrible liability to utter ruin, in case of the failure of the borrower. So far as this change in the law has any effect it will take the trader out of the hands of the mere bill-discounter, and place him in those of persons bound to him in a much closer tie of association, and whose interests are therefore much more identical with his own, and much less regulated by the fluctuations of the money-market. Lord Overstone thinks that limited liability must extend and intensify

the principle of credit. We apprehend directly the reverse, for the plain reason that creditors will be less likely to give credit to firms that pledge a part than to those which pledge the whole of the property of the partners, and in confirmation of this view we cite the evidence of Lord Overstone himself, given before the commissioners, which concludes with the following words :—

“If limited liability is an arrangement for the special benefit of the parties constituting the concern, but to the detriment of the public, and if the public still give credit to such concerns, it can only be because the peculiar form of such legislation leaves them practically no other alternative;” and we commend to Lord Overstone’s attention his own observation in the same paper,—that the amount of confidence which can properly be placed in any concern is a question the decision of which should rest with the public, and not with the Legislature. The popular objection to limited liability is, that it will destroy credit; but few of its opponents have had the dexterity, like Lord Overstone, to urge against it—first, that it will destroy, and then that it will increase, credit. Lord Overstone threatens us with a giant and a demon, to be evoked by this law, whose name is Speculation. Again we will answer him out of his own mouth :—“All attempts in such matters to substitute legal provisions in the place of individual prudence or of the public judgment have proved proverbial failures. Confidence will be meted out to concerns not exclusively in reference to the amount of capital ultimately responsible for their engagements.”

From these principles it would seem to follow that speculation cannot be created by limited nor checked by unlimited liability, but must depend, not on the amount of capital, but, on individual prudence and private judgment. Limited liability does not, as Lord Overstone says, allow people to borrow without being obliged to repay, but to borrow on special terms, limiting the right to receive repayment to a particular fund, terms which if found onerous to the lender are sure to be considered and provided for in the contract by an extra charge in the nature of insurance. Lord Overstone appears as the advocate of concerns anxious to carry on their business on honest principles; but the one principle is just as honest as the other, as it is quite as honest to insure a bad life at a high as a good one at a low premium, the only principle in either case being that enough should be demanded to protect against the risk and leave a reasonably high rate of profit. Had Lord Overstone said that

Lord Overstone’s intelligible opinion on limited liability criticised by *The Times*.

Dexterity of *The Times* in an attempt to urge against common sense.

The Times considers John Bull’s gullibility requires no protection from knaves.

The Times
an advocate
for unscrupulous
usurers.

under the name of extended credit he was really denouncing increased commercial activity, and under that of speculation a closer and more severe competition, that he appeared as the advocate of those commercial concerns which disliked the introduction of new houses into the trades they monopolize, his speech would have been more intelligible, though probably less persuasive, and would have given, we apprehend, a more faithful picture of the views of those who regard with dismay and apprehension the effort to remove existing trammels from the association of capital in commercial enterprises — *Times*, 22nd March, 1856.

THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY QUIET NOISY VANITY, AT THE PUBLIC EXPENSE.

Useless increase of Customs officers at a coal port. Unpaid members of parliament traffic in favourable speeches for a patronage consideration.

Mr. W. S. LINDSAY,* M.P., AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.—In consequence of the great increase in the trade of the Tyne, the Board of Customs have considerably added to the staff in the Custom House of Shields. A portion of the appointments were given by the Treasury to Mr. Lindsay, M.P., who, instead of using them for party purposes, has intrusted them to a committee, consisting of merchants and tradesmen of all parties in the town interested in the trade of the port. Several deserving persons have thus been placed in respectable situations.—*Manchester Guardian*, April, 1856.

THE HANGMAN'S LETTER TO THE QUEEN.

WHEN the first edition of the *Groans of the Gallows* was published in 1846—since issued with additional information—Mr. Calcraft, our indefatigable public servant (so we were informed

W. S. Lindsay, the Honourable Member for Tynemouth full of joy and not in want of a place.

* TREATY OF PEACE, HOUSE OF COMMONS, 6TH MAY, 1856.—Mr. W. S. Lindsay said, the Treaty contained more than he, for one, expected it would do, and he was therefore agreeably surprised upon reading it, for he had feared that the war would not end except in a peace dishonourable to England. But, feeling both joy and satisfaction on reading the Treaty, he felt it to be his duty to express his satisfaction at the conclusion come to. (Hear, and cheers.) He expected nothing from the noble lord, he wanted no place, but he considered it his right to render praise where praise was due.—(Hear, hear.)

by a close friend of his), thought he would send a memorial to the Queen, in reply to many of the observations contained therein. The late disgusting "Bousfield tragedy" having proved beyond doubt, the truth of the revelations long before given in that work, of the agonised feelings he has endured in the performance of his horrible office, and in addition to the demoralization attending the exhibition of the gallows, that it is in its old age as decrepit in the art of neatly strangling as the aged nervous hangman himself, we thought that now was the most propitious time for the *lowest* "officer of state" to make known to the *highest* his thoughts on the result of his twenty-seven years' experience of public neckstretching for terror and example sake, to men and women, and *babes of both sexes*. Especially when so serious a climax as shooting him on the platform of the gibbet was threatened that he was compelled to run away, we did more than hope, we felt positive, Calcraft would discharge himself, demand a pension, and show good practical reasons why the gallows and its hideous paraphernalia, and even black Newgate itself, should give way to the advanced civilisation of the age. This course, we have heard, he was inclined to at first; but old habits were hard to shake off, therefore his motto for a little longer must be—

The lowest officer of the State to communicate his thoughts to the highest. The late atrocious attempt to assassinate an important officer of State.

"He that hangs and runs away,
Lives to hang another day."

Besides, his half-formed resolution to drop the "DROP," and retire upon his dingy laurels, to moralize in obscurity upon the many arduous struggles he has been engaged in, and to let his country, from the Queen downwards, know the *exact number of murders* his performance on the national platform has prevented, was totally reversed by the *interview with closed doors* which he had afterwards with the pure-minded and enlightened directors of "NEWGATE FAIR," who, doubtless, thought that the old hangman's tottering nerves could be propped up by the strength of a young assistant for a little while, until he had served sufficient apprenticeship at the stretching business; and thus prevent the failure of the museum they so delight in, and the necessity of the sheriffs soiling their hands with the dirty work of their deputy.

To a brother snob Calcraft expressed a strong wish to memorialize the Queen against the "Groans of the Gallows," but he was sorry that he could not write well enough, or else, as there are "sermons" even in "stones," a hangman could probably preach an eloquent sermon to the Queen.

To forego such an important and instructive intention, involving it may be in the unseen future the safety of England's state—

"Big with the fate of Victoria and her throne—"

we thought it our duty to here proffer our services as amanuensis, and communicate what we think are, or ought to be, the thoughts of an executioner of more than a hundred persons, himself now tottering to the grave.

The gallows to be burnt, and its ashes mingled with the ruins of Newgate.

This will be doing great honour to our hanging friend, and quite according to precedent; for that there were literary executioners we shall show, by quoting, in the course of these pages, the letter written by his brother executioner of France. But we do not wish to adopt the conclusions of our allies, when they found the same difficulties in hanging as Calcraft did in the case of Bousfield, by substituting the guillotine; rather we would set them the example of a system of punishment more befitting the Christianity and enlightenment of our country,—first, MAKING A BONFIRE OF THE GALLOWES, AND MINGLING ITS ASHES WITH THE RUINS OF NEWGATE; AND THEN, IN A BETTER CLASSIFIED GAOL, ADAPTED FOR INSTRUCTION, EMPLOYMENT AND PUNISHMENT, CONFINING FOR LIFE (DOOMED TO UNRECOMPENSED LABOUR) EVERY ONE WHO TAKES THE LIFE OF A FELLOW-CREATURE.

In 1792, the gallows being found to inflict prolonged torture, by the common mode of hanging, Duport, the Minister of Justice, writes the following letter respecting the substitution of some mode of beheading.

(To be continued.)

HOW THE JESUITS ANGLE FOR OLD LADIES AND WIDOWS.

The English Church, "if not already," is in danger of becoming Romanized.

THE sincerely Christian soul can but feel alarmed for the future prospects of the English church when it reads of the daily perversions to Romanism of so many English ladies. Should the apostasies continue to multiply in the same ratio, it is easy to foretel that in less than a quarter of a century all the high church party will have trooped off to join the enemy. Let the sense of apprehension, however, give way to a calm and impartial consideration of facts. The first question the investigator will demand of his own mind will be something to

this effect : How can it be that so many perversions are constantly taking place among the best classes of English society ? Or, in other words, the first thing of which the mind seeks an explanation is the cause, whether efficient or occasional, of this aristocratical apostasy from an Evangelical church to another based upon, inspired, and governed solely by man and human passions.

Example and familiar custom have great influence over the aristocratic classes, as all history proves. It was said with much truth of *Bloomerism* a few years ago, that if some duchess or marchioness had adopted it, the anti-artistic costume would have incontinently become an English fashion. That, therefore, which could not be effected at the time of the Bloomerist extravagance is really taking place now with regard to Papistic eccentricity. The great difficulty was to find a first duchess, a first marchioness, a first countess ; but when once one of these aristocratic *ess's* passed into the alphabet of Rome, it was an easy matter for the professors of error to add new names to the fatal book of Babylon. The example of the duchess influenced the marchioness, that of the marchioness the countess, that of the countess the baroness and the lady, and so on in succession to the lowest grade of the family. Besides, in the meetings of high society the neophytes of the Romish Beast have every opportunity of sowing their venomous teeth. In saloons, in *soirées*, in drawing-rooms, and in social boudoir chat, like Deucalion of fabulous times, they watch for the teeth shed by themselves to produce an equal number of converts to the scarlet-robed abomination. No wonder, then, that the *Catholic Standard* of last week should have made the observation, that the Duchess of Argyle is the third Scotch duchess who has, in the course of a few months, passed over to Romanism. As duchess converts duchess, I shall not be at all astonished to find a few months hence that the number of duchess neophytes is at least a dozen.

Papistical
eccentricity
of the aris-
toocracy.

Scotch
duchesses
are becom-
ing fond of
Romanism.

Notwithstanding all the weight, however, of example and familiarity, still such things must be regarded only as the occasional cause of perversion, and the true and efficient cause has still to be discovered. To arrive the more surely at this fortunate Papal California, I shall employ as my magnetic needle the *secret monitions* of the Society of Jesus (*Monita secreta Societatis Jesus*), as it but too naturally happens that where aristocratic apostasy is in question there the insidious

Aristocracy
the Papal
California.

works of Jesuitism may be traced. It is especially to the aristocracy of birth and money that the Jesuits turn their attention and care, as the source whence they themselves derive the life of power and the soul of gold. In the above *monitions* I stumbled upon a separate chapter exclusively dedicated to fishing for old ladies and widows. Not that in entering upon this interesting and most suggestive chapter I wish to allude to the recent female converts to Romanism in England. Far be it from me! In the *Free Word* neither old ladies nor widows are specially mentioned, but only converts. The examination is, therefore, intended for the edification of my readers in general, for the instruction of Protestants at large; and if any lady convert finds in it her own likeness and personal illustration, so much the worse for her; I am certainly not to be blamed for it, but she herself, the Jesuits, the chapter of *secret monitions*, or, if she prefers it, the devil, who always has a hand in such anti-evangelical perversions.

Satan accused of having a hand in the conversion of females to Mormonism.

Jesuitism of Loyola and that of Pusey one and the same thing.

In speaking of Jesuits I do not confine myself to those of Rome, but comprehend also those of Oxford; the Jesuitism of Loyola and that of Pusey being one and the same thing. Both races belonging to the same family, act upon the same principles, are taught from the same book, instructed in the same school, and labour for the same end. What the Jesuits effect with Catholic old ladies and widows the Oxford Jesuits practise with respect to the old ladies and widows of Protestantism, and all for the greater glory of God (*ad majorem Dei gloriam*) and the exaltation of the holy Roman church and the blessed chair of the glorious Saint Peter. Indeed, it is by no means rare to find the original Jesuits themselves—that is, those of Rome—about the Protestant ladies, employed in entrapping them by means of the bacon and cheese of Jacob instead of the beans and lentils of Esau. I lay it down, then, as a practical fact, that England owes this aristocratic exodus from Protestantism to Romanism to the tender care of foreign and native Jesuits.

Holy bait of the Jesuits.

Jesuitical method of seducing old ladies and widows.

The chapter of admonitions to which I particularly allude is devoted exclusively to teaching the various methods of courting and seducing aged ladies and widows in order to obtain the advantages derivable from their influence and their money. It must be premised that the courtship and seduction are directed primarily to their perversion, this being the immediate step to the devotion of their influence and money to the Court of Rome.

Three principal methods of pleasing elderly ladies and widows

are taught in this chapter : Conversation, Love, and Asceticism. First of all is conversation. It is well known that women, particularly the old, passionately love to chatter, and have the stronger desire for conversation in proportion as they have greater difficulty in finding any one to converse with them. It is equally well known that men in general prefer the society of young women, unless wit, vivacity, and mental culture cover the deficiency, and make up for the loss of youth. The Jesuits, therefore, dedicate a number of their men to the office of daily participants in the small talk of these venerable chatterboxes, who anticipate the holy visit with the anxiety with which the Jews watched for the manna in the desert. When I was in Italy, and especially in Naples and Turin, I was myself personally acquainted with some of these Jesuits destined to amuse old ladies by their conversation, and, upon my word of honour, I declare positively that they daily made their regular rounds according to the instructions they received from their superiors, punctually visiting the aged prattlers, and remaining with each the precise time prescribed by the orders transmitted to them. It is easy to imagine the pleasure afforded by this attention to the poor abandoned old ladies, and how they a thousand times prefer the gentle murmuring tones of their holy visitors to all the eloquence of the parliamentary tribune or the bustle of the society in which formerly they were accustomed to move. It is well worth while, then, to be a Roman Catholic, if only to enjoy the incalculable advantage of a masculine visit, regularly paid at least once every day.

Old women passionately love to chatter.

Mr. Garazzi acquainted with Jesuits destined to amuse old ladies.

For others, again, the impulse towards Romanism is given by love. For old maids who have not so much as a dog in the world to guard them, or any one to address a single gentle word to them, and for widows of mature age (young widows in general are in the habit of entrapping rather than being entrapped by the Jesuits) to whom a second marriage would neither be easy nor convenient, but who yet have not renounced the tender sentiment, for such to find in the Jesuits—either of Rome or Oxford as the case may be—men who can adapt themselves to the thermometer of their affections when it stands only a few degrees below zero, is a temptation so pleasing that none of them pray not to be led into it. I trust that this observation will be taken without malice, and be understood in a purely mystical sense. The love of which I speak here is altogether spiritual, not even platonic—simply celestial. Unim-

Jesuits in danger of being trapped by young widows.

Judicious
selection of
Jesuits to
visit old
ladies.

portant presents of statuettes and small relics on one side are returned by bank-notes of hundreds and hundreds of pounds sterling on the other. Holy colloquies, holy glances, mutual holy aspirations; nothing profane, nothing terrestrial marks their intercourse. It is true that in my time, in Turin, and in Naples, those Jesuits who were the most famous as preachers and the handsomest men, were those destined for the office of paying court to old ladies and widows; but that is no reason why their love should not be as spiritual as that of Francesco di Sales with Giovanni Chantal, or as that of Gregory VII. with the Countess Matilda. The object of the Jesuits being alone to withdraw these ladies from the love of the world and of the creature, it cannot be necessary to say that the love for themselves which they would substitute is altogether mystical, spiritual, and heavenly, though it does not cease to be love. Thus Pope Gregory could write of these old ladies and widows visited and courted by the Jesuits his celebrated epiphonema for *Benedetto e Scolastica Vicaria*.

The most
winning
bait at-
tached to
the jesuiti-
cal hook,
&c.

The principal attraction, the most winning bait attached to the jesuitical hook used in angling for elderly dames and widows, whether Protestant or Catholic, is asceticism. It is of two kinds: that of penitents, and that of the innocent ladies who in their youth abandoned themselves to gaiety, to gallantry, to coquetry, to dissipation, and to love, on arriving at old age take a disgust to the world because it has abandoned them. They then begin to think of a tardy retreat, but it is a rare case that this is effected in the secrecy of their own houses, or in the humility of a contrite heart. They seek for *éclat* even in their conversions; they wish society to talk about them just once more. The spring of feminine vanity is cleverly touched by the Jesuits, and this passion, finding an opportunity of gratifying itself under holy pretexts, is slow to let it escape its grasp. I have seen that when the dissipation has taken place during the time that the lady was nominally Protestant, she seldom or never seeks atonement in Protestantism. She prefers to change her pasture, not so much from a desire of experiencing new sensations, as from the certainty of effecting her regeneration in the bosom of Romanism, thanks to sacramental absolution obtained without difficulty from the father confessor. This to a great degree explains the asceticism of the Puseyites. It is composed of pure mysticism, of unmingled spiritualism. It is nothing but devotion and aspirations, and worship of the most divine stamp.

Certain
ladies
prefer to
change
their pas-
ture.

What is the Bible to the "Exercises" of Saint Ignatius? What is the Gospel to the "Imitation of Christ" of a-Kempis? What is the New Testament to the works of Alphonso Liguori? What is the Word of God altogether compared to the "Garden of the Soul" of Dr. Pusey? Mere shadows, or nothing at all. Just imagine these elderly and widowed ladies in company with their Madonnas and Bambinos addressing their prayers and ejaculations to these holy puppets, pressing them to their bosoms, fervently kissing them, thinking that they hear, understand, and answer them! Oh! should the whole world abandon them, the Madonnas and Bambinos will never forsake them. If the Madonnas and Bambinos are with them and for them, what diabolical force can prevail against them? How easily may a heart unfilled with the Divine Word be filled by artificial devotion, with the transparent and sensual asceticism of Rome! If my readers will keep these three causes in mind, they will not in future wonder at English ladies who pass from Protestantism to the Church of Rome. If the perverts be old or widows they may be sure that in ninety-eight cases out of one hundred the perversion was caused by one of these motives, and sometimes by all three at the same time. I repeat that in this matter the Jesuits of Oxford are not second to those of Rome, not only because they have the same doctrine and the same practices, but more especially because they have the same aim in view in the proselytism of old ladies and widows—that of making use of their influence and money for their own advantage.

Childless ladies press to their bosoms consecrated papistical idols.

The Jesuits of Oxford are not second to those of Rome.

That the true and real aim of these infamous Jesuits is the money rather than any care for the souls and eternal salvation of these ladies, two facts, selected from among a hundred of which I have a personal knowledge, will suffice to persuade any reasonable being. These ladies, victims of their own vanity or folly, believe themselves directly the objects of the tender solicitude of these cunning Jesuits when they are in reality just as much valued by them as the slippers of Mahomet, the specific weight of their attractions being precisely that of the gold of which they can dispose. When I was in Naples, previously to 1831, there was a very rich widow, who among other possessions owned a delightful villa in the charming spot called l'Arenella. The Jesuits did not fail to hunt her out. They paid regular, assiduous, and affectionate court to her until she was at length induced to allow them a life annuity of all her estates, the villa included. No sooner was the annuity settled than she was *regularly* abandoned by her Jesuit courtiers. Thousands could

Jesuits hunt out monied ladies.

testify to the infamous manner in which she was afterwards treated by them, and to her complaints against these wicked deceivers who robbed her of her property.

The General
of the
Jesuits and
Queen
Christina.

The other fact relates to a case which occurred when I was at Turin before 1848. The Queen Christina of Bourbon, widow of Charles Felix, had as her own confessor the celebrated Jesuit Father Grassi. The Company left him to her until she had made her will, by which she bequeathed to the Jesuits one of the finest villas in the neighbourhood of Rome. Having obtained their prey, the General of the Society requested the old and childish widow to restore Father Grassi to the Catholic world, and he was taken from her only because she had not a second villa to dispose of in favour of the Jesuits.

The Jesuits
may be
taken as a
whole the
most clever
and suc-
cessful
anglers in
existence.

England may then look for something more than the mere conversion of her highest dames to Romanism. She may expect to see these ladies throw to the Roman wolf their jewels, their incomes, and the capital of their property. The sacred thirst of gold of Papacy and Jesuitism is matter of history, and nothing in the world can satisfy it. Considering, therefore, the rank and numbers of ladies who have been fished for by the Jesuits in the waters of Protestantism, it must be allowed that taken as a whole, the Jesuits are the most clever and successful anglers in existence, particularly with regard to the *genus* tortoise of old maids and elderly widows.—*Gavazzi's Free Word*, 15th March, 1856.

HOSPITALS FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF NURSES FOR THE NEXT WAR!

THE NIGHTINGALE FUND.

A jesuitical
dodge to
raise the
wind.

THE signal services rendered by Miss Nightingale, to the sick and wounded of the British forces in the East, have excited throughout the country a universal desire to testify, by some marked and substantial acknowledgment, the gratitude and admiration of the British people.

But Miss Nightingale has nobly refused to accept any testimonial from which she could derive personal advantage of any description; while it is ascertained that the tribute most in harmony with her feelings and wishes, would be to afford further scope for her disinterested exertions, by placing under her immediate superintendence the establishment of an institution for the reception, protection, and training of hospital

nurses and assistants, whereby the inestimable blessings of the system she has introduced may be perpetuated and extended generally.

Such institutions will no doubt be connected with one of the existing leading hospitals of the metropolis; and such properly trained nurses will be available for all the hospitals through Great Britain, or for private families. To this fund, therefore, all classes are invited to contribute, first, as a testimonial for national gratitude to Miss Nightingale, and, next as a means by which her sphere of usefulness may be greatly enlarged.

Subscriptions will be received by the bankers in this town; or communications may be addressed to the honorary secretaries, at the Office, 5, Parliament Street.

THE HON. SIDNEY HERBERT, } *Honorary*
S. C. HALL, Esq., F.S.A., } *Secretaries.*

Sisters of
Mercy
undertake
to instruct
women to
become
nurses for
babies, &c. !
Institutions
such as
convents to
be raised
with Pro-
testant sub-
scriptions !

THE UNHOLY INQUISITION OF THE INSOLVENCY COURT.

IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.

SIR,—Feeling the cruelty of the present unjust law at heart, I have penned the following few lines, which I hope, through your continued kindness, may find a small space in the columns of the *Morning Advertiser* as representing the feelings of numbers of poor imprisoned debtors:—

THE SOLILOQUY.

Wherefore am I here ? I have done no wrong,
Nor have I willingly the law outraged.
From wife I'm torn, from little children dear,
And in these lonesome walls am here immured !
Too much, alas, to suffer poverty—
Too much to see my little ones in want—
To hear their daily prayer above for bread—
Which God did give, but man to them denied.
Too much indeed, to bear these bitter pangs,
Without this last sad cruel stroke of all !
My hands are tied, and I can give no aid—
My children cry, and I am powerless.
In this the land of boasted English rule ?
This the brave country of the Freedom soil ?
Where e'en a *slave* is free by touching it ?
O God ! 'tis mockery to call it so ;
It is not free ; for wrong, what have I done ?

Soliloquy in
a Bastile.

January 22nd, 1856.

F. A. L.

COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The House of Commons filled with creatures of the aristocracy and patronage seekers, &c.

ALL know what this assembly ought to be,—the bold champion of the people's rights, and the faithful guardian of the national purse; none are ignorant of what it is,—a body filled with creatures of the aristocracy, patronage seekers, and reckless squanderers of the nation's money.

A once distinguished statesman, who has recently committed political suicide, and is now "fallen into the sere and yellow leaf," but who is most thoroughly familiar with the House of Commons in all its workings, has given the following description of it:—

Patronage more lucrative than salary to members of Parliament.

"The number of placemen in the House of Commons, although too great, is not sufficient to make an undue influence preponderate. It is the expenditure in our civil and military establishments, in the collection of our taxes, in the increase in the number of our colonies, the doubling and tripling of the salaries, the compensations and superannuations which are allowed so frequently for the purposes of patronage, the immense extent of our accounts, the organized adaptation of all offices and salaries to conciliate Members of Parliament,—it is all these things that have increased, and are increasing, what Blackstone calls the persuasive influence of the Crown, which may undermine our liberties, if they are not met with a new and determined spirit in the people, neither to be cajoled by specious falsehood, nor fatigued by repeated evasion."

Lord John Russell's Essay on the History of the English Government, &c.

Thus wrote Lord John Russell, in his *Essay on the History of the English Government and Constitution*, published some thirty years ago. It was said of an unreformed Parliament, but it is as true now as it was then; for, in not one of the points enumerated as fraught with danger to the liberties of the people, does the present House of Commons exhibit any improvement as compared with its predecessors. The object of the Reform Bill was to remedy the abuses denounced by its author, in the foregoing extract; and it was, doubtless, because the Duke of Wellington thought it likely to be effective for its purpose, that he declared he could not see how, if it were to become law, the King's Government was to be carried on. His Grace lived to see the groundlessness of his fears, and to learn that, through the defects of the measure itself, and by judicious management, the King's Government could be carried on very much in the

old fashion. Another most competent judge has said of this same body in its reformed condition,—“The House of Commons is more intensely susceptible to aristocratic prejudices than any assembly in the civilized world. Good taste prevents, in general, the open manifestation of these prejudices in a way noticeable by the gallery, or that the public out of doors can ever be made thoroughly to understand. You cannot by any description make a West Indian comprehend the sensation of frost until he has endured it; the sensation for him exists not, nor can he sympathize with those who feel its painful and benumbing influence. But the reality is there nevertheless, and to this cause, more than to any mere spirit of clique or nepotism, is to be ascribed the unfair preference usually shown in the formation of every cabinet, and in the distribution of the higher offices generally. The Whigs are blamed for yielding to this insolent and exclusive spirit; but they will never be cured by any amount of blame which may be cast upon them, while the House of Commons remains what it is. When its composition shall be changed, and the middle classes shall attain a practical equality in Parliament, then they will gain a fair share of administrative power, but not till then.”—*Memoirs of the Right Hon. Richard Lalor Sheil. By W. Torrens McCullagh. Colburn, 1855.*

Richard L. Sheil's account of the composition of the House of Commons.

The middle classes shall attain an equality in Parliament.

All who have any personal acquaintance with the House of Commons, must acknowledge the perfect accuracy of this description of it; and, considering its constitutional parts, none can wonder that it should be so thoroughly leavened with the aristocratic spirit as Mr. Sheil said it was. A reference to *Dod's Parliamentary Companion* will show that at the commencement of last year it contained, besides eight Irish peers, 165 sons, grandsons, and sons-in-law of peers, and twenty-five other persons related to peers by blood or marriage, making a total of 198 individuals directly connected with the peerage.

Usurpers of the House of Commons.

We are far from saying that relatives of peers should be altogether excluded from the House of Commons, or even that a fair sprinkling of them, of good abilities and advocating constitutional principles, amongst the popular representatives, may not be advantageous; but we do think that whilst the electors send them there in such numbers as to form almost a third of the whole assembly, the people cannot reasonably complain of the decidedly aristocratic tendencies of their own branch of the Legislature; and, furthermore, that if the object be, as is sometimes alleged, to provide a sort of apprenticeship to the business

of legislation, it can be no subject for surprise or disappointment if the unfledged hereditary senators should, like other apprentices, botch a good deal of the work entrusted to them.

The only means of obtaining a working and honest Parliament is by paying its members to the exclusion of patronage.

A further examination of the composition of the House of Commons, must convince all reasonable beings that to look to it for any real and substantial reform of abuses, by which the privileged few profit at the expense of the unprivileged many, would be to afford another illustration of the vanity of expecting grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles. In addition to the direct aristocratic element already mentioned, it contains—of placemen in possession or expectancy, who have both a decided preference for the existing system of management,—of officers in the army and navy, who, for the most part, regard economy with horror and its advocates with contempt,—of officers in the militia and yeomanry, who have a strong fellow-feeling with their more warlike brethren in arms,—of barristers, of whom there are at the present moment no less than thirty-one aspiring to the bench, or longing for colonial judgeships, fat commissionerships, and other good things at the disposal of the Minister of the day,—of pensioners grateful, not to the public who furnish the money they receive, but to the party, Whig or Tory, which has given it to them,—and of other waiters on Providence, many of them endowed with the maws of cormorants and the tenacity of the horse-leech,—more than a full half of its whole number, in which it would be difficult to name fifty individuals who on all occasions are ever free from the operation of personal interests and motives on the one hand, and unwarped by aristocratic influence on the other, perform conscientiously their duty to the people.

From a body so composed, and subject to such influences, what results, political or financial, could be expected other than those which have been attained? What material change can rationally be looked for whilst that body remains what it is? Constitutionally, the people, through their representatives in the House of Commons, have the absolute control of the public purse, so that not a shilling can be levied from them, in the shape of taxation, without their own consent, and not a shilling expended otherwise than subject to their sanction and revision.

(To be continued.)

THE NEFARIOUS INCOME TAX *alias* TAX UPON INTELLECT AND LABOUR.

THE tax on incomes—wages, as well as salaries—amounting to one hundred pounds per annum, is incomparably the most obnoxious, tyrannical and heartless, that has of late years received the sanction of the three estates of the realm. It is irrefragable testimony that there is little or no sympathy in the House of Commons for the operative and the clerk—for those who, owing to the narrowness of their incomes, and the enormous taxation of the country, have always found it difficult “to make both ends meet.” Not content with putting a tax on almost everything, our legislators must visit specifically the *pockets* of the labouring and intellectual classes, and, with the vulture hearts of insatiate despots, wrest from them that which belongs to themselves and their families.

The income tax is obnoxious, tyrannical, and heartless.

The poor man's food and raiment are heavily taxed—a “revenue” is derived from nearly every article that he uses—from every luxury within his reach.

What is £100 per annum in our large towns to a hard working artisan, clerk, or professional. The two latter are obliged to appear respectable. The former—engineer, cooper, or shipwright—it is necessary he should live on strengthening food. He has, as is generally and very properly the case, a family to support—in sickness and in health. His rent is high, fuel, oil, and candle-light are expensive. As a prudent man, and in order to avert the misery that inability to work would entail upon his family—for the creed of wages is, *no work no pay*—he belongs to a benefit society, insuring him so much per week in case of sickness. Nay, further, if he is endowed with a disinterested as well as natural affection for his family, he is a member of one of the life assurance societies, which now offer such facilities to the industrial community. Lastly, when business allows and his finances admit, it is only natural that he should take his family beyond the impure atmosphere, to elevate their minds and invigorate their bodies, for at least a few hours once or twice a year,—

“The glow of the sunshine—the balm of the air,
The wonders of heaven,
Would steal to their hearts, and make all pure there.”

Now, if the income tax be extorted from either of the classes we have mentioned, it follows that retrenchment must take place in

The tax upon intellect and labour is engendering hatred against the State, and likely to ripen into a necessary evil.

the actual necessities of life, and an important one of which must not be overlooked, is relaxation and change of atmosphere. That the law is engendering hatred towards the powers who permit the continuance of the iniquity, we believe, is not doubted. The discontent throughout the country is spreading itself, until it becomes ripened into a necessary evil.

(To be continued.)

IMPEACHMENT OF THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

An inquiry ordered by the House of Commons into the perpetration of plunder by the masters in Chancery.

GEORGE REX. *His Majesty having reason to apprehend that the suitors of the Court of Chancery were in danger of losing a considerable sum of money from the insufficiency of some of the masters, thought himself obliged in justice and compassion to the said suitors, to take the most speedy and proper method the law would allow for inquiring into the state of the master's accounts, and securing their effects for the benefit of the suitors: and his Majesty having had several reports laid before him in pursuance of the directions he had given, has ordered the said reports to be communicated to this house, that this house may have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair, as the shortness of the time, and the circumstances and nature of the proceedings, would admit of.*

And the said reports, together with some of the papers referred to in them, were read and ordered to be taken into further consideration upon the *Friday* morning next following.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *February 12th*, 1725. The house took into consideration the several reports and papers referred to in his Majesty's most gracious message to this house, the 9th instant; after the reading part of the said papers, *Sir George Oxenden*, Bart., member for the port of *Sandwich*, rose up, and among other things, said, "That it manifestly appeared, by these reports, which, after the strictest inquiry and upon the maturest deliberation, had been drawn up by persons of the greatest weight and authority for their abilities, experience, high stations, and integrity. That enormous abuses had crept into the High Court of *Chancery*, chiefly occasioned by the magistrate who was at the head of that court, and whose duty consequently it

was to prevent the same. That the crimes and misdemeanors of the late Lord Chancellor were many, and of various natures, but might be reduced to these three heads:—1st. That he had taken into his own hands the estates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunatics, and either had disposed of part of them arbitrarily to his own profit, or connived at the officers under him making advantage of same. 2ndly. That he had raised to an exorbitant price the offices and places of the Masters of *Chancery*, and in order to enable them to pay to him those high prices and gratuities for their admission, had trusted in their hands large sums of money belonging to suitors in *Chancery*. 3dly. That, in several cases, he had made divers irregular orders. So that in his opinion, that first magistrate in the kingdom was fallen from the height of the dignity and honours to which he had been raised by the king's royal bounty and favour, to the depth of infamy and disgrace. And therefore he moved that *Thomas Earl of Macclesfield* be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. This motion was seconded by *William Strickland, Esq.*, and thirded by the Honourable *George Doddington*, one of the lords of his Majesty's treasury, who failed not aggravating the misdemeanors of the late Lord Chancellor, which they said were of the greatest and most dangerous consequences, since most of the estates in *England*, once in thirty years, pass through the Court of *Chancery*. The Right Honourable *William Pulteney*, who stood up next, said in substance, "That it was far from his thoughts to endeavour to abate the just resentment which the gentlemen who spoke last showed against the great abuses that had been committed in the Court of *Chancery*; but that in his opinion they went a little too fast in so weighty and important an affair, by which means they might lose the very end they aimed at, viz., the effectual punishing the person by whose neglect, at least, those abuses had been committed. That whatever deference they ought to pay, on this occasion, to the capacity, experience, integrity, and authority of the persons who had drawn up the reports that had been laid before them, yet it little became the dignity, and was even derogatory to the prerogative of that house, which is the grand inquest of the nation, to found an impeachment upon those reports, without a previous inquiry and examination into the proofs that were to support it; and therefore, he was now of the same opinion he was of three days before, and moved, that this affair might be referred to the

The Lord Chancellor detected in plundering widows, orphans, and lunatics of their property.

The first magistrate of the kingdom fallen into infamy and disgrace.

Estates once in thirty years pass through the Court of Chancery.

consideration of a select committee." He was backed by several members, particularly by Sir William Wyndham, Bart., who, among other arguments, urged, "That by proceeding by way of impeachment upon reports laid before them from above, the Commons would make a dangerous precedent, and seem to give up the most valuable of their privileges, viz., the inquest after state criminals." These reasons had a great weight with several members, particularly on Sir Wilfred Lawson, and Sir Thomas Pengilly, who supported Mr. Pulteney's motion. Mr. Yonge, one of the Lords of the Treasury, and Sir Clement Wearg, Solicitor-general, answered those objections, whereupon the previous question was put, whether the question be now put upon Sir George Oxenden's motion? which after some further debate, was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of 273 voices against 164.

Then the main question being put, it was resolved, by the same majority, that *Thomas Earl of Macclesfield* be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors; and ordered that Sir *George Oxenden* do go up to the Lords, and at their bar, in the name of the House of Commons, and of all the Commons of *Great Britain*.

(*To be continued.*)

THE PACKED MILITARY COMMISSION TO ENQUIRE INTO THE CONDUCT OF CRIMEAN OFFICERS.

To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.

SIR,—The names of the members of the court who are to *try* Sir John M'Neill and Colonel Tulloch for their Crimean report, and to whitewash the authorities for the appointments of Lords Lucan and Cardigan, Sir Richard Airey and Colonel Gordon, are at length published. Perhaps the following memorandums respecting them may be interesting to you:—

General Lord Seaton; 81 years of age.—Personal friend of Lord Hardinge.

General Sir Thomas M'Mahon; 78 years of age.—Amiable man, but in his second childhood.

Lieut.-General Sir John Bell; 75 years of age.—Perfectly deaf.

The youthful military whitewashing Sebastopol commission!

Lient.-General Earl Beauchamp.—Chief military experience in the Life Guards.

Lient.-General Knollys.—Was Prince Albert's Lient.-Colonel in the 3rd Foot Guards.

Major-General J. Peel.—In the Ordnance under the Aberdeen Government—no military experience.

Your most obedient servant,

G. C. B.

THE CHELSEA WHITEWASHING COMMISSION.

To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.

SIR,—Lord Seaton—a braver soldier never lived—either will not, or cannot, preside over the Crimean Commission *in esse*, so the Horse Guards have chosen Sir Alexander Woodford to supply his place.

Now, there are two reasons against this new appointment. In the first place, Sir Alexander has been a Guardsman from his youth up, and, therefore, may reasonably be supposed to lean towards the *class* which is principally *inculcated*; secondly, he has, or had until very recently, *sons* actually serving on the *Staff* of the army in the Crimea! consequently, he would be better suited for the part of advocate than of judge.

I implore the public to weigh these matters! Let them insist on a fair trial. Let them beware how they permit the M'Neill-Tulloch Report to be set aside without ample evidence as to its falsehood. Above all, let them remember their murdered brethren—who starved in the midst of plenty!

Our murdered troops in the Crimea.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

29th March, 1856.

ANTI-CHICANE.

A MILITARY COURT FAVOURITE.

To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.

SIR,—In the *Army List* of the present month, you may discover that the well paid functions of Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General at the Horse Guards, are exercised by a Captain Sayer, 23rd Fusileers.

Long and meritorious services of Captain Sayer duly appreciated.

Let us look at this lad's history.

He has served six years; was wounded at the Alma; returned home; married a daughter of the private secretary to the Queen—one Colonel Phipps, C.B., (?) and on that auspicious event was immediately appointed to the lucrative post just alluded to.

This fortunate Captain Sayer swaggers about Pall Mall, a new-born man of fashion, with his pockets full of public money; while those vulgar fellows, Brown, Jones, and Robinson, who throughout the campaign have endured shot and shell in the trenches, and have fought and bled at Inkermann, and before the Redan, linger on, unheeded, unrewarded!

It is time
the people
were awake
— mischief
is abroad.

Really, men are beginning to say that Court favour and toadyism are the sole means of uprising now-a-days. It is time the people were awake—mischief is abroad.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

6th March, 1856.

A TIRED SOLDIER.

"VIVAT REGINA"—BUT LET THE REIGN OF HUMBUG CEASE!

To the Editor of the *United Service Gazette*.

The State
"Thimble-
riggers."

SIR,—The Queen as "the Fountain of Justice," is attended by the *Symbols* of justice; but justice itself, like "the pea," lies hid under certain *Thimbles*, and wherever the Royal races "come off," there are congregated the Thimblery Mummies of Justice in the shape of high officers and low—lords, "Cabinet" ministers, judges, &c.

Uselessness
of petition-
ing the
Queen.

A Lord Lieutenant of an Irish county, and Colonel of its Militia, conducts himself, in his office, in a most unwarrantable manner. This fact comes to my knowledge, and I transmit to Field Marshal Viscount Hardinge a petition relating to the subject of that Lord Lieutenant Colonel's misbehaviour, requesting him to present that petition to the Queen. The military secretary answers my application by stating that that petition has been forwarded to Lord Panmure, the proper channel, &c., &c.; in short, that "the Pea" Justice (in this matter) does not lie under the Field Marshal's *thimble*. And what answer comes at last from Lord Panmure? A letter signed "C. G. Mundy," informs the Military Secretary that

"the Pea" Justice (in this matter) no more lies under Lord Panmure's *thimble* than *it does lie* under the *thimble* of his colleague, the Field Marshal. And thus, between the one honourable thimblerrigger and the other, the Lord Lieutenant Colonel succeeds in getting himself "white-washed."

HENRY CLINTON, *Colonel*.

Royston, Herts, 18th March, 1856.

POPISH TAMPERING WITH WILLS.

A WILL case was recently the subject of adjudication by Judge Keatinge, in the Irish Prerogative Court. The testator, when in a dying state, employs the Roman Catholic priest who attended him to make his will, and directs him to bequeath his property to his wife, and after her death, to his niece. The will, executed in due form, is read over to the sick man, who approves of it; but, though able to write on ordinary occasions, is in such a state of weakness as to be unfit to do more than append his mark. The testator shortly after dies, and the priest who had drawn the will, and to whom it had been entrusted for safe custody, produces it for probate. On examining it, it is found to contain interlineations in the same handwriting as the will itself. Inquiry is made, and it turns out that the lawyer priest had made the interlineations with his own hand, without the authority, without the knowledge, and obviously against the declared intentions of the testator, the effect of the interlineations being to defeat the conveyance to the niece, by giving the wife right to dispose of the chattels as she might think proper. What she may have been expected to think proper in the circumstances is not stated, but most of our readers will have little difficulty in conjecturing. We have lately seen Pío Nono making very stringent stipulations in the Austrian Concordat, for the purpose of giving ecclesiastics unlimited control in the matter of testamentary documents, and we may rest assured that his myrmidons here are not very scrupulous in attempting to obtain by stealth the same kind of control which Austria, to her disgrace and damage, now allows to be employed openly. It is, in fact, expressly stated by Judge Keatinge, that this is the third case of the kind which has

A hungry
wolf in
sheep's
clothing
alias a
priest of
Satan.

recently come before him, and that in all these cases of iniquitous tampering with wills, Romish priests have been the agents. Three cases have been thus brought to light. How many may we, without any breach of charity, suppose to remain shrouded in darkness? The act is an indictable offence, and the judge threatens to bring it under the notice of the Attorney-general. —*Morning Advertiser, February, 1856.*

A DIPLOMATIC "DOWB."

(From a Correspondent.)

THERE are two very rich paragraphs in the fashionable intelligence of the *Morning Post* of the 10th instant. They serve in the happiest manner to illustrate the connection which always exists in England between place and dinner-giving.

The first paragraph records a dinner given by Lord Westmoreland, in which he was careful to include a few Foreign-office banking agents and underlings. The second paragraph announces the promotion of that regular diplomatic "Dowb," the Hon. Julian Fane, his son, to the post of Secretary to the new Embassy at St. Petersburg. This lucky lad is a beautiful instance of the rampant jobbery which has existed in the Foreign-office under Lord Clarendon. By one stroke of his pen he nominates his own toady and Under-Secretary, Lord Wodehouse, as Minister Plenipotentiary, passing over such men as Sir Henry Bulwer and Lord Elgin. By the next he appoints an inexperienced youth to a place worth £2000 a year immediately beneath him. This appointment is "too bad" even for the Foreign-office. While actually at Cambridge, and when only sixteen years of age, he was appointed to his father's legation at Berlin. A year or two after, when his father was transferred to Vienna, this youth, who never could have rendered any appreciable service to the public, was foisted over the heads of ripe scholars and experienced men for promotion. Two years afterwards he was again promoted by the most flagrant favouritism. Though his father has been virtually dismissed for incompetency from Vienna for some time past, the Honourable Julian has never condescended to serve under Sir Hamilton Seymour. He has passed the greater portion of the time he has been in the service,

Aristocratic
good fortune.

Rampant
jobbery in
the Foreign
Office.

Malprac-
tices of the
Govern-
ment.

including the time spent in his studies at Cambridge, on leave. Lord Clarendon lately took him to Paris, and has now again promoted him over the heads of many bright and gifted men, who have served the public for years unrequited by a single smile from those in power.

We know that Mr. Fane has written a volume of poems, and he may be a promising young man. We have nothing to say against any reasonable encouragement being given to him; but there are in the diplomatic circle of the Crown attachés who have grown grey in the public service, and who are among the most distinguished gentlemen in any profession. Is it possible, therefore, that no member of parliament can be found independent enough to face the clap-trap charge of personality, and to call Lord Clarendon to account for such an abuse of patronage? If this is the way that ministers mean to employ the discretion as to appointments, which Administrative Reform has still left them, it is highly expedient that they should be deprived, as soon as possible, of the power of insulting ability, and rewarding their personal adherents.—*Morning Advertiser*, 16th May, 1856.

The Hon.
Julian Fane
a writer of
poems, &c.

Lord Cla-
rendon to
account for
abuse of
patronage.

THE NEW PHASE OF POLITICS.

To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.

SIR,—Nothing has produced a more painful feeling among the intelligent part of the people, who think for themselves, and who, in fact, lead the rest, than the warning voice lately raised by the *Morning Advertiser* on the subject of intended interference with the liberty of the press in those few countries in which it is at present free by law. The warning has proved not to be premature or uncalled-for; although only tardily taken up and backed by other journals, it now begins to be unmistakeably so by some of them.

The *Morn-
ing Adver-
tiser* and the
liberty of
the press.

The Times, as usual, halting at a long distance behind your shelter, has at last raised a feeble echo of your words. It is to be hoped that this tardy reinforcement will assist the good cause, but there is no time to be lost in rousing the people to their danger. The great feud in this country is between the press and the oligarchy. Who ever knew even a whig magnate

? a

who had a cordial appreciation or love for the freedom of the press? In our privileged ranks in this country we have collected the dregs of Absolutism, and we have thus an internal enemy which, in the hope of a little longer extension of its selfish rule, is too well inclined to encourage the Walewski design against the press.

Every one who has been let into the secret of the aristocratical rule in England, knows that members of the privileged orders have a two-faced character. While in public debate we have fine patriotic words, and sometimes proper enough party deeds from our oligarchs, in private and as men they hold these matters cheap enough, and only intended as acting for the gullible public, as they think it. It is the fact of his entering into this secret understanding of our rulers that gives Louis Napoleon his influence over them. Hence both parties have hitherto courted him by means of their leaders.

The people, though they flock to see a procession as a show, do not sympathise at all with their hitherto leaders in this; and it is not at all improbable that, in the coming series of struggles, we shall see this personal reliance on the heir of the once hated Bonaparte lead our oligarchs to their ruin as a governing body. But before that, they may try, as a last resort, to ruin the freedom of the press, and so make interest with one whom they already look upon as their last hope. This is no chimerical view of the subject. Let us look at the insidious attempt of the aristocratic organ, the *Morning Post*, to show, from such a bare incident as Foschini's escape, that we have deep political organisation, requiring a secret police to quell it. As our suffered aristocratic leaders bend towards the French centre of despotism, we shall expect a touch of the Continental machinery to be tried in our country. Truly we shall see strange political incidents. England must either assist itself, or become a French province.

The *Morning Post* advocates a secret police in England.

14th May, 1856.

ONE OF THE ENGLISH.

AN ARISTOCRATICAL MILITARY BACKBITER.

To the Editor of *The Times*.

SIR,—In the Parliamentary report which appeared in *The Times* of Saturday I observe that Colonel Dunne, in Friday

night's debate relative to army clothing appointments, is reported to have said "that I was not fit to be trusted as inspector of saddlery at Weedon Barracks, to which situation I have been lately appointed by Lord Panmure." On reading Colonel Dunne's remarks I was very much surprised and hurt, as I had thought that my persecution was over. Being anxious to learn Colonel Dunne's reasons for his extraordinary conduct in this matter, I immediately came up from Weedon and waited upon him, and told him that his statement was cruel and untrue, as it tended to deprive me of the means of subsistence for my family. I also asked him what he knew of me (as I had never served under him) to cause him to put forth such a statement? The only reply he made was, "You had no business to interfere with officers in a duel."

Colonel Dunne's extraordinary conduct towards Alexander Brodie.

Now, as this is the only reason Colonel Dunne can advance for supposing me incompetent for the post of Inspector-Foreman of Saddlery, I am quite content to leave the public to form its own opinion of the merits of the case, merely adding that I have in my possession testimonials from general officers, colonels, captains, lieutenants, cornets, and also from wholesale saddlers' ironmongers, all giving me the highest character and testifying to my thorough acquaintance with saddlery.

Your insertion of this letter will very much oblige,

Your most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER BRODIE,

Late Sergeant Saddler to the Royal Dragoons
Alliance Hotel, 14, Hanover Street, Long Acre,
 10th March, 1856.

A GLORIOUS SUBVERSION NECESSARY FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF BASTILES IN ENGLAND.

IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.

SIR,—Having occasion to go the other day to one of her Majesty's gaols for the imprisonment of debtors—honest and dishonest—my attention was attracted to a poor old man who sat moping in his little apartment, and was evidently suffering under great bodily depression and mental excitement. His case

Perpetration of cruelty and misery in her Majesty's Bastiles.

Englishmen
are required
to hold
forth in the
cause of
liberty,
truth, and
justice.

was a peculiar one. He had been confined there for a lengthened period, and the remedy of the Insolvent Debtors' Relief Act did not apply. He could only be discharged by the opposite parties, and by them his liberation had been withheld. There was no fraud, dishonesty, or improper motive imputed to him ; *and still he was there*, confined like a bird in a cage, deprived of the greatest blessing to a feeling and reflective mind—liberty. Surely this should not be. The time is now coming when Englishmen will *demand* and *have*, thanks to the glorious press of this country, a reason for the laws by which they are to be governed ; and, if no substantial reason can be demonstrated, they will not rest until those unreasonable laws be abrogated.

The whole system of the laws relating to debtor and creditor requires a careful and experienced supervision, in order to avoid the injustice which daily takes place, and the cruelty and misery which a short-sceeing legislation is sure to inflict :—

See in yon room that eager aged man ;
He longs once more before his sand is run
To feel that on the earth again he's free,
And taste the boundless bliss of liberty.

Oh, who can tell the anguish of that soul,
Which, whilst each sad succeeding year doth roll,
Feels but increase the great desire to know
That which liberty can alone bestow ?

Shame, England ! thus to keep the old man there ,
Open yon bars, and he's as free as air ;
The wrinkles on his brow would quickly fade,
And years of sorrow by confinement made.

O, sweet, sweet liberty ! with thee we live,
The greatest blessing which our God did give ;
But take thee hence, and life doth pass away,
As fades the dying light from sinking day.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,
F. A. L.

Hackney, March 18th, 1856.

LORD PANMURE AND THE HORSE GUARDS.— CRIMEAN AFFAIRS.

To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.

SIR,—It is quite plain that Lord Panmure, the Horse Guards, and the rump of Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet, mean to throw the

blame of all the calamities which befel our army, on the commissariat. And the reason also is plain.

The commissariat source is *not aristocratic*. Its officers are the enlightened, high-spirited, well-educated sons of Englishmen; not the mere spawn, whether legitimate or illegitimate, of toadies at Court, who have handles to their names. Commissaries have no particular party to support them in Parliament; therefore they may be wronged, bullied, and insulted, as hard and fast as ministers like. Not only do the Government at home betray and insult them, but commanders abroad appear to take equal delight in this insolent and injurious spirit. Here is an instance:—

The Commissariat too laborious for aristocratic spawn.

A commissary at head-quarters in the Crimea learnt that there was a considerable quantity of cattle in the valley of Baidar, some fifteen miles off. Knowing how valuable this would be to the army, he applied to Sir G. Airey for an escort of cavalry, to enable him to get the prize. Sir G. Airey gave no answer. The Commissary applied again, after a few days. Answer:—"Sir George is at dinner." As precious time was slipping away, after some few more days, Mr. Filder himself applied to Sir G. Airey. Answer:—"Communication shall be made to French head-quarters on the subject, for all prize must be equally shared."

Sir G. Airey unequal to Cromwell's officers.

Nothing more was heard of this "communication" for a week. At the end of that time, an escort of cavalry was condescendingly given to the Commissary, who proceeded to Baidar. When he arrived there, not a head of cattle was to be found; for, as was to have been expected, whilst Sir G. Airey was "at dinner," and holding dignified "communications with French head-quarters," the French had gone to Baidar and got possession of every four-footed beast in the neighbourhood! Yet the airified Sir G. Airey is made Quartermaster-General of the Army on his return to England, whilst Mr. Filder is received with the cruellest coldness, and treated with scandalous and most unjust contempt, and charged with having starved the army.

Sir G. Airey, a careful guardian of his "dinner," and indifferent to the wants of brave troops.

Once more. No men could exceed the Commissaries in zealous discharge of their duties; they were in the saddle from morning to night; their assiduity in attending to the wants of the army was incessant; they did all they could to assist the wounded; they fearlessly exposed themselves to the dangers of battle; yet it was not without difficulty that the War-Office

A paltry
"clasp"
grudgingly
given by
Lord Pan-
mure, for
well merit-
ed services.

granted them "clasps" for the various engagements at which they were present. But Lord Panmure seems to have repented and felt uneasy, under the consciousness of having committed such an immoderate act of generous justice; and he, therefore, determined *not* to grant the Sebastopol clasp to the Commissaries employed on the spot, although they were often in the trenches exposed to the enemy's fire.

Scrupulous-
ness of Lord
Panmure in
providing
for *his own*
relations.

When Lord Panmure has to provide for *his own relations* he is by no means so scrupulous. The best anecdote told by General Evans in his speech on Friday last was that which recorded Lord Panmure's telegraphic despatch to General Simpson, "Don't forget *Dowb*." General Evans found out afterwards that "Dowb" meant "*Dowbiggin*,"—a young officer. We can give General Evans a little *more* information about this "young officer," in whose welfare Lord Panmure took such a lively and tender interest. He happens to be *the son of Lord Panmure's own sister!* But so it is. Nepotism is the curse of the army. To family connexion and personal selfishness the blood of our countrymen and the honour of our country has been wantonly, treacherously sacrificed. Why was Colonel Gordon placed in such an eminent and important post, for which he showed himself so ludicrously unfit—a man as disqualified by repulsive manner, as by lack of ability, for his position? Why was this man thrust into such an important office in the army? Simply, and for no other reason, than because he was son to the then Prime Minister!

Colonel
Gordon lu-
dicrously
unfit for his
appoint-
ment.

And for all these countless acts of selfish and ruinous mismanagement of the army, the Commissariat are to be sacrificed, and the blame of all our calamities is to be thrown upon the shoulders of meritorious officers, for no other reason than because they are not "honourables" and "my lords." Will the people of England permit this to go on any longer?

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

March 6th, 1856.

A COMMON MAN.

PRACTICAL REFORM.

To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.

SIR,—It is high time that we "English People" did something practical in promoting that improved condition of society

which we mean to leave as a legacy to our children, if not to enjoy, in some degree, ourselves. To prepare for this we have your valuable journal, which is every day becoming more markedly the leader in forming public opinion. And it is a happy chance which, at this critical period, furnishes us with an organ of opinion which every one can assure himself to be free and candid, by trial of its liberal candour. There is no other way in sceptical times like these, except the actual experiment for ourselves. Every one knows that it is this which has given such a powerful influence to the *Morning Advertiser*, so that kings and emperors are forced to regulate their policy very much by conforming to the feelings excited and expressed most firmly and prominently by it, and by its powerful incognito correspondents, its "Δ," and its "ENGLISHMAN."

We English people must do something practical for the good of our children.

Powerful influence of the *Morning Advertiser*.

The time has evidently come when those eloquent words must be fully carried into practical results. They have prepared the way for action in various ways. The time has come when religion, which hitherto has been often a stumbling-block in the way of progress, must have a living breath inspired into it, and animate all dead forms into noble and generous action. An American journalist of great candour and judgment in these matters, where his prejudices in favour of the States are not called into play, notices thus this feature of our political obstructiveness:—

Religion must have a living breath inspired into it.

"Much may be done towards liberalizing the Church (in Europe). It is a most remarkable feature of our present civilisation that the Church alone, which is, or ought to be, the highest product of the cultivated intellect, has made no progress since the Reformation. Science has grown, learning has become common, politics have been humanised, every branch of art and mental development has been advanced, but religion has stood precisely where it was two hundred years ago. This we say not of the Church alone, but of the whole Christian community. Hence it follows that France, Prussia, and Germany contain but few men of education and intellect who are believers. The whole is rejected, because a part is obsolete. Men in this country (America) have been retained within the Church by forms of Christianity, or at least of worship, so loose that he must be a sceptic indeed whose belief would be shocked by their prejudices. But in Europe they have not had this resource. A little tact on the part of the clergy—both Protestant and Catholic—would suggest the humanizing of their religious

The Church of England degenerating into idolatry arising from connexion with the State.

systems so as to extend the pale of the Church by widening its gate."

Religion is coming into contact with the settlement of political questions.

This extract is valuable, by showing that religion is coming into such near contact with the settlement of political questions, that they are evidently intended to be solved together, and merge into one another. For my part I feel that the Church is at the root of all progress or hindrance. The clergyman of the parish has a sort of unseen influence to make or mar nearly every design intended for its good. It is essential that they open their minds a little more to the wants of humanity. There can be no danger to the great truths of religion in any development of intellect. The time is coming when the modern school of sceptics—who, with Carlyle and Macaulay, and the writers of modern history, would ignore the Bible and scoff at the Hebraistic views of religion—will be most completely confuted, and their errors rectified. The more light we have on all subjects the better, and a new spirit of perfect freedom in our churches will only conduce to the greater glory of the eternal.

In the meantime we, the people, must do our part in our electoral duties, and in our various stations. The timid feeling which prevents individual men from self-assertion, it is time to get rid of, and it will vanish when men feel that bold independence is, in fact, the best policy.

I am, &c.,

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

THE "SACCONI" AND "WISE LIBERTY" IN ITALY.

His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of the French, feels, we are assured, a warm interest in the cause of Italian liberty. His British journals guarantee the fact, which no sensible man can doubt. Has not his Majesty carried on a war for freedom and civilisation? Is not the freedom of France itself so pure as to leave nothing to be wished for? Was not the *coup d'état* consummated, to "defend and maintain the Republic?" Is not "Universal Suffrage" an imperial institution? Is not the empire a model of "wise liberty," and the envy of surrounding nations? Since only one reply is possible to these and a score such questions, we must see that His Imperial Majesty cannot fail to be the patron of popular Government in Italy.

It may be casuistically urged, in opposition to this view, that the bayonets of His Majesty support the Pope and the Pontifical atrocities. But for those bayonets and their services to "order," the exactions, confiscations, imprisonments, floggings, beheadings, and hangings of His Holiness, would be conducted on a less extensively Christian scale, or, perhaps, not be conducted at all. Without those French bayonets, and the Austrian ones to match them, there would not, in 1854, have rotted in the dungeons of the Holy Father, fourteen thousand of his faithful flock—without those French bayonets some fifteen thousand Liberals might not rot in those dungeons now—without those French bayonets Christendom might still be perishing for lack of the healing and the saving truth of the "Immaculate Conception"—and without those French bayonets that same Christendom might still have wanted the grand *desideratum* which it has always craved, without knowing what or why—we allude to the pious order of *Sacconi*, just instituted by the Apostolic hierarchy.

French troops support Pontifical atrocities of the Pope of Rome.

Thousands of victims confined in the dungeons of the Vatican for the amusement of the Pope.

The *Sacconi* have received their euphonious name because they are clad in a sack with a hood, a cord round their loins, sandals on their feet, and a veil with holes to look through. Interesting as their costume is, and in keeping with the spirit of the age, their functions, objects, duties, and exertions, are even more interesting still. They combine, indeed, the *utile* and *dulce*—the sacred and profane—in a novel and ingenious manner, and are fully worthy of the heart and head of the paternal Pio Nono.

Police of his Sacritic Holiness, *alias* the Pope of Rome.

The *Sacconi*, then, rejoice in the office of the Janissaries of the Holy Inquisition, the Holy Inquisition being one of the blessings which Italy owes to French bayonets, and contributing the most to stock the prisons with the "eternal enemies of order." The *Sacconi*, by virtue of their connection with the Holy Office, have the right "to enter all *kitchens*," a right which may be imitated from the *fact* in England, accomplished by the members of the "force." The "Peelers," however, have this advantage over the *Sacconi*, that whilst they, the "Peelers," have the *entrée* of *our* kitchens on all days and all nights especially, the *Sacconi* would seem to be limited at present to that privilege on Fridays.

The Holy Inquisition in Italy maintained in its terrible deeds by French bayonets.

The "Peelers" of England, and the *Sacconi* of Rome.

Once in the kitchen the authority of the *Sacconi* must appear to British cooks exorbitant. They are entitled to "uncover pots," and lay bare to the light of day the secret recesses of

"stew-pans." They are to examine with a stern severity into violations of the Friday fast. It is their duty to rummage desks and escritaires, to hunt waste-paper baskets, study private packets, and track "every trace of impiety or revolution," wherever it may hide itself. They are to "denounce blasphemers," against the Pope, and, of course, against themselves, for which they are promised snacks in the fine of fifteen bajocchi. Considering the temperament of cooks in general, and of Italian cooks in particular, and considering the exploration of the pots and pans to be carried out by the *Sacconi*, we should imagine that these gentlemen will make rather a good thing of their perquisites for blasphemy.

The work of the *Sacconi*, though important in the kitchen, is by no means confined to it. At 8 p.m., when the bell sounds for the Angelus, the *Sacconi* are "to set down on paper those who don't kneel down *in the street*, and *denounce them*" to the Holy Inquisition! The Holy Inquisition, depend upon it, will make the "anarchists" smart for their "impiety," and repay the omission of a genuflection at the Angelus by reflection in the castle of St. Angelo.

Latest invention of the Holy Roman Apostolic Church.

These *Sacconi* appear to be the latest invention of the Holy Roman Apostolic Church and the Holy Roman Pontiff. They have followed in the wake of the Immaculate Conception and the Austrian Concordat, and are specimens of the benefits conferred on "family," and on "religion," by the "authority" and "order" sustained by French bayonets, and expounded by Romish priests. Had the Roman Republic not been murdered by those bayonets, and the rule of those priests restored by them, it is certain that Italy would not at this moment be in the enjoyment of *Sacconi*. If the Emperor of the French has kept down that Republic, and keeps up the Sovereign Pontiff, Italian pots and pans owe to him the possibility of being exorcised by these holy men. Such substantial advantages are a sufficient set-off against constitutions or charters, for the Roman people would not appreciate *them*, but can fully appreciate *Sacconi*. His Imperial Majesty loves Italian liberty, that is, "a wise" Italian liberty, and "wise liberty" is impossible in Rome without French bayonets to protect it. Those bayonets, therefore, will *not* be withdrawn; for if they were, the Holy Father might find it expedient to withdraw immediately after them, when the Holy Inquisition would accompany the Holy Father, and the *Sacconi*, oblivious of the kitchen, would incontinently tramp with both. In that

case, " the great principle of authority " would be seriously compromised, " religion, family property, and order " would topple to their fall, and " wise liberty " in Rome, if not in Europe, would receive a fatal blow.

The Holy Father, the Holy Inquisition, and the almost as holy *Sacconi*, are therefore safe from the animosity or the desertion of the Emperor of the French. The first and the second can fill their prisons, and the last can fill their bellies, without dread of an Imperial *razzia*. Not so, perhaps, King Bomba. The Bonapartist prints—so tender to the *coup d'état*, Mazas, Lambessa, and Cayenne—are frantic with horror and indignation at the tyranny of the King of Naples. His Majesty, though also a professor and a patron of wise liberty, does not, it seems, profess nor patronise it in the orthodox French fashion. The Bourbon expels or quarrels with the Jesuits; instead of importing *Sacconi*, he audaciously denies to the Holy Office some of its choicest privileges, and he has not the decency to cover his despotism with a sham Senate and *Corps Législatif*.

King
Bomba un-
safe.

This is not wise liberty, and Bomba should make way for some one who understands it. Need we say that that one is Murat? The wisest and the fattest of the friends of liberty, he would establish it after the imperial pattern in the hearts of the Lazzaroni. With French troops in the Papal States, and a French King and French troops in Naples, the Emperor of the French would hold Italy as a stake, if not absolutely as a fief. The Empire being Peace, and the Peace of Paris being peculiarly imperial, his Majesty is already preparing peace and wise liberty for Naples. He is forming a camp of forty thousand men in the Var, and concentrating troops in Algeria; these last convenient for the South of Italy, and the first convenient for the North of it. Muratist agents and an imperial propaganda are active in Naples and in Paris, Italian exiles clutch in desperation at any chance of a revolution, and the British Cabinet, which has sunk into the clerks of His Imperial Majesty, is eager to help him to carry out his programme of wise liberty everywhere.

Δ

—*Morning Advertiser*, April 4th, 1856.

GERMANISM IN ENGLAND—THE GERMAN LEGION.

To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.

A plea for
the German
legion.

SIR.—In *The Times*, of Wednesday, appeared a flunkey letter, entitled “A Plea for the German Legion;” and, in that letter, the monstrous proposition is calmly made, that we should retain in our pay—in the face of the avowed intention to disband some of our own noble fellows—in a time of peace, the wretched mercenaries that a wretched administration insulted us by foisting upon an unwilling nation. Great was the degradation, to pretend that we required them at all, in the face of our rapid and eager enlistments, at the time of our greatest need; but greater still would be the humiliation of employing foreigners during a time of repose. Whatever troops we do keep—whatever the number of our standing army—by all that is national, let them be of our own race. Why should we pay our taxes to a pack of German varlets? The Foreign Enlistment Bill was the foulest insult that the English people ever received. Foreign despots may require foreign mercenaries, and, if so, they cannot have better troops than Germans; but the Germans, themselves a race of slaves, are the very worst, at all times, that can be employed by a race of freemen.

Englishmen
taxed to
pay a pack
of German
varlets.

I wonder why, Sir, this “Plea for the *German Legion*” particularly, has been made? We have an Italian Legion, every way as good, but I have not heard of any plea for the Italians. How an English officer—in the face of the known intention to abandon some of our own troops—can plead for any foreign hirelings, is difficult to understand. Surely, at any rate, England has suffered enough from Germanism, and its slavish blight and bane, without feeding and keeping 10,000 of them, whom we neither want nor care for.

England
has suffered
enough
from Ger-
manism.

This English officer speaks of the sobriety of the Germans. Now, those who know them well, also know well that a German will drink, at any time, twice as much beer as even an English labourer. But all this has nothing whatever, Sir, to do with whether or no they are sober. It is, in my opinion, a feeler put out to see how the English nation will receive a proposition, at once so un-English and so impolitic. It was the universal expectation, at the time that we secured the *services* of these “veteran troops,” as they were *called*, that they would be

An English
officer
speaks of
the so-
briety of
German
soldiers!

immediately sent out to relieve our own soldiers in the Crimea. I did not, however, personally entertain any such idea. I knew it would be as it has been. Many a thousand raw English recruits were started off, after we had our German Legion; but that Legion was kept in clover as a show and a toy, instead of doing, as it should have done, the dirty work of our army in the trenches before Sebastopol. You may remember, Sir, that I predicted, in your columns, at the time the detestable bill was making every man of national spirit, on both sides of the House, speak out, that if we once tolerated a German Legion, it would be difficult to shake it off. I told your readers then, that these Germans would be kept at home, and that they would, "bad luck to us," attempt to make of poor German-leech-sucked Albion a home for themselves. They know their strength, Sir, and *where it is*.

One portion of the *English Officer's* "Plea" is rather amusing. He actually has the audacity to suggest, that if any objection exists to the German Legion remaining in England, it should be sent to one of our Colonies. Why, I will venture to assert that we have not a single colony that would allow it to land. All free nations hold in contempt and detestation mercenary troops, especially if those mercenary troops, as in the case of the Germans, have been cradled in despotism.

The people of England never liked them, and never wanted them; and now that they have a legitimate opportunity, will be glad to be quit of them. A compact and agreement was made with them, to which they were voluntarily parties, and we have kept on our part, to the full, all our engagements with them; and, now those engagements are at an end, for heaven's sake let the matter, with its attendant disgrace, end too. A Germanised traitorous Administration forced them upon us, which Administration we have long since forced to withdraw its fangs from the vitals of our honour; and now that we have peace—lamentably German and dishonourable though that peace may be—let us be freed from the wanton disgrace of foreign slave mercenaries amidst our free homes.

You will remember, Sir, that it was only by all sorts of threats and jockeyings, and supplications, that the wretched Aberdeeenites succeeded, by a very narrow majority, in squeezing through—I will not call it passing—the "Foreign Enlistment Bill." Scarcely a man of individual position refrained from opposing it. *The Advertiser*, the *Times*, the *Herald*, and even

The *Eng-
lish officer's*
"Plea" in
favour of
mercenary
troops.

A German-
ised traitor-
ous admin-
istration
disgrace the
British
arms by
hiring Ger-
man merce-
naries.

The con-
temptible
Aber-
deenites.

the *Post*, papers of every shade of opinion, of every political party, or sub-party, were against it. Never was such journalistic unanimity; never was such general public execration. And now a wretched peace has given us the opportunity of throwing off the burden of this wretched measure, we have "a plea for the *German Legion*." Why, Sir, to an Englishman, who knows what a curse Germanism has been to his free land, the words "German," and "job," and "mercenary," are synonymous.

Mr. Alfred
B. Richards
a true
patriot.

We shall have many home questions now to discuss, without the "*German Legion*" disgrace being one of them, I hope and trust. Germanism, without the *German Legion*, is a great home question. In conclusion, Sir, I should like to hear what your powerful correspondent, "Mr. Alfred B. Richards," has to say upon the *German Legion* question. I know it will be thoroughly English, for he is one of those sadly scarce men now-a-days—a true patriot.

A TRAVELLER.

16th March, 1856.

AN ENGLISH PAPISTICAL MAJOR AND THE ANGLO-ITALIAN LEGION.

[Special correspondence.]

Tyrannical
atrocities
perpetrated
by Mr.
O'Ferrall at
Malta.

I HOPE my readers will share my indignation when they read the notice transmitted to me in my special correspondence. That the English Government, to pay court to a supposed Papacy in Italy, or from indifference with regard to religion, should send stupid Papists as heads of the unfortunate Anglo-Italian Legion, I do not wonder. But I shall wonder if the English nation, reading of the iniquity committed by one paid with their money, should tolerate it any longer. We have already too many hypocrites, pharisees, and inquisitors among our statesmen and churchmen, to require that Protestant England should send us warriors to break a lance in favour of the Beast of the Apocalypse. We do not wish for a second edition of Mr. O'Ferrall! His tyrannical atrocities committed against free Italians at Malta are sufficient to put England to the blush without the glorious achievements of the major at Novara. It is time that these gentlemen should learn prudence,

if they will not respect liberty. I do not say the English are to go to Italy to make Protestant proselytes; but I do declare explicitly, that to be the agents of Papist inquisitions is such a sin against liberty of conscience that Italy really remains England's debtor. What was the good of England making such a fuss in Exeter Hall against the Grand Duke of Tuscany with respect to the Madiai, the Cecchetti, &c., &c., when England does worse acts in Sardinia, a country comparatively free, and where at least liberty of conscience is guaranteed as far as public worship is concerned? The Grand Duke of Tuscany never obliged the Madiai to go to mass. Here is a case then for England to consider, if she does not wish the country to become the most ridiculous and the most detested of all throughout Europe.

"I hope this will arrive in time for you to insert the following notice, of which I guarantee the truth, in the next number of the *Free Word*. Next week I hope to be able to give you farther details.

"Our Italian Evangelical Christian, Fedele Betti (not an agent of Exeter Hall), had distributed several hundreds of New Testaments and Bibles among the soldiers of the Anglo-Italian Legion. The Gospel was read by these soldiers with great interest, when the major of the regiment, AN ENGLISHMAN! obliged them to give up to him all the Bibles and New Testaments. I cannot tell you what he did with them, but it is a certain fact that he took them away from the poor soldiers. Another act of prowess on the part of this English major is, that he obliges all the soldiers to go to mass. Among them is one of our Evangelical Italians, and some Waldensians, and they, as well as others, are obliged by this major to go to mass. It is true that he is a Catholic, but he ought to know that England, who pays him, does not pay him to perform the Inquisition here.

An English Major prohibits his men from reading their Bibles.

"*March 1st.*—I have not yet learned the details respecting the major of Novara who took the Bibles from the soldiers. You shall receive them, however, from me or from B——. To-day I have learned they have been selling Bibles in Novara at 20 centesimi, and I suppose they are those appropriated by the major, who has disposed of them; but this is only my supposition."—*Gavazzi's Free Word*, 15th March, 1856.

THE CAUSE OF POLAND.

[From a Correspondent.]

The Times
in the cause
of despot-
ism.

The claims
of Poland
and the
scattered
house of
Israel.

The Times
and neces-
sary Uni-
versity evils
arising from
despotism.

THE argument of the "leading" journal concerning the wrongs and rights of Poland amounts to this: It commences by stating that everything in the way of peace—such a peace as is likely to be established—is a bore and a nuisance. It endeavours to prove that Poland is a bore. It argues that there is a statute of limitations for all felonies, including murder, and fixes for the period of that statute the convenience of the strong, the wealthy and the selfish. According to the *Times*, we need not trouble ourselves about a murder committed a year or two ago, unless we can show some gain to be got by it, which would excuse not only connivance, but a murder on our own account; because if we did, on the same principle, we ought to go back and endeavour to avenge the most ancient of homicides, beginning with that of Abel by Cain. Why should we trouble ourselves about "what are called the claims of Poland," writes the flippant sophist who interprets the policy of the journal of Mammon, when there are "the wrongs of the Anglo-Saxons," an "indignant nationality in Wales," the "wrongs of Scotland and of Ireland, of Abd-el-Kader and his gallant tribes," the "independence of the Genoese Republic," and "the scattered house of Israel?" Was ever such nonsensical wickedness as this offered to a people, to smother every instinct of right, every noble and rational sympathy, every feeling of justice, every sound principle of action?

The Times goes on to speak most absurdly of the students at our universities, "each of these renouncing his nationality, his province, and his country," and asks, "Why are they to be summoned to arms, to be denied the opportunity of an honourable peace, to be taxed deeper and deeper," &c., &c., "merely to give one more chance—a very small one, indeed—to people who are really quite as well off as we are ourselves, and whose only hardship is that they cannot do what we no longer wish to do for ourselves? We have long ago given up all nationalities, all provincial privileges; everything whatever that stands in the way of imperial government," &c. Now, in the first place, it is a trivial matter; but students at the universities do not renounce their "nationality," their "province," and their "country," as a matter of course. Some do, in order to fit themselves to become modern British legislators!

Did the writer never hear of Jesus College, Oxford, as a small illustration of the nonsense of his assertion? With regard to the rest, it contains observations worthy of the deepest attention of Englishmen. We are told that we are a mongrel lot. Yet, how *The Times*, when it suited it, arrayed Saxon against Celt! We are informed that we have no nationality, no country; that we are fast submitting ourselves to *Imperial* Government. Yes, there is truth in this; but it is a melancholy truth. There is a little truth sometimes in these articles—enough whereon to hang an untruth. “Wild,” says Fielding, in his life of that “great” personage, “always kept to as much truth as possible in everything, and this, he said, was turning the cannon of the enemy upon themselves.” If, then, it be true that we are in process of imperial enslavement, we can understand why we have left Poland to her fate, and are about to put the final seal on that act—or rather series of acts—of incomparable baseness. Again, our probable enslavement may be referred in great measure to our selfish disregard of liberty in a nation that cried to us for aid, and with whom, when they had thought or leisure to look around them, the *people* of this country felt a generous sympathy.

England in
danger of
a despotic
Govern-
ment.

The Poles are under the sway of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. They have been overrun by strangers. Half of Europe was in arms against them, banded in greed and cruelty—the other half looked on the murderous deed with apathy, or at best a tepid interest. But, says *The Times*, Let well alone. “Why should we be called on to do for others what we have long ago resolved not to do for ourselves?” Since the Poles ask to have fair play—to be strengthened against a combination of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, it follows that what we have resolved *not* to do for ourselves is to resist Cossack and German domination. We fear there is too much truth in this proposition, but in a far different sense to that which the “leading” journal tries to deduce. England is fast becoming enslaved. She is yielding all for which she has fought; and Alma, Balaklava, Inkermann—those boasted tourneys—have been in vain. *We are* yielding our “provincial privileges,” we are denying our nationality, we are fast preparing ourselves for the fate of Poland. Then will our degraded nobles learn too late the value of what they have given up to the wiles and treason of a few oligarchs. Then will the horrors of war be brought home to our people. Unlike Poland, we shall deserve no sympathy. We shall have acted the part of

England is
fast becom-
ing enslaved
and fast
preparing
for the fate
of Poland.

The cold,
insolent
sneers, &c.,
of the
heartless
Times
writer
against the
Poles.

The rulers
of England
hold the
position of
accomplices
in the
murder of
Poland.

Dives. A nation bloated with prosperity is like an individual. Generosity, justice, all the finer, younger feelings, are destroyed. England, as represented by *The Times*, is like a rich sensualist feeding at a table placed in the bay-window of a club, enjoying himself the more because of the poor shivering wretches eyeing him without. Can we forget the letters of "PIMLICOLA," in *The Times*, about the poor Poles, who, he said, disturbed Eaton-square, by begging applications, just as he was about to devour his muffins and read his *Times*, by the hissing urn at breakfast? Do we forget the cold, insolent sneers and witticisms of the vulgar, heartless writer? The purpose is manifest—it was to prepare for the present onslaught. Let it be remembered, too, how, a few days since, *The Times* described the murder of Poland. None could do it more graphically—the knout, the noose, the chains, the gaoler, the hangman and the spy; the army of Circassia or the Crimea arrayed against ourselves (for England has fought what remains of Poland, through the insane obstinacy of our rulers), and Siberia in the background. Such has been the doom of Poland. With this the Ministers of England have once, twice, and thrice connived. We have already paid an instalment of the penalty. There is more yet to pay, in tears, in blood, and the treasure we love so well.

But, says the sneering mouthpiece of Britain's decline, to strike a blow for Poland, nay, to say a word for her, would be "a vain attempt to rectify history. The ground is lost to the man of action." What has the man of action to do?—To look after his ledger, and read his *Times*, and see his birthright depart from him? To furnish his armies, his navies, his wealth, to make terms at a congress of foxes, where he, too, is a fox in all but cunning? "He has his own work to do, which presses hard enough, and leaves no room for antiquarian enterprises." Yes, in one sense, it is an antiquarian enterprise; for, if we measure by the guilty deeds and sad events, even of the last two years, the time is long enough. The enemies of Poland, of liberty, of truth, of England, may well taunt and ridicule the friends of Poland. Where were they in the beginning of the war? Why go through the farce now of appealing to Palmerston? It is too late, until England shall be herself assailed. It may then be finally too late both for herself and Poland.

Willingly would we abbreviate our remarks upon the reprehensible article in *The Times*, whose sentiments are not more

iniquitous than its execution is bad in point of cleverness. It says we could not "ascertain Poland." It is untrue. Were it not untrue, why should *The Times* give itself this systematic trouble? *The Times*, after more facetiousness about the Jews, speaks "of a war of most serious dimensions looming upon us in another part of the world." Should such a war ensue, the people of England may thank for it *The Times*, Bonaparte, and their Ministry. All that we can say is, that war with all Europe would be a boon and a blessing in comparison with that struggle. *The Times* likens the idea of rescuing Poland from her enemies to "extracting a pound of butter from the mouth of a dog." We wish it joy of the comparison.

The article then finishes by abuse of M. Kossuth—the voice of Pimlicola is heard in defence of muffins and meanness, smug, oily selfishness, and buttoned breeches-pockets. *The Times* always thought Kossuth's cause—what? Hear it, reader, and hold your sides for laughter. "Immoral!" We are in the midst of starving virtue, it says. We have enough merit, suffering and genius, for home-consumption. Here, in the midst of corruption, "private life in this country," it adds, "abounds in heroes and martyrs in, as we believe, much better causes. All around us men of considerable talents, and not without the stirrings of a generous ambition, are suffering obscurity and want, and are leaving that inheritance to their children, because they will not truckle to party, because they will not suppress their political or religious convictions, because they will not do homage to some petty tyrant, or to some local oligarchy." Where are they? Shall we look for them in Printing-house-square—in the House of Commons, or among our corrupt constituencies? Let us borrow the lantern of Diogenes from *The Times*.—*Morning Advertiser*, 17th March, 1856.

The Times
and mo-
rality!
The Times
an advo-
cate of two
masters.

CATHEDRAL ABUSES.

CHESTER CATHEDRAL A MODEL!

WE consider the cathedral system to be a legitimate subject for public consideration, and, doubtless, the Cathedral Commissioners think so too, for they have expressly informed us, in their Report, that it is not to be taken as their final report, but simply as a throwing out of the evidence so collected before the

public mind, that the subject may be ventilated, as the phrase now is, and so lead to suggestions and improvements, preparatory to their final report. It becomes, therefore, the duty of the public to be somewhat acquainted with these church matters; and in our selecting the Cathedral of Chester for that purpose, it is merely to give “‘a local habitation and a name’ to our observations. It is not to point to it as a horrid monster.” If we wished to exhibit something monstrous, we might lift up the veil off others; but we take Chester as an ordinary and moderate type, just as a lecturer on botany might take up a plant at hand for the information of his auditors; not showing it as the object under discussion, but as one of a genus—a simple specimen.

Some of its noisy admirers would hold it up as a MODEL. Be it so: the greater the necessity of accurately examining it, as any imperfection in it would be reproduced in all cases after the same pattern. We observe there is some quarrelling in the local papers about a bone, with pickings on it, which the wrong dog has run away with. Of that we know nothing, we say nothing: it is to the regular system, as exemplified in this model cathedral, we would direct public attention.

DEAN.

Let us begin with the head of gold—the office of Dean—and compare its income and its duties. We see, by the Report, its income is £1000 a-year certain. If circumstances permit a hundred or two more, so much the better—he may keep them; but it must not be less; that is the minimum guaranteed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

Arduous
duties per-
formed by
a “Dean”
of Chester.

Now, what are the duties? You will say these are onerous enough for one poor dean—two choral services daily, and one early service, not choral, every week-day, making twenty services in the seven days! But, happily, these are not all laid on one pair of shoulders; there is a regular paid staff of canons major and minor, of singing men and singing boys, to perform all these services in the presence of the dean. And as to sermons, how many do you think are delivered? Just one sermon every Sunday morning! Here are the worshippers assembled at the tolling of the bell, twenty times a-week; and only on one single occasion is there any exposition of the word of God—if the Commissioners’ Report speak truly. We ask, seriously, is not

this a substitution of high-wrought psalmody for the preaching of the gospel? And yet this is to be our model in cathedral reform!

Of these sermons, how many fall to the dean's share? We may compute this without being present. His legal residence is eight months. He has, we acknowledge, the credit of constant residence; but as he has a living elsewhere, we think, in common decency, we ought to allow the four months' of super-erogation for residence there. However, take it at the twelve months, and how many sermons fall to the dean? Remember that there are three other clergymen always present—a major canon and two minors—and we may presume they share in the labours of the pulpit; so that by a little sum in arithmetic we may find out that thirteen is the probable number. If he had a parish or district and congregation to visit, and curates to pay out of his stipend, with pulpit and parochial work for himself and them, he might not be overpaid; but as merely the presiding *deity*, or superintendent of sixty-six other individuals, who complete the number of the cathedral staff, there is a disproportion between the income and the duties not consonant to the exigencies of the church at large. Yet this is to be our model of reform!

We opine we could improve on this model. Read the following advertisement, cut out of *The Record* of the 4th January, 1855:—"The wife of a clergyman who has been obliged to relinquish his profession in consequence of loss of sight, is desirous of making an engagement in a religious family as daily governess. She has had much experience in tuition, and is competent to teach Latin, French, German and Italian, together with music, writing, arithmetic, the use of the globes, &c. Terms would vary according to the number of pupils and the distance from town. She would have no objection to teach young gentlemen who may be preparing for a public school."

If there must be deaneries at £1000 a-year, let them be reserved for poor clergymen like this, visited by Providence with affliction, and disabled from duty as a parochial clergyman, who would require but the use of his ears, which Providence had left him, in the discharge of his daily duties as a dean. Common honesty would point to this as an improvement; whereas our model would show us always the priest and the levite passing by on the other side. There can be no greater stain upon our church than the fact, that there are no means within her system

for the superannuation, in such cases, of what we may call the dying clergy, while she has her thousands a-year to squander on rosy deans.

But the Dean of Chester holds also the rectory of Doddestow, income £620 a-year, according to the blue book, and conferred on him by his friends the dean and four canons. Now, this seems to us not only eating his own share of £1000 a-year, but taking the bread out of the mouth of some brother clergyman who would be thankful to Providence for either, and think himself lucky too. Is this also to be part of our model? Common report represents the possessor as amiable, affable, urbane, hospitable, and adding lustre to his office (and in truth it requires some lustre); but all these honourable qualities, while they dignify the individual, fail to justify the abuse. St. Paul himself, if he were dean, could not justify it, with the vision before his mind of widows and orphans and destitute clergy scattered through the land. But St. Paul has left his opinion on record, "that if any man would not work, neither should he eat;" and so far from grasping at two livings, "these hands (saith he) have ministered to my necessities."

The iniquities of the church perpetrated by its connection with the State.

We cannot but exclaim, in the words of a modern divine who has placed them on record: "these pluralities are the bane of our church;" and, we would add, quite akin to the raking-up the ashes of a pauper twenty-five years in his grave for thirty pieces of copper.

If these things be done in the light of day, they must be rebuked in the light of day; and if we are to have no higher standard of reform than this model of sinecure deaneries with pluralities, for our own part we shrink not a moment from adopting, as a more desirable alternative, the formula of the Roman senator—*delenda est Carthago**—and for *Carthago* reading *Cathedral*.

(To be continued.)

THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD.

"A MODEL TO PARLIAMENT AND THE NATION."

SAUL among the prophets,—Diogenes enrolled in the bevy of Alexander's parasites. Widely as such positions might be at variance with what it is now the fashion to call their antecedents,

* Carthage must be destroyed.

they would have been less out of place and character than we may seem to be in becoming court apologists, and describing, even hypothetically, the Royal Household as "a Model to Parliament and the Nation." But our design in adopting such a title for our object is wholly different,—our object being quite of another kind. We write of it as a fact to be deplored, and too notorious to be denied, that in wasteful extravagance—in useless, but most expensive offices,—in salaries out of all proportion with the services rendered,—in sinecures to which no actual duties are attached,—in compensations for the loss of places which ought never to have been held, or which, being necessary and adequately filled, have been given up to make room for other occupants,—in plurality of offices held by the same individuals, in all that marks the prodigal's progress, the Royal Household has been, and is, practically, the model on which similar abuses have been established in every department of the State, a standing palliation for them all, a constant bad example, acting first upon great ones of the land, and, through them, influencing all classes, down almost to the very lowest in the social scale. When disease pervades the head, what more natural and inevitable than that body and members should also be affected? Under such circumstances, what more idle than to leave the chief evil untouched, and palter with palliatives for symptoms only, unless it were an attempt to purify a stream fetid at its source?

We are well aware that in speaking thus broadly and plainly, we incur the risk of being charged with disloyalty to the Sovereign, and disaffection to the crown; but we disclaim any such feeling towards either. We respect the Queen, both as a woman and a sovereign, because in her private character she is an exemplar of all the domestic virtues, whilst in her public capacity she exhibits qualities befitting her high station, and is unstained by any one of the vices which have disgraced so many of her predecessors. We know that, if she is in any degree implicated in the system which we condemn, it is either unwittingly or unwillingly; and we are convinced that in seeking to reform that system, to abolish abuses of which she is but made the pretext and instrument, and to render the ROYAL HOUSEHOLD that which it ought to be,—a model to be followed instead of a beacon of warning to be avoided,—we are performing the part both of good citizens and loyal subjects.

Those are the real enemies of royalty who, with exuberant

professions of love and veneration on their lips, seek only their own benefit and that of the class to which they belong ; who under pretence of standing by the crown, defend, multiply, and perpetuate abuses calculated to bring both the throne and its occupant into discredit with the people.

As earnest advocates of all measures of economy consistent with the due efficiency of the public service,—as uncompromising enemies to the rotten system of exorbitant salaries, sinecure places, unearned pensions, and undeserved “retired allowances,” we feel convinced that no such measures can be effectual or permanently successful whilst the example of all these evils is set by the crown itself,—whilst sinecurists, pluralists, and all other persons in receipt of public money without rendering adequate public service for it, can point to the first subject of the crown, and adduce his conduct in these matters, as an excuse, if not a justification, for their own. As supporters of a constitutional monarchy, and as faithful subjects of the royal lady who now so worthily occupies the throne, we protest against a system which, upheld under the false pretence of maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown and contributing to the comfort and happiness of the sovereign, is not conducive to any one of those purposes, but inimical to them all, and only advantageous to a grasping, and insatiable oligarchy, seeking its own ends exclusively, in utter disregard of the true interests of both crown and people.

Much has been written upon the abuses connected with the ROYAL HOUSEHOLD, and also to the habits of lavish and wasteful expenditure contracted during the war as never having been entirely abandoned after the conclusion of peace ; to the vigorous and partially successful efforts to economise made during a portion of the reign of William IV. under the pressure of a strong and general national demand for retrenchment ; and to the relapse into evil courses (public attention having been directed to other matters) which caused the expenditure of the year 1848 to exceed by one half that of 1835. It was then the reformers again began to arouse themselves and to urge the necessity of a reduction of the national expenditure, by a diminution of the enormous armaments by land and sea, maintained on a war footing in time of peace, and the extinction of all sinecures, unmerited pensions, and other unearned, and therefore unjust and dishonourable, payments ; of entirely revising the system of taxation, and of making timely provision for a gradual lightening

of that millstone on the country's neck, the national debt. As they were then, so we are convinced that, to be efficacious, such retrenchment should begin in high quarters, they gave a full exposure of the composition of the ROYAL HOUSEHOLD, so we shall urge a reduction of the allowance for its maintenance from £385,000 per annum, to £200,000 as regards the present Sovereign, and to £150,000 for her successors. All the reasons urged for this reduction are still existent; they have derived additional cogency from the occurrence of a most costly war, which has entailed upon the country an expenditure of upwards of a hundred millions; and the fact that the project of creating separate establishments for the royal children is really entertained, and has only been postponed because, in all probability, it was deemed too bold an experiment on the public patience under existing circumstances, renders the present period peculiarly appropriate for considering the whole subject.

The dignity of the Crown to be maintained at £200,000 per annum for the present sovereign.

In the way of preface, we may state that for many of the details contained in the following sections we are indebted to an excellent little work, entitled, *Sketches of her Majesty's Household*, we have also had occasion to consult Dodd's *Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage*, Hart's *Army List*, the official Finance Accounts, and other publications, in order, as far as possible, to avoid all mis-statement, either as to facts or persons, in the following:—

ARRANGEMENT OF THE PRESENT CIVIL LIST.

Shortly after the accession of Queen Victoria, in June 1837, measures were taken by the ministry and Parliament, as usual at the commencement of a new reign, to make the necessary arrangements for the support of her Majesty and the Royal Household. On the 23rd of November, in that year, it was ordered by the House of Commons "that the accounts of income and expenditure of the Civil List from the 1st January to the 31st of December, 1836, with an estimate of the probable future charge of the Civil List of her Majesty, be referred to a Select Committee of twenty-one members." As a basis for the arrangements to be made, the heads of departments in the Household were required to furnish full particulars of the expenditure in each, during the period specified, that is, in the twelve months preceding the death of the late king. In itself, this would appear to have been a proper and judicious step; but, unfortunately, the information thus obtained seems to have been turned to very

Arrangement of the present Civil List.

little purpose, the result being little more than a decision of the committee, which might have been arrived at without all this parade of investigation,—to wit, that each department should cost, throughout the present reign, pretty nearly what it had cost in the last year of the preceding one; that her Majesty should have the same number of attendants, real and nominal, as her predecessor, paying them at the same rates; and, in short, that Queen Victoria, or others for her, should be enabled to spend quite as much money as King William, and something more, if so disposed. And yet, in the accounts furnished from the different departments, there were many items of an exceptional character, that is, for expenses not likely to be constantly occurring, year after year. For example:—the amount of tradesmen's bills in the Lord Chamberlain's department was £41,898. Just to make even money of it, apparently, the committee awarded £12,000 for this branch of expenditure, although nearly one half of what it cost in 1836 was for expenses which could not be, or at least ought not to be, annual.

From the following items, that year would, in fact, appear to have been a *furnishing* one, in the Royal Household:—

Upholsterers and cabinet-makers	£11,381
Joiners and blind-makers	1,052
Carpet manufacturers	225
Locksmiths, ironmongers, and armourers	4,119
Clock-makers and opticians	895
Piano-forte-makers and organ-builders.....	356
Japaners	654
Lamp and lustre manufacturers	268
Paper-hangers	898
Artists, decorators, and heraldic painters	400
	£20,334

The committee must, of course, have concluded that her Majesty would annually require nearly £12,000 worth of upholstery and cabinet work, £1000 worth of joinery, £4000 worth of ironmongery and *armour*, and so on with the rest; otherwise they could hardly have recommended that more than the full amount of all the tradesmen's bills for 1836, in this department, should be provided for every year of her Majesty's life and reign.

The same remarks apply to the tradesmen's bills in the department of the Master of the Horse, which, in 1836, amounted to £38,205, and for which, in future, the committee awarded £39,500 annually. Amongst the items were £6208 for liveries.

£3345 for horses, and £1825 for carriages. Liveries may require renewal annually; but surely her Majesty does not spend £3000 in purchasing horses, or £4800 on new carriages, every year? In the Lord Steward's department the tradesmen's bills amounted to £92,065, on which some abatement was made, the sum allotted for the future being £86,000 only. An investigation of the items would seem to show, that the committee might very properly have gone a little further. It might also now be supposed that her Majesty's consort, Prince Albert, holding, as he does, extensive farms of the Crown, rent, tax, and rate free, and being an extensive breeder of cattle, with the privilege of grazing as many as he likes in the two royal parks, of which he is ranger, and a successful competitor at agricultural shows, would be able to do somewhat towards supplying his own family, and his own and his royal consort's household establishment, (for they have two) with butcher's meat and poultry, bread, bacon, butter, cheese, eggs, milk, and cream; but if his Royal Highness does anything in this way, he probably takes care to turn a good penny by it, for the sums appropriated as the annual cost of these things amount to £21,609. The tradesmen's bills in the department of the Master of the Robes amounted, in 1836, to £1880, and this the committee increased to £5000, probably on the supposition that a female Sovereign might be more expensive in such matters, although, as William IV. had a Queen, it is not quite clear that this was sufficient ground for the addition. The total amount of the tradesmen's bills, in 1836, in all the departments, was £174,048, and the annual allowance under this head, recommended by the committee, was £172,500.

The salaries, allowances, &c., of the last reign, having been examined and arranged, pretty much on the same principle as the tradesmen's bills, the following estimates were submitted to Parliament as the grounds for granting £385,000 per annum to the Queen, "for the support of her Majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland:"—

FIRST CLASS.

Her Majesty's Privy Purse.....	£60,000
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SECOND CLASS.

Household salaries:—viz.,	
Lord Chamberlain's department	£66,490
Lord Steward's do.	36,381
Master of the Horse's do.	27,650
Mistress of the Robes do.	730
	— 131,260

THIRD CLASS.

Tradesmen's bills :—viz.,		
Lord Chamberlain's Department	£42,000	
Lord Steward's do.	80,000	
Master of the Horse's do.	39,500	
Mistress of the Robes do.	5,000	
		172,500

FOURTH CLASS.

Royal Bounty and Special Services.....	9,000	
Alms and Charity.....	4,200	
		13,200

FIFTH CLASS.

Pensions not exceeding £1,200 in the aggregate may be granted, annually, by her Majesty.

SIXTH CLASS.

Unappropriated money.....	8,040	
Total.....	£385,000	

The act of Parliament settling the civil list according to this scheme received the royal assent on the 23rd of December, 1837. Its intention was that all the expenses of royalty, whilst the Queen remained single, should be covered by the sum of £385,000. On the marriage of her Majesty, in February, 1840, an annuity of £30,000 was granted, by the 3rd Vict., caps. 1 and 2, to Prince Albert, to enable him to support that portion of the royal dignity reflected upon him, without pressing on the resources of his illustrious consort. This allowance has since been largely augmented, as will be seen in a subsequent section, by the emoluments of various posts, with and without duty, showered upon the Prince in such bountiful profusion,—all of which his royal highness has been thought competent to fill at the same time, or, at all events, to be paid for being supposed to fill. But, whatever Parliament may have intended, ways and means have been found to manage its allocations differently. It is wholly a mistake to suppose that £385,000, even with that source of annual increase, the £1200 pension fund, which has already swelled it to £410,000, is the whole cost of supporting “the honour and dignity of the Crown,” or that the arrangements of Parliament as to the distribution of the various items have been adhered to. In this, as in other matters, Parliament proposes but the Minister disposes. In the first place, to say nothing of the costly vice-royalty of Ireland, (for which there is no more occasion, in these days of steam and electricity, than

Costly Vice-
Royalty of
Ireland.

there is for vice-kings in Scotland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire,) the counties palatine of Chester and Durham, the duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, and the principality of Wales, have all their mock royal establishments,—their Courts of Chancery and ecclesiastical law,—their chancellors, attorney-generals, solicitor-generals, privy councillors, &c., &c., just as if such were a separate kingdom, and we were still in the days of the heptarchy. All this adds immensely to the patronage and influence of the Crown, and something to its wealth: it is also very beneficial to the aristocracy, whose members and clients swarm in the lucrative offices provided by these mimic kingdoms; but in what way it contributes to the real “honour and dignity of the Crown,” or the welfare of the nation, is a political problem that remains to be solved. In the second place, many of the expenses forming items of the estimates on which the civil list was arranged, on the accession of her Majesty, have since been transferred to the Consolidated Fund, and are provided for in the annual votes of Parliament. Thus,—in the department of the Lord Steward, in 1836, occurred an item of £10,569 for the royal gardens. The fund appropriated to that department is now burthened with no such expense. The sum voted in the estimate for “Royal palaces and public buildings,” “Royal parks, pleasure gardens,” &c., exclusive of the new Houses of Parliament, of public buildings in Ireland, and of other buildings which may be called national, as distinguished from royal, was in 1854 £221,885, in 1855 £224,496, and in 1856 the total sum demanded for the same purpose is £234,460.

It is only proper to observe, however, that of this large annual addition to the civil list, which almost doubles it, only a small portion is spent on palaces in the personal occupation of her Majesty. Of the rest some are useless, some occupied rent-free by collateral branches of the royal family; others, as Hampton Court, for example, form a sort of Elysian variety of the Union workhouse for noble and right honourable paupers; but all are parts of the royal expenditure. There must be added, also, the immense sums spent on the building, cobbling, and sailing of the royal yachts, which, though only used for occasional pleasure trips, are little less expensive than line-of-battle ships in commission; and very much more so, proportionately and relatively, than merchant vessels, trading to far distant countries, and bringing grist to the national mill. In fine, if all the expenses incidental to “the honour and dignity of the Crown” could be

Union asylums for the aristocracy.

ascertained, and were fairly stated, it would be found that the £385,000 per annum, settled by Parliament on her Majesty, constitutes but a very small portion of the actual cost of royalty. We do not mean to deny that, if the whole sum, whatever it be, were well spent for objects desirable in themselves, though not indispensable, the blessing of settled government would be cheaply purchased even at that price; but to contend that much of it is improperly squandered on persons and for objects contributing nothing towards the comfort and happiness of the Sovereign, or the true honour and dignity of the Crown; and this we will in our next volume proceed to demonstrate from the constitution of the royal household, after a brief exposition of some facts relating more immediately to the royal lady, for whose supposed advantage it exists in its present form.

R E P O R T, N o. 2,
OF EXTRAORDINARY
PROCEEDINGS IN THE INQUISITION OF CHANCERY,
PRESIDED OVER BY HIS HONOUR
VICE-CHANCELLOR SIR W. PAGE WOOD,
K N I G H T.

In Chancery.

LORD CHANCELLOR.

VICE-CHANCELLOR WOOD.

Between CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY *Plaintiff,*
and
FREDERICK DESNAUX *Defendant.*

[BILL OF COMPLAINT.]

To the Right Honourable, ROBERT MONSEY, BARON CRANWORTH,
of Cranworth, in the County of Norfolk, Lord High Chan-
cellor of Great Britain.

HUMBLY COMPLAINING,

Sheweth unto his Lordship, CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY,
of Ingram Court, Fenchurch Street, in the City of London,
Ship Owner and Insurance Broker, the above-named Plaintiff,
as follows:—

1. In and previously to the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-three, the plaintiff Charles William Gregory was a Director of the African Steam Ship Company, and was largely interested in the said company, and was desirous of investing some capital, then unemployed, in his hands, in trading with various places situate on the west coast of Africa.

2. The defendant Frederick Desnaux had been introduced to the plaintiff Charles William Gregory, by two brothers of the plaintiff, named Edward Henry Gregory and Leonard Barnard Gregory, and the plaintiff had procured for the defendant Frederick Desnaux the situation of a clerk in an underwriter and wine merchant's office; and the defendant Frederick Desnaux had, about twelve months afterwards, procured better employment in the office of merchants trading to and from the West Indies.

3. On consideration, it appeared to the plaintiff that the position of the plaintiff, as a director of the said African Steam Ship Company, would not admit of the carrying on in plaintiff's own name any trade which the plaintiff Charles William Gregory might purpose to carry on with the west coast of Africa, if such trade were carried on in his own name; and with a view to obviate the difficulty, the plaintiff Charles William Gregory proposed to the defendant Frederick Desnaux, that the said trade should be carried on in the name of the defendant Frederick Desnaux, and should be managed by the said defendant under the direction of the plaintiff, and that in addition to the knowledge which the defendant would obtain by such management, under the direction of the plaintiff, the defendant should for remuneration receive a sum of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum for his services, and the plaintiff at the same time mentioned to the defendant, that should the said trade turn out very profitable, the plaintiff would further remunerate the defendant.

An evil monopoly long sustained by sordid merchants against progress and civilization of Africa secretly and for ever suppressed.

4. The defendant Frederick Desnaux agreed to the said proposal, and for the purpose of carrying on the said trade, the plaintiff engaged an office situate in East India Chambers, Leadenhall Street, in the said City of London, and furnished the said office at his own expense, and has ever since paid the rent of the said office, and the plaintiff Charles William Gregory introduced the defendant to a merchant of the name of Scala, carrying on business at Lagos and Accra, both on the said west coast of Africa, and the defendant Frederick Desnaux com-

menced managing the said trade with the west coast of Africa under the direction of the plaintiff, and designated himself in the said trade by the name of Frederick Desnaux and Company, and the plaintiff from time to time purchased goods with his own moneys, and shipped and consigned the same to the said merchant named Scala, and such purchases, shipments, and consignments were made through the instrumentality of the defendant Frederick Desnaux using the said name of Frederick Desnaux and Company, and without in any manner disclosing to the said merchant named Scala that the defendant Frederick Desnaux was merely an agent in the said trading.

5. The said purchase, shipment, and consignment of goods continued for some time, until the plaintiff had invested a sum of upwards of three thousand pounds in such trading, and the plaintiff only had received a small quantity of palm, oil, gum or other produce, from the said west coast of Africa, in exchange for the goods so purchased, shipped and consigned, and the defendant Frederick Desnaux, by the direction of the plaintiff, wrote to urge the said merchant named Scala to send home produce in exchange for the said goods, and the said merchant named Scala was unable, on account of the long credit required by the natives, to send home such produce, and proposed to take the whole of the goods so sent to the west coast of Africa as if invoiced to himself, and to allow interest on the sum of the said invoices, and the plaintiff agreed to such proposal; and the defendant Frederick Desnaux, by the direction of the plaintiff, sent to the said merchant named Scala an account made out in accordance with the said proposal.

6. In the month of January, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, there arrived from the said merchant named Scala, a cargo of produce of the west coast of Africa, nearly sufficient to settle the account so made out, and the plaintiff Charles William Gregory then determined to discontinue such trading with the said west coast of Africa, as he had up to that time carried on, and to carry on in lieu thereof, and in the same name and under the same system of management, a common agency business; and with that view, the plaintiff Charles William Gregory caused to be circulated among the small native traders of the west coast of Africa, a circular, soliciting their custom, and signed "Frederick Desnaux and Co," and the plaintiff obtained a fair amount of such agency business, and

carried on the same in the name of the defendant Frederick Desnaux, designating him by the title of Frederick Desnaux and Company, and such business was managed by the defendant Frederick Desnaux, under the direction of the plaintiff, and as the agent of the plaintiff, at the said salary of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum.

7. In the month of October, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, the plaintiff Charles William Gregory estimated that there would be standing at Messieurs Barclay and Company's, bankers, with whom the defendant Frederick Desnaux had an account, in respect of the said trading and agency businesses, a sum of about four thousand pounds, and he required a sum of about three thousand five hundred pounds of ready money, and he determined to withdraw that sum from the said common agency business, and to leave therein a sum of about one thousand pounds, which the plaintiff deemed sufficient for all the purposes thereof, and after some delay, caused by the defendant, the plaintiff obtained the sum of two thousand pounds from the said bankers; but the remainder of the said account at the bankers is still standing in the name and under the control of the defendant Frederick Desnaux, and the defendant Frederick Desnaux declines to authorise the said bankers to pay the same to the plaintiff.

8. In the month of November, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, the plaintiff Charles William Gregory accidentally met the defendant Frederick Desnaux in Fenchurch Street, and the defendant requested the plaintiff to accompany him to the office in East India Chambers aforesaid, and the plaintiff declined to do so till the defendant had furnished the plaintiff with a proper statement of the accounts of the said business, and the defendant resisted any such accounts being furnished, and offered to permit the plaintiff to inspect the books of account of the said business at the said office at East India Chambers aforesaid, and this the plaintiff refused to do, and at last the defendant was induced to bring the books of account of the said business and some warrants for unsold produce, part of the goods to which the plaintiff was entitled in respect of the business carried on by the plaintiff through the instrumentality of the defendant as his agent, to the office of Mr. Sandilands, of Fenchurch Street, solicitor, for the purpose of inspection by the plaintiff.

9. On or about the twenty-ninth day of November, one

thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, the plaintiff Charles William Gregory caused a verbal communication to be made to the defendant Frederick Desnaux, by Mr. Sandilands aforesaid, giving the defendant notice not to enter into or transact any further business on behalf of the plaintiff from and after the thirtieth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five.

10. On inspecting the books of account of the said business at the office of the said Mr. Sandilands, it appeared that the defendant Frederick Desnaux had, in addition to the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum allowed to him as remuneration by the plaintiff, drawn out of the moneys invested by the plaintiff in the said business, a sum of about eight hundred pounds, and converted the same to his own use, and that the defendant had lent part of the same moneys of the plaintiff to various friends of the defendant, without any knowledge on the part of the plaintiff that he had done so, and without any authority from the plaintiff in that behalf, and that he had also, without any authority of the plaintiff, applied part of the same moneys in procuring the release of an African trader, of whom the plaintiff had never before heard, from a gaol at Plymouth.

11. The defendant Frederick Desnaux has placed in the hands of the said Mr. Sandilands divers dock and wharf warrants, evidencing the title to property of the value of between one thousand five hundred pounds and two thousand pounds belonging to the plaintiff in respect of the business carried on by the plaintiff through the instrumentality of the defendant as his agent, and which warrants came to the hands of the defendant as the agent of the plaintiff, and the defendant Frederick Desnaux has in his possession or power bills of lading of produce of the value of about seven hundred pounds, now discharging or recently discharged at Plymouth, out of a ship called the *Retriever*, and which is now being sent to the London Docks, and which belongs to the plaintiff in respect of the said business, and which bills of lading also came to the hands of the defendant as the agent of the plaintiff; and the defendant has also in his possession or power bills of lading of produce of the value of about two thousand pounds, now shortly expected to arrive by a ship named the *Token*, from the west coast of Africa, and which also belongs to the plaintiff in respect of the said business, and which said bills of lading also came into the hands of the defendant as the agent of the plaintiff, and the

holder of the said bills of lading is entitled at law to enforce the delivery of the said produce sent by the *Retriever* and the *Token* to himself, and is able by indorsement on the said bills of lading and by other means to assign and create liens or incumbrances upon the said produce, and the defendant refuses to deliver up or procure to be delivered up to or to the order of the plaintiff the said dock and wharf warrants now in the hands of the said Mr. Sandilands, and the said bills of lading of the produce sent by the said ships called the *Retriever* and the *Token*, and to authorise the bankers with whom the said account of the trading business stood, to pay the balance of the said account now standing in the name of the defendant, and to which the defendant became entitled, as the agent of the plaintiff, to or to the order of the plaintiff, and to deliver up to the plaintiff, or to some person authorised by him, the possession of the office at which the said business has been carried on, and the furniture, chattels, effects, account books and papers therein, in the possession of which the defendant was placed, as agent of the plaintiff.

12. The plaintiff has obtained possession of part of the property belonging to the plaintiff, in respect of the said business carried on by the plaintiff, through the instrumentality of the defendant as his agent, the delivery of which, to himself, the defendant was entitled at law to enforce, and some persons or corporations are liable to be vexed by actions brought by the defendant in respect of such matters.

13. The defendant pretends that he was not an agent of the plaintiff in the said business, but that he was a partner with the plaintiff therein, and has an equal right with the plaintiff in respect of the matters complained of by this bill, whereas the plaintiff charges that the defendant was not such a partner, and that he was a merely salaried agent in such a business, and the plaintiff charges that the defendant has included in the said accounts inspected by the plaintiff yearly sums of one hundred and fifty pounds under the head of services, meaning thereby his said salary of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum.

14. The defendant pretends that he is under liabilities in respect of transactions entered into by him as an agent of the plaintiff, without any disclosure to the third parties engaged in such transactions, that the defendant was acting as an agent of the plaintiff, but the plaintiff charges that no such liabilities really exist, and that he has always been ready and willing, and

he hereby offers to indemnify the defendant in the most ample manner against any such alleged liabilities.

15. The plaintiff charges that the defendant Frederick Desnaux ought to be restrained by the order and injunction of this Honourable Court, in the manner herein prayed, and that if necessary such receiver as herein prayed should be appointed.

16. The defendant has in his possession divers books of account, papers, documents, and writings, relating to the matters complained of by this bill.

[PRAYER.]

THE PLAINTIFF PRAYS AS FOLLOWS:—

1. That an account may be taken of all sums paid or advanced by the defendant Frederick Desnaux to or for the use or on account of the plaintiff Charles William Gregory, and of all sums of money received by or come to the hands of the defendant Frederick Desnaux to or for the use of plaintiff, and of all dealings and transactions of the defendant Frederick Desnaux as the agent of the plaintiff.
2. That the defendant Frederick Desnaux may be ordered to pay to the plaintiff Charles William Gregory what, upon taking the above account, shall be found to be due from him, the plaintiff hereby offering to give to the defendant such indemnity as shall seem fit to this Honourable Court against any liabilities incurred by the defendant in respect of the matters complained of by this bill.
3. That the defendant Frederick Desnaux may be ordered to deliver up or to procure to be delivered up to the plaintiff Charles William Gregory the said dock and wharf warrants and the said bills of lading of produce sent by the ships *Retriever* and *Token*, and the possession of the said office and furniture, chattels, effects, books of account and papers, and to authorise the said bankers to pay to the plaintiff the balance now standing in his name in their books.
4. That the defendant Frederick Desnaux, his agents and servants, may be restrained by the interference of this Honourable Court from entering into any contract, and from accepting, drawing, endorsing or negotiating any bill of exchange, note, warrant, bill of lading or written security, as the agent of the plaintiff, in the name of

Frederick Desnaux and Company, or as such agent in any other name, and from parting with out of his custody, to any corporation or person other than the plaintiff, or some person authorised by the plaintiff, the said dock and wharf warrants and bills of lading, and from paying to any corporation or person other than the plaintiff, or some person authorised by the plaintiff, any sum or sums of money out of the said balance standing at the bankers, and from contracting any debt, and buying or selling any goods, and from making or entering into any verbal or written contract, and from doing or causing to be done any act as the agent of the plaintiff in the name of Desnaux and Company, or as such agent, or any other name, or whereby the plaintiff can or may become or be made liable to or for the payment of any sum or sums of money, or for the performance of any contract, and from detaining and keeping possession of the books of account, papers and documents relating to the said businesses carried on by the plaintiff through the instrumentality of the defendant as his agent, and from destroying or mutilating the said books of account, papers and documents, and from in any manner interfering with the sole possession by the plaintiff or some person authorised by the plaintiff, of the said office and the furniture, chattels and effects, books of account and papers therein, and from commencing any action at law or other proceeding against any person or corporation in respect of any of the matters complained of by this bill.

5. That if this Honourable Court shall deem it fit, such a receiver as is right may be appointed.
6. That the defendant Frederick Desnaux may be ordered to pay the costs of this suit.
7. That the plaintiff may have such further or other relief as the nature of the case may require.

NAME OF THE DEFENDANT:—

The Defendant to this Bill of Complaint is—

FREDERICK DESNAUX.

E. R. TURNER.

NOTE.—This Bill is filed by Messieurs AMORY, TRAVERS and SMITH, of No. 25, Throgmorton-street, in the City of London, Solicitors for the above-named Plaintiff.

25, Throgmorton Street, 29th April, 1856.

DEAR SIR,

YOURSELF *against* DESNAUX.

We send you copy transcript of the Vice-Chancellor's judgment, on the application for appointment of Receiver.

SAME *v.* DAVIS.

The defendant has pleaded. He denies that there was any such contract as you allege.

We are, dear Sir, yours truly,

AMORY, TRAVERS and SMITH.

Charles William Gregory, Esq.

*Cell 5, Division 3, of the Bastile of the High Court
of Chancery, alias Inquisition, April 30th, 1856.*

TO VICE-CHANCELLOR SIR W. PAGE WOOD, KNIGHT,

SIR,

GREGORY *v.* DESNAUX.

Plaintiffs'
counsel,
Mr. Wil-
cock.

The short-hand notes of your decision as to the appointment of a receiver of my property, were brought to me last evening, and your decision as reported therein quite accords with the opinion I expressed as to your capacity on the 24th instant to my solicitors, Amory, Travers and Smith; if anything I rather under-estimated your ideas of justice. You are reported to have said, "In this case there is one very strong point, unquestionably, which Mr. Wilcock opened, that the whole of the capital of the concern is the property of his client. That of course is in itself a very strong feature. That was met, and I am glad that it was so met, when Mr. Desnaux proposed himself to be the receiver, as the remaining partner as he says, the clerk as Mr. Gregory says."

Then you go on to say, "Complaint has been made in two or three particulars of Desnaux having drawn out £800 of my capital over and above his salary of £150 per annum, which he accounts for as being a moiety of the profits." To which you add, "That it is put forward certainly in rather a faint way, and as to which there may arise, at the hearing of the cause, some difficulty."

Again you say, "It may have to be determined whether he is entitled to any and what share of the profits. If he is entitled

to draw out the profits, he has not drawn out the full extent of the moiety of the profits, and he is willing and offers to pay in, as I understand, a sum to make it equal to what he has drawn out of the concern. As regards any impropriety of conduct, I do not think that on that part of the case anything can be said to fasten on the defendant any impropriety. The point that weighed most on my mind, and without which I should not have heard Mr. Amphlete, was, first, the statement of the African trader, which I think less of, and then as to the drawing out sums, as to which the charge in the bill is certainly very formidable. It is stated in the bill in this way:—‘Upon inspecting the books he found he converted £800 to his own use, and that he had lent various sums of money to friends without any authority from the plaintiff in that behalf.’ The defendant appeared to confess that he had done so to the extent of £390 without much explanation of what the circumstances were.

Desnaux proposed to pay in a sum provided he is put in possession of the property to enable him to raise it.

“Now on looking at the ledger, I do not say that he has been justified in what he has done; but I think, looking to the terms the parties were on, and there not being the slightest concealment of anything of the kind in the ledger; that is, in one case, the money is drawn out in the defendant’s own name, as appears by the book, part of it, £150, drawn out in the defendant’s own name, and which he lent under circumstances I am about to refer to. And the rest of the money, £150, beyond was lent in small sums to parties who were customers of the firm; which is very different from the accommodation of private friends—which I feared, at first, it appeared to be—out of the money of one who was at all events his partner, if not, as he contends, in the higher position of employer. It was to this particular firm who were customers.”

The “Customers,” of whom His Honour seems to know so much, were friends of Desnaux, and tradesmen from whom he made purchases. Vice-Chancellor Wood’s eccentric judgment.

You go on to say, “Then, with regard to the other part of the transaction which was not justifiable, the drawing out moneys and lending them to Frost and Norton, it appears that all this became known to the plaintiff so early as November, before that advertisement was issued with reference to the dissolution or alleged dissolution of partnership. Then that was known; and having been known, the plaintiff still acceded to the arrangement then made.”

And you say further, “Mr. Colnett swears he acted upon it, viz., That Mr. Desnaux (it had been suggested by Mr. Sandilands) should find some partner, and this partner could not

Vice-Chancellor Wood's pronouncements into the wishes and feelings of the plaintiff.

he found unless that advertisement was issued, and I think the true and fair construction of that proceeding was that the plaintiff might feel, I have wished to benefit Mr. Desnaux—it clearly was a part of his wish, whatever was the extent of it, whether to the extent of a partnership or not. I have wished to benefit Mr. Desnaux all through—now for some reason or other I do not feel exactly towards him as I did, but still I feel favourably enough towards him, and a wish enough to promote his interests, to desire that, if he procures a partner, he shall go on with the business. I must have my affairs settled and wound up, and I must have my capital taken out as soon as I can. But I think the whole faith of the arrangement was, that Mr. Desnaux was to go on with the business, and he had every reason to expect, and so had his co-partner, that no interference would be made in the business as conducted by Desnaux and Co., or Desnaux and Colnett; but that that business, such as it was, and such as the plaintiff contributed to make it by his capital, should be continued by these parties. I do not think it was quite in good faith, after that, for the plaintiff to circulate that paper* which has been referred to, attempting to interfere with the business which had been so conducted. Therefore, when I consider, that, up to the present time of the quarrel, this gentleman had continued to entrust the whole of his property to Desnaux, that after the quarrel he was content to let Mr. Desnaux go on carrying on the business in company with another gentleman—of course winding it up as far as Mr. Gregory was concerned—with Mr. Gregory's capital. I think I am not going too far in leaving to that same gentleman, whom he has so trusted, and as to whose conduct in these

* *Copy of the "Paper" Circular complained against by his Honour.*

London, 23rd February, 1856.

SAMUEL FERGUSON, ESQ., CAPE COAST CASTLE,

DEAR SIR,—The present is merely to inform you that I have withdrawn from my late agent, Mr. Frederick Desnaux, all my business of which he had the superintendence, and I have transferred the same, with my influence, solely to Messrs. Gregory, Chinery and Company, who have promised to carry out my wishes, by affording to the traders of Africa every possible mercantile facility, and removing those trammels which have for so many years been adhered to against progress by exclusive and monopolizing men. Having put in the wedge, it rests with you to drive it home, thereby satisfying

Your humble servant,

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY

particular items even he does not seem to have thought there was sufficient reason for him to find blame, to prevent his making the new arrangement entered into."

And you wind up by saying, "As to allowing the plaintiff to nominate a receiver, it would not, I think, have been well under any circumstances, to have allowed the plaintiff to do that. If I had not appointed Mr. Desnaux, I must have appointed somebody upon Mr. Desnaux's nomination. It seems to me that under all the unhappy circumstances of the case, in which Providence has interfered, rather than the conduct of the party it would not be right to have a party, nominated by the plaintiff. I must have allowed Mr. Desnaux to nominate the party, and I do not see enough to deprive Mr. Desnaux of being himself the party."

If the report from which I have made the foregoing extracts be truly recorded, you admit the capital to be mine, and you say the evidence put in by Desnaux, "is put forward certainly in rather a faint way; also, that he confessed having lent to the extent of £390 without much explanation of what the circumstances were." And on looking at the ledger you do not say that he has been justified in what he has done.

With regard to the evidence put forward by me, which I believe to be as conclusive as evidence could be, the only remark you seem to have made thereon is, "The point that weighed most on my mind, and without which I should not have heard Mr. Amphlete, was, first, the statement as to the African trader, which I think less of; and then as to drawing out sums, as to which the charge in the bill is very formidable. It is stated in the bill in this way:—'Upon inspecting the books he found he had converted £800 to his own use, and that he had lent various sums of money to friends without any authority from the plaintiff in that behalf.'" Then as to the affair of the African trader, a person with whom I never had nor permitted a transaction, the evidence before you proved he was, at the end of December, released from prison by Desnaux paying his debts out of my capital (after, as I understood, Mr. Colnett had consented to join him in partnership), notwithstanding my written injunction, and a communication made to him by his friend Mr. Sandilands in November, that the books were to be closed up to the 30th thereof, when further employment of my capital was to cease. You also had before you evidence that I could not obtain an account of his steward-

Vice-Chancellor Wood, having secured his victim in the Bastille of his Court, confiscates his property by placing it in the hands of Desnaux, who had been charged with embezzlement

ship, and that it was only through the influence of Mr. Sandilands I obtained a sight of the books, when they were brought to his office early in January; it was then only I discovered them to be in a disgracefully neglected condition, unposted, so that neither I or Mr. Sandilands were able to understand them, or make out how matters stood. A large amount, however, of my property was found to have been allowed to remain unsold since January, 1855, eating itself up in expenses, and daily depreciating.

With respect to the advertisement referred to by you, you possessed clear evidence that it did not announce a dissolution of partnership, but merely a precaution to meet the quirks and contortions of the scrupulous legal profession. And as to your observation, "I do not think it quite good faith after that for "the plaintiff to circulate that paper," alluding to my circular of the 23rd February, which I had caused to be sent to Africa, it was simply a mercantile precaution necessary for me to adopt on discovering the malpractices of Desnaux.

Vice-Chancellor Wood's base insinuation.

You seem to have assumed many unmercantile suggestions as to my permitting Desnaux to conduct a business he had, upon the clearest evidence (in your possession) proved himself unworthy of being entrusted with; and you are not content with that, but you wind up by appointing him guardian over my property (which I had sought, unfortunately, to obtain possession of through your Court of Equity), upon the ground, as you lead me to imagine, by your making use of the eccentric observation, "The interference of Providence," that you were under the delusion that I was in a private lunatic asylum, instead of a dungeon of the Bastile of your Court, into which you had incarcerated me for no offence whatever, unless you consider my justifiably treating with contempt an iniquitous injunction arising out of the misconduct of the person Desnaux joining in the conspiracy of my partners Ogilby, Moore and Power, a criminal offence.

Vice-Chancellor Wood charged with a wicked lie.

If it be really a fact that you made use of those words as intended to convey to the world the unsoundness of my mind, to justify you in placing my property in the hands of a man I had charged with misappropriating my money, then I am bound to tell you a more base libel I do not believe was ever perpetrated against anybody, no, not even though I had been in the fangs of the "Inquisition of the Vatican."

I therefore in my own name, and in the name of the people,

demand from you as a judge on the bench of England, having taken the oath to administer justice, to explain the ground upon which you used "Providence" as a screen to cover your injustice.

I remain, Sir, a victim of your unconstitutional Court,

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY.

P.S.—I enclose a copy of my first report of your proceedings, which I have caused to be freely circulated through every quarter of the world to which I have traded.

Bastile of the Inquisition, May 2, 1856.

MESSRS. AMORY, TRAVERS AND SMITH,
MYSELF *v.* DESNAUX.

GENTLEMEN,—

I duly received your note of the 29th ult., with copy of transcript of Vice-Chancellor Wood's judgment in this case, which I should have sooner acknowledged had I not been occupied in writing to his Honour thereon. I believe had I been in the merciless fangs of the "Inquisition of the Vatican" a more wicked felony could not have been perpetrated upon me.

A wicked felony perpetrated by the Court of Chancery.

MYSELF *v.* DAVIS.

You say "The defendant has pleaded he denies that there was any such contract as I allege." I do not understand what you mean to convey by this, as Richard Davis has for some months endeavoured to evade his agreement to return the five hundred pounds I deposited in his hands in April, 1855, to cover him against loss, which he has since admitted he has not sustained, and of which you have proof. I shall now have my declaration prepared in the matter, and I will be glad if you would send me over the papers, that I may prepare the heads thereof for bringing him before a Special Jury, where his high mercantile reputation will be tested.

Money obtained by R. Davis under a misrepresentation.

I am, Gentlemen, your humble Servant,

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY.

25, Throgmorton Street, May 2, 1856.

DEAR SIR,

YOURSELF *v.* DAVIS.

The declaration in this action has been delivered, otherwise the defendant could not have pleaded. We think it better not to give notice of trial until *you* are able to see Mr. Fox *with us*.

We should also require your evidence, and this would entail the necessity for a writ of "Habeas Corpus."

We are, dear Sir, yours truly,

AMORY, TRAVERS AND SMITH.

C. W. Gregory, Esq.

*Bastile of the Inquisition of Chancery,
Southwark, May 5, 1856.*

MESSRS. AMORY, TRAVERS AND SMITH,
GENTLEMEN,

MYSELF *v.* DAVIS.

A charge of wilful neglect and general misconduct against Amory and Co., in withdrawing from the Court, after it had been filed, the voluntary affidavit made by John Ingram Travers.

Your note of the 2nd inst. only reached me on Saturday evening, by which I find you have taken upon yourselves the responsibility of delivering my declaration in this case without first submitting it to me. As I consider it not only an unprofessional act, but a species of assurance I cannot permit, coupled with your conduct towards me, conveyed by your letters of the 10th and 11th ultimo, when you were at the eleventh hour desirous of abandoning my case against Desnaux, (on the ground that I would not be coerced by you to abide by the base injunction of the Honourable Vice-Chancellor Wood, in a case in which you were not acting for me,) I shall avail myself of your indifference to my interests, and have therefore to request you will send me by the bearer all my papers in this case, as well as those in the case of Desnaux, to be followed as early as possible by your bill of costs.

I am, Gentlemen, your humble servant,

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY.

Note.—I was induced to place my law cases against Desnaux and his late master, Richard Davis, Esq., of St. Helen's Place, in the hands of Messrs. Amory, Travers and Smith, owing to my solicitor, Mr. Sandilands, very properly declining to act for me against the parties in question, who were his friends.

C. W. G.

The following are either suborned, malicious, or interested witnesses, whose evidence was alleged by his Honour Vice-Chancellor Sir W. Page Wood, Knight, in July, 1855, and in

January, March, April, and May, 1856, to be "extremely fair evidence," and given with "forbearance;" he at the same time being cognizant of its iniquity. Record thereof may be examined in the High Court of Chancery in the following suits, viz:—

OGILBY *v.* GREGORY; GREGORY *v.* DESNAUX;

MILBURN *v.* GREGORY.

William Law Ogilby, Andrew Ferguson Moore, and Samuel Browning Power, of Ingram Court, Fenchurch Street, ship and insurance brokers; George Humphries, and James Glanville, clerks thereto; John Irving Glennie, proctor, Doctors' Commons; Alexander John Sutherland, of Richmond Terrace, Westminster, M.D., F.R.C.P.; Forbes Winslow, of 23, Cavendish Square, M.D.; Thomas Harrington Tuke, of Queen Street, May Fair, M.D.; Herbert Henry Southey, of Harley Street, M.D.; Macgregor Laird, of Mincing Lane, Director of the African Steam-Ship Company; Frederick William Bond, clerk to Mr. Laird; Henry John Waring, of Plymouth, agent for steamers; John Strevens, of Great George Street, Bermondsey, overlooker of steamers; Henry Collings, of 3, Cross Lane, Botolph Lane, ship agent; William Nicholson, junior, of Sunderland, blacksmith and shipowner; Daniel Jeffries, of Ipswich, master and part owner with W. L. Ogilby, of the barque *Curraghmore*; William Miles Moss, of Liverpool, ship broker; Nicholas Andrew, of Liverpool, retired shipmaster and shipowner; Joseph Thompson, of 10, Dundas Street, Sunderland, an overlooker of ships; Thomas Tadd, of Fowey, master of the schooner, *Hannah*; William Lakey, of Scilly, master and part owner of the brig *Ann Banfield*; Emanuel Boutcher, of St. Mildred's Court, Poultry, South American merchant; Murray Maxwell Johnson, of Austin Friars, solicitor, and his clerk, Charles Bryan; John Nickols, of Seething Lane, Crutched Friars, ship-agent; George Seymour, of 17, Gracechurch-street, merchant, shipowner, and broker; Richard Bidney Farrant, of Oregon Terrace, Peckham Rye, retired shipmaster and shipowner; Patrick Johnson Thomson, of Billiter Square, merchant, subscriber to Lloyd's, and a ship agent; William Gough Gubbins, of Limerick, director of the London and Limerick Steam-Ship Company, and a pork and beef curer; James Burness, of Leadenhall Street, coal contractor and speculative charterer; William Nicholas De Mattos, 6, Jeffrey's Square, St. Mary Axe, coal contractor and speculative charterer; John Forster, of New City Chambers, Bishops-

Names of either sub-
orned, mal-
icious, or
interested
witnesses:
Ogilby,
Moore,
Power,
Humphries,
Glanville,
Glennie,
Sutherland,
Winslow,
Tuke,
Southey,
Laird, Bond,
Waring,
Stevens,
Collings,
Nicholson,
Jeffries,
Moss,
Andrews,
J. Thomp-
son, Tadd,
Lakey,
Boutcher,
Johnson,
Bryan,
Nicholls,
Seymour,
Farrant,
P. J.
Thomson,
Gubbins,
Burness,
De Mattos,
Forster,
Swanzy,
Desnaux,
A. Milburn,
W. C.
Smith, H.
Milburn,
Jackson.

gate Street, Member of Parliament for Berwick-on-Tweed, and an African barterer: Andrew Swanzy of Cannon Street, late of Clement's Lane, African barterer; Frederick Desnaux, of East India Chambers, clerk; Alexander Milburn, clerk to William Compton Smith, of Lincoln's Inn Fields, solicitor; Henry Milburn, of Vauxhall Walk, Lambeth, a tooth extractor; and G. J. Jackson, of Billiter Court, ship agent.

Bastile of the Inquisition, Southwark, 10th May, 1856.

SIR W. PAGE WOOD, KNIGHT.

GREGORY v. DESNAUX.

SIR.—Not having received a reply from you to my letter of the 30th ultimo on this subject, possibly from your having mislaid it, I send you a printed copy thereof, to which I have to draw your serious consideration. Already some persons have taken up your high authority for imputing to “the interference of Providence” your justification for promulgating to the world my labouring under affliction of unsoundness of mind. Several members of the Committee of Lloyd's have become biased thereby, through, I believe, the unseemly conduct of the Member for Berwick-on-Tweed, John Forster, who is exerting himself to check my mercantile propensities and desire of progress and civilization of Africa.

OGILBY v. GREGORY.

Your intolerable iniquity in incarcerating me in this dungeon (swarming with rats, mice, and other vermin) without justification, is such as cannot be overlooked by the community, neither will you again be permitted to advocate such evidence as that of Dr. Tuke “as extremely fair evidence,” which you knew to be blasphemy, treating with contumely and indifference the truthful evidence of Professor Taylor, Mr. Sandilands,* and others.

* It may be well to mention here, that, having applied myself closely to business for upwards of twenty-five years without more than ten days' absence, either for recreation or illness, and two of my active partners dying, my health gave way in May. Shortly after my partners, who had hitherto been on the most friendly terms, turned against me, transferred the banker's balance into the names of Ogilby and Moore, and threatened, unless I accepted a paltry pittance, to apply to the Court of Chancery to compel me to retire. To assist them therein, they took into their service four eminent physicians, who hunted me down more like wolves than learned men; they called upon me at my office while I was transacting my business, to

The committee of Lloyd's allow themselves to be biased by a man of weight without principle.

Magna Charta set at naught by Vice-Chancellor Wood

MILBURN v. GREGORY.

The bill in this suit was filed against me in your Honour's Court on the 2nd instant, and served upon me here; it has for its object the upsetting the will of my late cousin, who left her

The Court of Chancery obtain possession of property under threat of arrest, &c.

discover, as they gave me to understand, the state of my mind, which they all expressed themselves satisfied to be in perfect order, with advice not to keep so close to business. Dr. Tuke said he thought I had a better right to have an inquiry into the minds of my partners.

My partners having filed a bill against me and my brother with a view to get us both out of the partnership, we filed one against them to restrain them from their harsh proceedings, and to compel them to restore the banker's balance to its proper account.

At the hearing in July before Vice-Chancellor Wood, the balance was ordered to be restored, but I was not permitted to draw therefrom, owing, as I believe, to the strong testimony of the four doctors (whom I was not aware I could cross-examine until some time afterwards). His Honour suggested that I should take a holiday, and then, if my mind continued in the condition in which the doctors represented, my partners were to apply to him again. On my return from Switzerland and Dover in November, I was met by a host of malicious and perjured evidence, some perpetrated by men I had never seen; finding I had the privilege of cross-examination, several of them were examined by a Chancery examiner. Dr. Tuke, who had made an affidavit to the effect that I was a dangerous maniac, was examined, and being asked as to his interview with me on the 21st July, he answered, "I think C. W. Gregory was talking on business with a clerk or a stranger when I got there; I only remained at the office two or three minutes. C. W. Gregory was pointed out to me in the office by his brother. C. W. Gregory seemed to me to be talking with particular clearness; he seemed particularly able to manage the affairs. I walked with C. W. Gregory from the office" (meaning in Ingram Court) "to the office of Messrs. Symes and Co.; he said very little while I was walking with him, but as far as it went it was rational. Before we got to Messrs. Symes and Co., I was particularly struck by Mr. C. W. Gregory's clearness and powers of business, very unusual in patients whom I am in the habit of seeing." He was then asked how he accounted for the incoherency conveyed by his affidavit, leaving it to appear that my mind was unsound. He answered,—"The whole of my affidavit was much fuller originally than it is now. It has been greatly shortened and condensed by the lawyers," meaning Messrs. Gregson and Sons of Angel Court, Throgmorton Street, who were the manufacturers of the affidavit referred to. The business was ultimately taken out of their hands, because, as I believe, they were too honourable for Mr. A. F. Moore, who transferred it into the hands of Messrs. Tatham, Upton, Upton and Johnson.

Dr. Tuke desirous of having C. W. G. in his asylum.

Gregson and Son, solicitors, manufacture affidavits for a criminal purpose

The whole of the affair I am preparing for an historical publication.

Bustle, 12th May, 1856.

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY.

GREGORY v. OGILBY.

AFFIDAVIT of WALTER SAMUEL TOLLET SANDILANDS, of Fenchurch Street, in the City of London, gentleman, one of the solicitors of the above-named plaintiffs. Sworn and filed 13th December, 1855.

SAY AS FOLLOWS,

1. I have been in almost daily personal communication with the above-named plaintiff, Charles William Gregory, on the matters which constitute the subject of this

property to be disposed of by three trustees in the way therein provided ; the share left to my sister (who unfortunately married Alexander Milburn, clerk to William Compton Smith, of

suit from the 4th day of July last to the present time, except during an interval between the 10th day of August and the 3rd day of November last, when the said plaintiff was absent from town, and I have had many written communications from the said plaintiff.

2. I have never since I have known him seen any person more apparently sane or capable of business than the plaintiff, Charles William Gregory, and although as his solicitor I should have abstained from expressing any opinion on such a point, I feel that after the extraordinary statements of the medical men who have made affidavits on the part of the defendants, and more particularly of those of Dr. Thomas Harrington Tuke, it is but an act of justice to the said plaintiff to state what has been my experience of his state of mind during the very painful and trying proceedings in which for now nearly six months he has been involved.

Dr. Tuke's
blasphemy.

3. In all the communications which I have had with the said Charles William Gregory, both personally and by letter, he has manifested great equability of temper and disposition, and although many of my interviews with him have been of long duration and of a very trying character, I have never seen him angry or excited, or heard him speak as if he were angry or excited, and I make this assertion in the most positive manner of which I am capable in reference to and contradiction of the statements contained in the affidavits of the said Thomas Harrington Tuke, and made on his cross-examination on the said affidavit. From the numerous interviews which I have had with the said Charles William Gregory, and the nature and circumstances of such interviews, as well as from information which I have received from members of his family and others, I am satisfied he is a person of more than ordinary equability of temper and disposition, and that if he had not been so he could not have undergone, as he has done, without considerable mental disturbance, the ordeal of the proceedings to which he has been subjected by the defendants, and which have appeared to me to be of a very unnecessarily harsh and oppressive character.

4. The said Thomas Harrington Tuke came to the office of my firm to examine the said plaintiff on the 21st day of July last, and not on the 20th, as stated in his said affidavit. I offered him writing materials on that occasion for the purpose of taking notes of his examination, but he declined them. After he had made such examination he made a statement to me which left upon my mind the impression that he considered the said plaintiff recovered and sane in mind, and my business-entry of his visit made at the time is to that effect.

5. I was present at the second interview of the said Thomas Harrington Tuke with the said plaintiff on the 23rd day of July last, and, speaking in the most positive terms of which I am capable, I deny as wholly contrary to the fact that the said plaintiff at that or any other time, in my presence or hearing, manifested any indications of excitement, or that he spoke loud or angrily, or that he expressed any aversion towards the defendant A. F. Moore unless the expression of a belief that the said A. F. Moore had taken a more active part than his other partners in the proceedings against him be considered as expressing aversion. I am entirely at a loss to account for the statements which the said Thomas Harrington Tuke has made, both in his said affidavit and in his said cross-examination, in regard to the alleged excitement and loud and angry talking and expressions of aversion of the said plaintiff on the 23rd of July last ; but I say positively that such statements, applied to anything which ever passed in my presence, are without any foundation.

Lincoln's Inn Fields, Solicitor, and an accomplice in the suit with Henry Milburn) is secured to her and her children's sole use, uncontrolled by her husband, who, lawyer-like, feels justified in appealing to your Honour to place the same under his safe keeping. The threat of your Honourable Court (indorsed on the back of the bill) to arrest and imprison in this place all such who disobey your order to deliver up their property into your hands, is sufficient to extort from nervous men and unprotected widows and orphans all they possess in the world. Such I believe to be the amount of villany perpetrated in your unholy Court, that thousands of men, women and children, are left to perish in our streets of hunger, calling upon God to avenge their destruction.

The amount of villany perpetrated in the Court of Chancery causes men, women, and orphans to perish.

I observe by the Parliamentary reports that those righteous Lords, Cranworth and St. Leonards, are busying themselves to have placed within your meshes other victims. I trust, however,

Lords Cranworth and St. Leonards busy themselves to introduce other victims into the Court of Chancery.

6. I further say, from the experience which I have had of the character and disposition of the said C. W. Gregory, that it would have been perfectly incredible to me that the said C. W. Gregory could have demeaned himself in the manner alleged by the said Thomas Harrington Tuke in his said affidavit and cross-examination if I had not been present and known the contrary.

7. I have a perfect recollection, as well as a written memorandum in my daily entries, of the visit and examination of Dr. F. Winslow, who has made an affidavit in the said suit of the said defendants. The interview between the said Forbes Winslow and the said plaintiff lasted only a few minutes, the said F. Winslow having been informed by me that the plaintiff had only just previously been visited by Dr. Tuke, and having himself suggested that under those circumstances it would be better for him to see the said plaintiff privately the following day, the said F. Winslow made an appointment to attend at the office of my firm on the following day, and the plaintiff was prepared to see him and waited for him; but the said Forbes Winslow did not keep such appointment, and did not see the plaintiff again.

Dr. Winslow's unscrupulous evidence.

8. On the 24th day of July, 1855, I accompanied the said plaintiff to the Sun Fire Office, to see Dr. Henry H. Southey, who has made an affidavit in the cause instituted by the said Defendants as aforesaid. On mentioning the case to Dr. Southey, I found he had already been consulted by the said defendants, and had been employed by them to see the said plaintiff and examine him, and had an appointment to meet the defendants that day at their counting-house previously to seeing the said plaintiff. I immediately offered to save Dr. Southey the trouble of going to the plaintiff by introducing the plaintiff at once to him, which I did, and thereupon Dr. Southey saw the said plaintiff alone in his private room. The interview of the said Dr. Southey with the said plaintiff did not, however, last more than a few minutes, and Dr. Southey informed me, as the result of his interview, that he did not find that the plaintiff had then anything the matter with him, but that he had better get away from business. It is a mistake of Dr. Southey as stated in his said affidavit, that I said I wished him to make an affidavit that the said plaintiff was not insane. It would have been quite out of the question for me to have expressed any such wish after I found that he was employed by the defendants, and I did not do so. I considered Dr. Southey to be acting for the defendants, and I left him to adopt any course which he or they might think proper.

Dr. Southey's unscrupulous evidence.

before many weeks the shock they will undergo will stop their career from increasing the terrible scourges upon society.

I inclose you the Victim's Prayer, which will now be generally used throughout the United Kingdom.

Remaining a victim of your iniquity,

CHARLES WILLIAM GREGORY.

DEFEAT OF LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S NEFARIOUS EDUCATIONAL SCHEME.

House of Commons, 10th April, 1856.

THE House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee upon Education,

LORD J. RUSSELL moved the first of his series of resolutions,—
“That it is expedient to extend, revise, and consolidate the Minutes of the Committee of Privy Council on Education.”

The Privy Council to appoint inspectors, *alias* Papists in Protestant attire.

A papistical scheme of education in the rear.

MR. HENLEY said it was impossible to deal with these resolutions in detail; he should therefore consider the scheme as a whole, under six heads:—First, inspection; and he objected to the general power to be given to the Committee of Privy Council to appoint eighty inspectors, neither more nor less, with sub-inspectors. Secondly, the formation of districts; here he objected to the authority conferred upon that committee, without communication with local parties, at discretion, to form school districts, the inevitable result of which in small parishes would be to break up the parochial system. Third, charitable trusts; it being proposed to empower the Charity Commissioners (Lord J. Russell being one) to apply such trust funds, now deemed useless or injurious, to the education of the middle and lower classes, and he showed, by reference to examples, how, in his opinion, the diversion of funds supposed to be injurious, would work injuriously to the very classes in question. Fourth and fifth, the school-rate and religious teaching; and, under these heads, he objected to the proposed mode of settling the religious question, the House being asked to pledge itself to a vague scheme, which would settle down into a purely secular system. He objected likewise to the rate system itself, the machinery for obtaining the compulsory rate being most inconvenient, especially the employment of the quarter sessions,

whereby all the evils of the church-rate dispute would be perpetuated. Sixth, the proposition, made for the first time, to compel the employers of children and young persons between nine and fifteen to pay for their instruction at school. Under this head Mr. Henley discussed at much length the state of education in the national schools, and he complained that Lord J. Russell had not indicated what he meant to teach children of upwards of twelve years of age at these schools, citing suggestions from some of the inspectors which evinced a desire to elevate the standard of education too high. He urged that this part of the scheme would incite employers to have recourse to adult, instead of juvenile, labour; that it would tend to keep young children from school, and incur the risk of augmenting the number of those who were neither at school nor at work—a class with which neither Sir J. Pakington's plan nor that of Lord J. Russell attempted to deal, but which, he believed, might be dealt with piecemeal, though not upon a large scale. In conclusion, thinking, he said, that the scheme of Lord J. Russell had a strong tendency to secularize education, he moved—equivalent to moving the previous question—that the chairman leave the chair.—*Times*.

Lord John desirous that Protestant children should be educated to serve two masters !!

HOUSE OF LORDS AND THE PROCLAMATION OF PEACE.

House of Lords, 29th April, 1856.

THE Bishop of EXETER, in presenting a petition, took occasion to express a hope that Her Majesty's advisers would not allow the restoration of peace to pass without offering on the part of the nation some testimony of humble thankfulness to Almighty God for the mercy vouchsafed to this country through the happy event proclaimed that day. The question whether or not certain places of amusement should be opened to the people on Sunday was frequently discussed; but, in his opinion, it was a mockery to prohibit them from the enjoyments to which they were inclined unless they were provided with the means of spending the Lord's day in the service of God. The present was, therefore, a peculiarly fitting time to show that we were not wholly insensible to the Divine blessings heaped upon us, by securing to large masses of the people that accommodation for attending public worship of which they were still destitute. It was true that in these days

A papistical suggestion of blasphemy.

Mockery and rapaciousness of a bishop.

Bishop Phillpotts an advocate of two masters !

The pro-
tected
Church of
England a
bigoted
hypocrite
and a pecu-
lator.

the church was not the sole claimant on the support of the public for religious and other objects; but there was no reason why the system, which had on the whole worked so well for the promotion of education, should not be extended to supply the lamentable deficiency to which he had referred, or why a considerable sum should not be granted by the State to help those who were willing to help themselves in building churches and other places of worship.

DISCLOSURES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS RE- FLECT DISGRACE UPON THE BRITISH NATION.

IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.

SIR,—The publication of a report to the House of Commons upon the subject of imprisonment for debt, discloses facts which reflect disgrace upon the British nation. By this report we learn, that in various parts of the country, a number of unfortunate individuals, for no other crime than that of being in debt, have been incarcerated for periods varying from twelve weeks to *thirty-three years*! Incredible as this statement may appear, I can refer for confirmation to a contemporary of Wednesday last.

Among the cases enumerated are the following:—

The
Queen's
Bastiles ne-
cessary for
the perpet-
ration
of terrible
iniquity.

An old man, aged 70, has been imprisoned in Chester county gaol for the last five years, for a debt of £41 4s. 6d., and costs to the amount of £17 14s. 8d.

Two others, aged 77 and 75, have been confined for the respective sums of £27 and £80.

In Devon county gaol, a person whose initials are given as V. B., and who owes £75, has been in prison for the last *thirty-three years*!

J. H., aged 94, has been incarcerated twelve months, at the suit of his own son.

In Monmouth county gaol is imprisoned a person aged 86, and who owes £180, plus £100 costs, besides contempt of court.

These, it is true, are only a very few cases; yet they are a fair specimen of the whole. They prove, however, that the most

infamous tyranny is perpetrated in this country under the name of justice; and against that tyranny it behoves every Englishman most loudly to protest.

The law which gives a hard-hearted creditor the power to consign a poor honest debtor to the dismal cells of a loathsome prison dungeon, is a despotic, barbarous, and most inhuman law, and a perfect disgrace to the vaunted civilization of the nineteenth century.

Upwards of a hundred years ago, this unjust statute was vehemently denounced by Dr. Johnson, and the denunciation is as applicable at the present day as it was at that time.

Englishmen are much given to boasting about the freedom of their country—that “slaves cannot breathe in England”—that “Britons never shall be slaves,” and so forth; yet here are glaring instances of tyranny of which a civilized nation ought to feel truly ashamed.

Many of the States of America have erased this infamous law from their statute-books, and for this act they deserve commendation. Let our legislators follow the noble example, and repeal this iniquitous law. It is productive of no good, but of infinite evil. By imprisoning a poor, hardworking, honest tradesman, for debts which he may be unable to pay, his family are generally brought to want—frequently, indeed, to irretrievable ruin. Besides, an ineffaceable stigma is forever cast upon his name.

If our legislators are not devoid of every sense of justice—if they are not oblivious to every feeling of pity—if they are not deaf to every cry of suffering humanity, let them repeal this unchristian law.

I am Sir, your obedient servant,

N. R. Y.

24th March, 1856.

Commissioners of the Insolvency Court, *alias* inquisition. William John Law, Charles Phillips, and Serj. F. S. Murphy. Liberty and justice in England a mockery.

THE BALLOT IS USEFUL ONLY FOR INWARD ENEMIES WHO ARE OUTWARDLY APPARENT FRIENDS!

THE INDIAN AND QUEEN'S ARMIES.

Without caring too nicely to inquire whether a club is a private establishment or a public institution, whose affairs may be properly canvassed by the press, we may mention as a fact, in which at least a public principle is involved, that on the 11th

Officers in the Queen's service are outwardly friends, but inwardly cowardly enemies towards E. I. Company's officers, their superiors both in honour and courage.

and 12th instant, at two ballots taken at the Senior United Service Club, every Company's officer proposed for election was blackballed. Six field officers of the Indian army were on those days rejected—not one was admitted to the club. The subject has been much discussed in military circles during the past fortnight, and very strong opinions have been expressed regarding it, not only by Company's officers, but by many in the service of the Queen. It is rumoured, we know not with what truth, that the active promoters of the opposition are the officers of her Majesty's navy. It may be remembered that in July, 1854, out of eleven Company's officers proposed seven were rejected—among the seven being one who has since, without fresh service, been appointed an aide-de-camp to the Queen. At the ballots of 1855, however, not one Company's officer was rejected. The candidates of the present year, therefore, believing that the opposition had ceased, were at little pains to muster their friends. The result of this feeling of delusive security has been the rejection of the entire batch. All this is to be greatly deplored. Perseverance in such a course must lead in time to the disorganization of the club. The retaliatory process, though by no means to be counselled, is one not easily to be abstained from under such circumstances, and, whatever might be the result, the blame would lie at the doors of those who struck the first blow.—*Smith and Elder's Overland Mail.*

PIOUSLY MANUFACTURED PETITIONS!!

HOW PETITIONS ARE GOT UP.

Pious (!) frauds upon the House of Commons.

A LIST of petitions against opening the Museum and other exhibitions on Sunday, which fills a space of upwards of 100 pages in the report published yesterday, is followed by a very extraordinary petition which, if the fact, as alleged, be true, would go far to neutralize the effect of this immense mass of paper. It emanates from Mr. George Jones, of Bristol, builder, and states that certain signatures to the petition from that city against opening the Museum and galleries on Sundays have been obtained from infants of tender age and paupers. Mr. Jones prays the House to prevent such practices for the future. The total number of petitions, as yesterday announced,

amounted to 4,286, and the signatures to 531,065, while the counter-petitions are 106 in number, and signed by 18,548 persons.—*Times*, 28th February, 1856.

THE REASON WHY THE AMERICANS OBJECT TO THE ENGLISH RIGHT TO SEARCH.

THE SLAVE TRADE ON THE BRAZILIAN COAST.

AN American schooner called the *Mary Smith* attempted to land a cargo of 320 negroes which she had brought from the coast of Africa, but was taken prisoner by the Brazilian brig of war *Olinda*, and taken into Bahia. The commander and crew are all Americans, and were immediately after landing ironed and locked up in the gaol of Bahia. The schooner embarked 500 of the poor blacks from the coast; but they were so closely packed on board, totally naked, and so badly fed during the voyage, that 180 died and were thrown overboard, and of those landed at Bahia sixty-four died a few hours afterwards. The survivors were immediately fed and clothed, and will be well taken care of until their ultimate destination is resolved upon.—*Illustrated News*, 15th March, 1856.

Capture of
an American
schooner
by a Brazilian
vessel
of war.

AN ARISTOCRATIC GOVERNMENT HATED BY THE PEOPLE.

PERNICIOUS INFLUENCES IN HIGH PLACES.

To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.

SIR,—If ever the ruler of France turn against us it will be owing to the discontent—I fear I might add disaffection—which pervades the country, and because he would thence expect to find the people a ready convert to his schemes of ambition.

When a country is filled with hatred of its rulers, when the masses feel that they toil to feed the corruption of those above them—that their representatives have lost their influence, that the Ministers, instead of listening to their wrongs, treat their complaints with contempt—when they see that the end and object of Government, in Church and State, are not the welfare and religion of the people, but the aggrandizement and main-

The Aristocracy permitted to perpetrate heinous offences unpunished.

tenance of a few families and favourites—that crime among *them* passes unpunished, that neglect of duty and incapacity are not only overlooked, but covered with rewards, as a means to shelter them from public indignation and disgrace—that the power of the country and the safety of our armies are imperilled for the sake of maintaining the position of a delinquent favourite—it can occasion but small surprise that rumours should abound of the disloyalty and contempt of surrounding nations; and that a Minister, who has not the daring to stake his all, on the removal of such abominations, should be suspected of treachery to the country he has not the courage honestly to serve.

Countries suffering from the oppression of their rulers have always been a ready prey to the invader. Men are not like cats, content with mere locality; nor are they attached to any class or family of rulers. As Burke remarks, in his fifth volume, “For a man to love his country, his country must be loved.” One tyranny differs from another only in degree, and liberty is grateful under any sun, no matter by what hand it is dispensed.

People who have nothing to lose are never patriotic; as the natives of India, they pass like sheep from one despot to another, looking to change as the only source of improvement; and whether it were French, German, or Russian, a people like the English, long accustomed to be ruled by foreigners, would not much criticize, in their present temper, the change which brought with it good and responsible government.

Ministers calculate upon a standing army to support arbitrary power.

Our Ministers, looking down from high places, careless of the wishes of the people, calculate upon a standing army, the natural support of arbitrary power—where that is wanting, on a standing police power, radiating from one centre, and controlled by a single Minister. With the latter a blow is aimed at the municipal institutions of the country, the ancient and last waning safeguard of our liberties. Jealous of their superiority, and unable to imitate them in the conduct of their affairs, the Government seek to reduce them to their own level of mismanagement, by taking the direction of their affairs into their own hands.

A Minister of Police the forerunner of a *subversion* by the people.

With a Minister of Police comes a system of *espionage*—our houses invaded by spies—the conclusion, despotism. No wonder that our Ministers should court the congenial support of despots; the wonder is, that the people should so long bear with them.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

May, 1856.

M. L.

SYSTEMATIC PIRACY UPON THE COLUMNS OF THE *MORNING ADVERTISER*.

SYSTEMATIC LITERARY PIRACY.

WE are sorry to have to complain of systematic piracy, on the part of the *Globe*, of our telegraphic exclusive intelligence, procured at great expense. Were it only occasionally that our contemporary gave our exclusive intelligence without acknowledgment, we should not have taken any notice of the fact; but when the thing has become habitual, and has been continued for years, it is only an act of justice which is due to ourselves, that we should make the matter public, in the hope that the ungracious practice will be discontinued. It was only last night, that the very important telegraphic information respecting the determination of the Belgian Government to set at defiance the threat of Louis Napoleon to destroy the liberty of the press in Belgium, which we were enabled to give exclusively, was given by the *Globe*, without acknowledgment, or anything that could indicate the source when it was obtained. Nor was this all. Our evening contemporary also gave in his impression last night, the whole, word for word, of our telegraphic communication from Marseilles. We ask the *Globe* itself, whether this be not too bad? It does not act in this way to the *Times*. Quotations from the *Times* are duly acknowledged every day. We trust that we have only to point out this injustice and ungraciousness on the part of the *Globe*, to insure for the future that which fairness and right feeling equally dictate. We never knowingly quote from the *Globe*, or any other paper, important exclusive intelligence, without giving the name of the journal whence our quotations are made.

May 9th, 1856.

Ungracious practices of the Editor of the *Globe*.

The determination of the Belgian Government to set at defiance the threat of Napoleon.

THE LATE DEEDS OF THE IRISH INQUISITION, *alias* IRISH COURT OF DELEGATES.

THE CASE OF TALBOT *v.* TALBOT.

House of Commons, 28th February, 1856.

MR. J. G. PHILLIMORE moved for copies of the judgment pronounced by the Hon. Mr. Justice Torrens, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas in Ireland, in the case of Talbot

Judge Torrens and the Talbot case of atrocity.

Laughter of
Queen's
Counsel at
the just in-
dignation
of a man of
feeling.

v. Talbot, before the High Court of Delegates in Dublin, in the month of May, 1855; and of the written proceedings and depositions taken in the same cause before the Consistory Court of Dublin, from which the appeal was made to the said Court of Delegates, and which were laid before the said High Court of Delegates. The honourable and learned gentleman in support of his motion, stated that he was a stranger to those interested in it, but investigation into the facts of the case showed it to be one of such monstrous brutality, that they chilled his blood, and made his soul sick. ("Hear" and laughter.) He said that an innocent woman had been most cruelly and brutally treated, and as an English gentleman, he felt that indignation at so gross an insult on humanity, that he at once considered it his duty to bring the case before the house. He did not propose that the house should act as a court of review in the case on an appeal from the decision pronounced by the judge, neither did he appear as the advocate of Mrs. Talbot or her friends; but he said, without hesitation, that the reverence due to judges, and the estimation they ought to be held in, would be lost, if charges of this sort were brought, not anonymously, but by people high in office, and certifying them with their names, were to be passed over in silence and unnoticed by that house. One of the gentlemen who brought these charges was a barrister of good standing, and in respectable practice, and the other was a country magistrate, who had to officiate in the administration of justice almost every day, and if they have falsely brought these charges, neither of them were longer fitted to hold the position they did. But if, on the other hand, these charges were true, the judicial incapacity exhibited by them was so great, that it was the duty of the house to interfere. As regarded corruption, he exonerated the judge from anything like that; but the charge he brought against him was incapacity, and which had been followed by the most lamentable and terrible consequences. Now, then, what were the charges against the judge? One was, that he had admitted hearsay evidence. Another, that he had stated, in a material part of the case, that a witness had said what in no part of the case such witness did say. Another, that he had quoted a witness as asserting what the witness denied he did assert; and another, that with regard to a material fact which established Mrs. Talbot's innocence he stated that fact in his decision when first drawn up, but when sent to him for correction he obliterated that fact, rendering one

part of his decision wholly inconsistent with the other. These were the charges against the judge; and in a few words he would lay the facts of the case before the House. Mr. and Mrs. Talbot were married in the year 1846. In 1847 they resided in the city of Cork, from whence they went to reside in the county of Roscommon, Mr. Talbot having succeeded to a valuable estate in that county, which was entailed on male heirs (let the House recollect that fact), Mrs. Talbot having born no son. They were there in 1852, and up to the 19th of May of that year, they had Mr. Talbot's own statement that he believed his wife pure and spotless. At that time a charge was brought against her by a man, who, to quote the words of the judge, was "a loathsome and detestable wretch, a slander upon his species, and who ought not to hold up his head in society." That charge was brought in May, 1852. As stated by the judge, they went to the door, and finding it bolted, broke it open, and found this woman in the room with the groom, who it was alleged was her paramour. But it is admitted that at the very time there was in the room a child of seven years of age, Mrs. Talbot's daughter; and he put it to any one, would the lowest strumpet take a child of that age to witness the commission of a criminal act such as that alleged? That, then, was the charge. Mr. Talbot hears of it, he takes the child from her mother, leaves out some tea and sugar, locks up the premises, and takes his departure, leaving his wife with these two men, and in the course of the night one of them attempted to violate her person. That was the man whom he accused first of all; but what was most singular, he still kept him in his service, and had raised his wages. That fact the judge admitted; but he took no notice of it in his judgment. The horrors of that night made the woman a lunatic, she went in the mean time to Dublin, threatened to throw herself out of a window, and fancied an old woman to be her daughter. From this she was taken to England by a brother-in-law of Mr. Talbot's attorney, who placed her with a woman who had never yet been brought forward, while her friends knew not where to find her. The action of divorce was in the mean time brought, and a servant girl, who was in the house with Mrs. Talbot during the night in question, protested in the strongest terms her mistress's innocence, and that servant had returned to her master's house. This was on the 13th of July, 1852, and in January following additional allegations were put in against this poor woman, which had reference to the time they were living in Cork. A

Horrible deeds of a husband against his innocent wife sanctioned by Inquisition.

Perjury and corruption the chief elements required to support Chancery and Ecclesiastical Courts.

A just inquiry into a terrible case of iniquity opposed in the House of Commons by James Whiteside, Q.C., J. Fitzgerald, Q.C., Solicitor-General for Ireland; C. W. Paetke, Esq., Right Hon. T. H. Walpole, Q.C., a Church Estate Commissioner.

man of the name of O'Brien, who had, on a previous occasion, sworn that he knew nothing against Mrs. Talbot, and which he admitted having done when brought forward as her accuser, now said that he saw a person have connexion with her near a public road, in the neighbourhood of Cork. The other witness, who swore she saw Mrs. Talbot go into a bed-room with the groom, had also before that said she knew nothing against that lady. Such was the character of the only witnesses whose evidence went to prove anything against Mrs. Talbot. The hon. and learned gentleman then read statements of the witnesses, to show that Mr. Talbot's attorney had attempted to persuade them of a knowledge of facts of which they had no cognizance. He also stated that the judge had quoted the allegations of the accuser as proving facts of which there was not a word of proof in the evidence of the witnesses, as it appeared in the depositions, while he had rejected evidence, given by other witnesses, in favour of Mrs. Talbot. A still stronger point, however, was the omission by the judge to notice the fact of the child's presence in the room on the 19th, a fact strongly in favour of Mrs. Talbot. But, as he had said, he was not the advocate of Mrs. Talbot. She was now unconscious both of her wrongs and of the generous exertions of those who had risen in her behalf. He spoke not for her, but for the public, that the scales of justice might be taken from hands which could not hold them impartially, before others suffered such wrongs as had been inflicted on this unfortunate lady.

Mr. J. EWART seconded the motion.

THE COLUMNS OF *THE TIMES* OPEN TO THE ADVOCATES OF THE IRISH INQUISITION.

TALBOT v. TALBOT.

To the Editor of *The Times*.

A letter vindicating the honour of Mrs. Talbot.

SIR,—As you have admitted into your columns of this day an anonymous paragraph, calculated to give a most false impression with regard to the family of Mrs. Talbot, I trust to your sense of justice to insert a few lines in reply from one of Mrs. Talbot's family, who is neither afraid nor ashamed to avow his name.

Mr. Talbot's father, mother and sisters, have, in the most emphatic manner, pledged themselves to Mrs. Talbot's entire innocence. One of her sisters, has for three years shared her home with her, another has shared her bed.

Her only brother, Mr. C. T. McCausland, has sworn, in the most solemn manner, that he believes Mrs. Talbot "insane, innocent, and the victim of a foul conspiracy."

A foul conspiracy perpetrated in the Irish Court of Delegates.

The paragraph to which you have given insertion would lead any one unacquainted with these facts to the false and cruel conclusion that Mrs. Talbot's family entertained an idea of her guilt!

With regard to Mr. Phillimore's motion, I have only to say that, until after he had placed his notice on the books of the House, I was an entire stranger to that gentleman, and had not the slightest intimation of his intention or knowledge that he had ever heard the name of Mrs. Talbot.

I, however, as one of Mrs. Talbot's family, feel deeply grateful to Mr. Phillimore, and beg through your columns to express my thanks to him on behalf of Mrs. Talbot (who is incapable of expressing them herself), for his eloquent and generous appeal on behalf of an entire stranger.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant, .

THOMAS TERTIUS PAGET.

Humberstone, near Leicester, March 3, 1856.

ENGLAND BETRAYED BY HER MINISTERS.

UNFAVOURABLE as was the light in which, from the first, the country regarded the peace lately concluded at Paris, no one, we believe, was prepared for the astounding admissions made last night by Lord Palmerston respecting the insecurity or hollowness of that peace. The nation will read with mingled emotions of amazement and indignation, the confessions extorted last night from the Premier, in answer to questions put to him. First of all, in reply to a question asked by Lord John Manners, Lord Palmerston admitted that the Treaty of Peace accorded to Russia the right to rebuild her forts on the east coast of the Black Sea, if she should feel so disposed. If so disposed! Why, of course, Russia will be "so disposed," whenever she deems the fitting time for the purpose to have arrived. Our work, there-

ASTOUNDING admissions made by Lord Palmerston of the unsoundness of the Peace.

fore, in destroying the Black Sea forts of Russia, has been all in vain. She may reconstruct her forts whenever she pleases; and consequently the peace is already proved to be a sham, a delusion, a mockery. It is a peace which, for all practical purposes, leaves Russia just where she was before the commencement of the war.

Value of the
'Treaty of
Peace.

We were prepared for much in the shape of disappointment as to the value of the Treaty of Peace, but we must say that, badly as we thought of our Government, we did not believe that they ever could have accepted conditions so deceptive and so dishonourable as some of those which Lord Palmerston acknowledges as constituting part of the Treaty.

The Legis-
lature sur-
prised at
the replies
of Lord
Palmerston.

But the affair of the forts on the eastern coast of the Black Sea is not the only astounding concession which our Government has made to Russia. In answer to a question from Lord William Graham, whether under the conditions of the Treaty of Peace—which was proclaimed the other day, in our public places, amidst so much pomp and circumstance—the Russians would have the right to raise the ships which they had voluntarily sunk in the harbour of Sebastopol, Lord Palmerston replied, to the infinite surprise of the House, that they had that right. The country will receive this information with equal wonder and consternation. The conclusion will be forced upon the people, that they have been *betrayed*. We use the latter word, because no milder one would meet the necessities of the case. Instead of being too strong, it is not strong enough. Such insecure and inglorious terms of peace could never have been agreed to in ignorance, or through incapacity.

A state of
war exists
as much as
ever.

Ministers must have known full well what they were about when they intimated their acquiescence in conditions, called, by a perversion of language, conditions of *peace*. They are not conditions of peace. A state of war exists in principle as much as ever. What is called a peace is but a temporary truce, which may and will be broken whenever a convenient season for Russia is believed to have arrived.

The British
Ministry
act as ma-
niacs, &c.

With regard to the ships sunk in the harbour of Sebastopol, instead of being, as we had fondly but foolishly supposed, lost for ever to Russia, they will be again made available for the purposes of war; and we may find, before many years have passed away, that those very vessels which we thus allow Russia to raise and refit, may become the means of destroying our fleet. In one word, we are playing the part of maniacs and of suicides. We are deliberately placing weapons in the hands of the Czar, by

restoring these vessels to him, with which he may destroy our reputation, and greatly damage our most important interests.

And yet it is for a peace of this deceptive and dishonourable character that the country is called on to make vehement demonstrations of joy and gratitude on the 29th of this month. It is a mockery of a peace which permits Russia to rebuild her forts on the eastern coast of the Black Sea, and allows her to restore her navy as if by magic, that fireworks are to be let off in the public parks, to the tune of £8,000. Why, the disgrace and dangerous nature of the peace which has just been concluded, ought to cause the country to cover itself in sackcloth and ashes, instead of throwing itself into frantic fits of joy, as ministers propose and expect us to do. When will the country have to hail the happy day, which shall be rendered memorable for ever, by the advent of a Ministry which shall at once combine in their own persons the attributes of integrity and patriotism, intelligence and capacity? If such a day be long deferred, the doom of England is sealed. Its ruin is certain,—nor is it remote.
—*Morning Advertiser, May, 1856.*

People of England to be amused with fireworks at the conclusion of a dastardly peace.

A COLD-BLOODED ARISTOCRATIC ASSASSIN A CANDIDATE FOR THE PEERAGE !!!

(To the Editor of *The Times*.)

SIR,—Will you allow me, through the medium of your columns, to make a short statement of facts relative to an affair, an incomplete and partly inaccurate account of which (copied from the *Globe*) appeared in *The Times* of Tuesday last, headed “Behind the Scenes of the Windsor Theatre?” I should not venture to intrude on your valuable space, but, as I have been subject to some criticism in the matter by one or two of your weekly contemporaries, I wish to put myself right, and at the same time to make known a few additional facts that I think justice requires the public should be acquainted with. The following statement will be generally borne out by a full report of the proceedings before the magistrates which appeared in the local paper here, the *Windsor Express* of September 29:—

I am the lessee of the theatre in this town. Lord Ernest Vane, an officer of the 2nd Life Guards, stationed in this place, had been in the habit for two or three nights previous to the

Lord Ernest Vane Tempest, of the 2nd Life Guards, attempt at assassination.

Gallantry of an officer and a gentleman (!) in a lady's dressing-room !!

evening in question, with other officers, of coming behind the scenes, and had behaved himself in a respectable manner, but I cannot say it was so on Friday, the 21st ult. In the early part of the evening his lordship had amused himself by blacking the eyes of one person, kicking another, and so forth. My first salute from him was his stick broken across my back. The curtain was going up; I was wanted; the house pretty full, and, as I did not wish the audience to be disturbed, I put up with it and went on. When the first piece was over and I was dressing for the last, I was informed that his lordship had forced his way into the ladies' dressing-room, and would not leave, though repeatedly requested by the ladies, who had to commence re-dressing, so to do. I sent my stage-manager to remonstrate with him, but to no effect. I then went myself, when he told me to go to a place not mentioned to ears polite. I at length was obliged to send for a policeman. When the officer came he quietly walked out. I had finished dressing, and was preparing to go on with the last piece; he met me at the back of the stage and said he wanted to speak to me, took hold of me by the collar, and before I was aware of it dragged me to the top of some steep stairs leading beneath the stage. He then said—"You dared to send a policeman to me; now I will break your infernal neck; I'll kill you." He held me in a position that I must fall backwards. I endeavoured to escape from him, and said "For God's sake, do not kill me in cold blood!" But he would not let me shrink, and hurled me from the top with all his force. Fortunately a young man, hearing the noise, came to the bottom of the stairs as I fell, and broke my fall, or death would have been certain. He then was cowardly enough to come and dash his fist in my face as I lay on the ground; but eventually his brother officers and other persons interfered and got him away from me. I may mention that the soldiers, of whom there were many in front, had been informed that their officers were being insulted, and were forcing their way on the stage. I am sorry to say that one of his brother officers to whom I appealed gave me no assistance, but told me to get him out of the ladies' room myself. Fearing a collision between the soldiers and civilians, I did not give him into custody.

On the following day a military gentleman waited on me to compromise matters. I told him I would bring the young ruffian to justice, and no one can prove that either myself or any person on my behalf listened for one moment to any offer

of settlement. Having felt the bitterness of death, I did not think that money should compensate it. The local magistrates who were to adjudicate the case strongly advised me to make up matters, with a delicate consideration for the interest of the theatre which I never before found from them. I had three or four attendances before I could procure the summons, and, though I pressed for it on Saturday, I did not get it till Tuesday. It would do quite as well if his lordship had notice to attend. At last, on Thursday, the 27th ult., the case came on. Having heard my own evidence and that of others—mostly unwilling witnesses (one having been summoned), it being generally known that golden ointment had been administered in more than one instance—the magistrates, after stating that they considered it a most unjustifiable assault, convicted the noble defendant in the extreme penalty of £5., saying that they would not send it to another tribunal.

The Mayor of Windsor (Mr. Clode), Mr. Bedborough, and other Magistrates compromise a noble attempt at murder!!

Now, Sir, I ask you, is not this a mere mockery of justice! What is £5. to a man in his position? Not so much as five pence to a poor man; and I fearlessly assert—and the above incontrovertible facts will prove it—that a more deliberate attempt to kill a fellow-creature has not been made for some time. Could I but have seen him punished as a poor man would have been (I feel strongly, being a young man), all the money in the world should not have purchased that punishment from me. I have not acted from mercenary motives; therefore I appeal to you, through whom that justice is given which courts of law sometimes deny.

A mockery of justice by the magistrates of Windsor.

I remain, Sir, yours obediently,

ALBERT NASH,

Lessee of the Windsor Theatre.

Windsor, October 6th, 1855.

THE BRAVE SOLDIERS OF THE CRIMEAN ARMY
LED INTO DESTRUCTION BY EFFEMINATE ARISTOCRATIC YOUTHS AND VAIN-GLORIOUS PEERS,
&c.

THE MIDDLE CLASSES AND THE ARMY.

To the Editor of *The Times*.

SIR,—The subject of the admission of the middle classes into the army having been once fairly brought before the public, it

is of the utmost importance that it should be pressed upon the Government till something practical is done.

The fact that classes constituting, probably, one-third of the population, are almost entirely refused the privilege of fighting for their country, seems till now never to have occurred to people's minds. We are in the habit of considering the middle classes to be the stamina of our population, and the source of our prosperity and of our rank among nations; yet we quietly submit to the utter exclusion of those classes from our army, admitting into it no class between that of the agricultural labourer, or the poorest class of farmer, and the wealthy gentleman. It is not so much the unfairness of this to the excluded classes that I complain of, as the serious disadvantage to the interests of the country which results from it.

The army to be officered by courageous sons of the middle classes, and from the ranks.

I do not for a moment wish the army to be other than an honourable field for the aspiration of our aristocracy; all I advocate is the admission in larger proportion of another element, such as forms the staple and practical strength of every other profession—I mean of men who devote their lives and their entire energies to their profession. The letter in your yesterday's number from an Indian officer puts this in a most forcible light. He says of the majority of the officers now in the Crimea that the army is not their profession, is not their home, and consequently that, though not shrinking from the dangers of actual engagements, they will not endure the more wearisome and duller, though not less necessary, exertions which fill up nine-tenths of a campaign. This, however, is a minor evil. The greatest is the fact, which I fear is indisputable, that our officers only rarely attain anything approaching to a thorough practical knowledge of the actual duties of their posts; much less do they attain to that degree of eminence which is necessary to advance the art of war in the same degree in which every other art and science is progressing. How is it that we are always behindhand in every practical contrivance and arrangement for the comfort and protection of our men, for the prevention of danger and disease, and for almost every one of those branches of practical economy and foresight on which military success must of necessity depend? Simply, I would answer, because we exclude from our army those who, in every other undertaking, have the charge of such duties, and commit the most important matters to men who have, for the most part, only joined the army as an honourable profession for a gentle-

man, not as that on which their success in life and their whole stake in society must depend.

The letter in your paper of to-day* from "A True Englishman" is a remarkable practical proof of the exclusiveness of the system. I doubt whether such a thing could take place in any other country as the utter exclusion from the army of men, gentlemen by birth and education, whose souls are engrossed with military thoughts and aspirations, and who have no fault but want of money. If they cannot be allowed to obtain commissions, let special corps of volunteers be formed for them, with chances of working their way to commissions, without the necessity of passing through the ordinary ranks, and thus losing caste as gentlemen; but, whatever the means, pray urge, till you obtain it, the abolition of this monstrous and suicidal system of exclusion.

Sons of the middle classes excluded from commissions in the army.

I am, Sir, your constant reader,

December 27.

A PRACTICAL MAN.

To the Editor of *The Times*.

SIR,—I have read a letter in your paper of this day, signed "A True Englishman." My case is similar in some respects. I am the only son of a solicitor, and was educated at a military school for the express purpose of joining the army. My father died, however, when I was a boy, and my friends endeavoured at fifteen to procure me a direct appointment to India. They failed in their endeavours. I obtained at twenty-two a good appointment, but have ever had a great desire to serve my country. I have tried without success, and have remained hitherto content with my present occupation.

Finding there was much need of soldiers, I applied for a commission, but have not succeeded, under the plea of my being past twenty-one. I applied to two colonels of Militia; one has not condescended to answer my note; the other made an appointment with me at his club, stating that he should be able to give me an answer if I waited on him. I did so. His first question was, "Well, Mr. —, what is your object in wishing to join my regiment?" "Object?" said I, "Why simply to join it." "Ay, ay; but what other object?" "Why," said I, "to procure a commission in the line by volunteering." No sooner had I given this reply than the worthy colonel began:—"Ah, awe! it's very singular, but I had a letter from the Vice-Lieutenant this morning, and he seems determined not to grant any commissions. I can't understand it. However, where do you live? Oh! I'll bear you in mind."

Had the troops in the Crimea been officered by the sons of the middle classes, and men from the ranks, an immense sacrifice of life, treasure, and reputation would have been saved to the nation.

Thus terminated my interview, and, although my appointment at this moment is worth £500 a-year and I am only 32, I am still willing to give up that to join the army in the Crimea, with all its privations and hardships.

Persons who are willing thus to act for their country ought, I think, to receive, and really do deserve, some consideration.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
ONE WHO WOULD FIGHT FOR HIS COUNTRY.

December 28th, 1855.

LORD CLARENDON'S ACT OF HIGH TREASON.

THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.—DESTRUCTION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW
OF ENGLAND.

To the Editor of the *Morning Advertiser*.

SIR,—It has been disheartening to me to find so little notice taken in your columns of the destruction, by a British Ambassador, of the laws and rights of this nation without consent of the realm.

The right of search for and seizure of enemies' goods in neutral vessels by belligerents has never been denied. In the words of that great jurist, Sir William Scott,—“No man conversant in subjects of this kind has ever breathed a doubt of it.” It is as much an inherent right in every man in this nation as is the right of being tried by his peers.

The magnitude of its importance is shown by the efforts of Russia to infringe on it by means of the armed neutrality in 1780, in 1800, and again in 1807; on all which occasions it was successfully maintained by England against a world in arms. The value of it is explained in three brief lines by the despatch of Lord Whitworth in 1800:—“If this right be ceded, all that is required is, to find in the civilized world some one neutral state sufficiently friendly to our enemies to be willing to lend her flag to cover their commerce, without herself encountering any risk; for once that power of search be taken away, fraud will no longer fear discovery.”

Unlimited as are the mischiefs which the future will bring upon us in consequence of this cession, they sink into insignificance in comparison with the manner in which it has been effected.

A British minister has of his own act changed the fundamental laws of the realm.

If you submit to this, you virtually place the Foreign Office above Crown, Lords, and Commons.

This, Sir, is a plain, simple matter, which there can be no difficulty in understanding—about which there can be no discussion.

Lord Clarendon has dared to change the laws of the land : he is therefore amenable to the laws of the land. The people must do their part, and demand adjudication.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

15th May, 1856.

STEWART E. ROLLAND.

Lord Clarendon to be impeached for daring to change the laws of the land without the consent of the people.

SIR GEORGE GREY'S SCHEME TO OBTAIN POSSESSION OF THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF THE CITIZENS OF LONDON.

If the citizens of London only display that energy and perseverance for which we have always given them credit, in their opposition to the Government Corporation Reform Bill, there cannot be a doubt that their opposition will be crowned with success. The measure reminds us of the school-boy whom every other boy thought fit to "hit hard," on the ground that he had "got no friends." The bill of Sir George Grey is in the same predicament. It has not a friend in the world, save its unfortunate parent. All the members of the Government will, as in duty bound, support the measure; but they will do so simply on the principle of obedience to their superiors. They know no other rule of action than that of doing as they are bid. They have no real affection for the bill: they cannot have even common respect for it. It is an absurd measure—a bungling bill. It is neither one thing nor other—neither flesh, fish, nor fowl. It is a bundle of inconsistencies. One part is at irreconcilable antagonism with another. The clauses are so conflicting, that the wonder is, they do not actually set to and fight in the very types in which they are composed. Here we have a bit of as nice Liberalism as the most extreme radical could desire; there we discern the visage of Toryism glowing with all the beauty of a harvest moon. One clause extinguishes Aldermen altogether, after a certain period; another, by reducing the members of the

The Government under the control of a despotic Aristocracy

Common Council to one-third their present number, would vest all the powers of the Corporation in a comparatively few individuals. The result would be that the Corporation would be converted, in effect, into quite a close body. It would become the scene of constant intrigues, and a field for the exercise of endless corruption.

The Government scheme for subversion of the Corporation of London.

All classes of the community and all sections in the House of Commons, must, therefore, be opposed to this mongrel measure,—this extraordinary mixture of Liberal and Tory ingredients. It is not a bill to be amended. It is essentially bad. It never can, by any amount of tinkering, be made a measure which the House of Commons ought to sanction. Let the bill, therefore, be withdrawn altogether. Government ought to do that of their own accord. No one knows better than Sir George Grey, that it is everywhere received with disfavour. Let him, therefore, we say again, withdraw it at once. That would be his wisest course. The Government of which he is a member has no superabundant stock of popularity. They will require all the amount they possess of that commodity, to help them through the session. If the event shall show that they have enough for that purpose, it will, we are certain, be no less evident that they have none to spare. It is not too late to retrace their steps. They may yet, seeing so clearly that the bill has no real friends, no spontaneous supporters, withdraw it with a good grace. But if they foolishly persist in pushing the measure forward, and be defeated after all, they will only gratuitously damage themselves in public estimation. They will impair their strength, if they do not peril their existence as a Ministry. It is right we should apprise them of the fact, if they be not already aware of it, that the Conservatives have come to a resolution to oppose the second reading. That is the proper course to take; and, with the unpopularity of the bill among the Liberal party, it will be passing strange if the measure be not defeated at that stage.

Let us by all means have Corporation Reform in the City. It is much needed, and ought to have been got before now. But, then, let us have an enlightened, consistent, and practical measure—not such a piece of preposterous, impracticable legislation as that which Sir George Grey submitted the other evening to the House of Commons, in the hope of receiving its sanction.—*Morning Advertiser, April, 1856.*

BRUTAL RUFFIANISM OF A POLICEMAN UPON A YOUNG LADY.

WE beg the especial attention of our readers to the following statement. On the day of the proclamation of peace Miss Clementina Archer, a young lady not out of her teens, went, with a lady with whom she was staying and another friend, to witness the pageant at Charing-cross. In consequence of the crowd, she was separated from her friends near to Farrance's; but, seeing them at a little distance, waited until the procession had passed, and then made an effort to rejoin them. Upon her making this attempt, a policeman seized her round the waist, and forced her back. Before she had time to remonstrate, he seized her by both shoulders. She asked him to allow her to join two ladies who were with her, but he refused, alleging that no one was allowed to pass at that point. Still he held her tight by the shoulders, and when she struggled to free herself, and had jerked herself half round, *he drew his staff, and struck her a blow on the shoulder.* At this moment a gentleman cried out, "Shame, shame. What are you holding her for? Release her immediately. You shall hear more of this." The scoundrel cowed, but still, true to a brutal instinct, threw her from him so violently, that she must have fallen, if the same gentleman had not supported her.

Attempted assassination of a young lady by a policeman on the proclamation of peace.

If Miss Archer had been, say, a policeman, she would probably not have suffered from such treatment; but she was almost a child, and our readers will not be surprised if the ruffian's grip, and the blow with which he followed it up, left their mark. Her friends, Mrs. King, and Mrs. Henry Mayhew, came forward and bore witness to the state in which they found her. The fellow had struck hard, and left a bruise extending from her shoulder to her bosom, to testify to the vigour of his arm, and the cowardice of his brutal nature. But when she came to seek redress for the outrage she had suffered, although she positively swore to a policeman as the man who had assaulted her, the case was dismissed, because she had failed to identify him when a posse of policemen, amongst whom he was, was placed before her, and because she displayed the extraordinary ignorance of London topography of not knowing where Warwick-street was. Constables, indeed, swore that they were on the spot and that nothing of the kind occurred; the sergeant who had command of them, declared to the same effect, and alleged, moreover, that he had

The Police, like Members of Parliament and Rulers, take oaths as a

matter of
form, to be
used to
their own
advantage.

his eye on his men—nine of them—four of whom were on one, and five on the other, side of the road—all the time; and an inspector took his oath that he had chosen the defendant because he was a “firm and determined” man—by which, he said, he meant only a man who would do his duty.

The fact that neither the inspector nor the other constables saw the defendant commit the assault by no means proves him guiltless. That Miss Archer did not recognize the defendant on the first occasion must be attributable to anything but his innocence, seeing in how marked a manner she recognized him afterwards. The inspector's testimony is worth nothing, and the sergeant's worth less. And really it is too much to be told seriously, that a case of this kind is to be turned out of court, because a young girl under twenty does not know the precise name of the locality in which the assault took place.

Chief Com-
missioner of
Police, Sir
R. Mayne,
K.C.B., As-
sistant Com-
missioners
W. Harris,
Esq., and
Capt. Dou-
glas W. P.
Lubbam—
there
screen a
police as-
sassin.

But apart from all this, it is certain that an assault was committed upon Miss Archer by a policeman. Neither the magistrate nor the defendant's solicitor for a moment questioned her statement in this respect. Surely, then, there can be no difficulty in getting at the man; and surely it is a mockery of justice for the Commissioners of Police to refer to the magistrate a charge against a particular individual, when it is in their power to assemble the men who were on duty at this part of Charing-cross, and get at the truth by placing them all on their defence. Miss Archer and her friends can wish for nothing more, supposing that she has been mistaken. And upon public grounds, independent altogether of what she has suffered, the commissioners are bound to get at the culprit. The mode they have chosen for the investigation of this matter conduces to the basest mode of shielding a comrade; and so long as it is adopted in similar cases, the administration of justice, where a constable is defendant, must be contemptible.—*Morning Advertiser*, 9th May, 1856.

HOUSE OF COMMONS AND THE POLICE, 9TH MAY. 1856.

THE RECENT POLICE OUTRAGE.

IN reply to a question from Mr. BOWYER,

Sir GEORGE GREY stated, in respect to the case of Miss Archer, that he was aware a charge had been made against a constable

for an assault upon her, and he learned that on hearing the case it was not proved against the constable, because it appeared the constable had not been identified. He had had no communication with the magistrate; for, unless complaint were made in the case, it was not necessary for him to have such. No complaint having been made, he had no right to suppose that anything wrong had been done; but as a complaint had now been made, he had considered it his duty to inquire into the matter, and the result of his inquiries had been that he had no right to impugn the justice of the magistrate's decision.

Cool indifference of a public servant at a dastardly act of a policeman.

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION OF 1688 CONDEMNED BY YOUTHS OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

OXFORD'S "SPERM GREGIS."

WE learn, with unfeigned regret, that symptoms unmistakably dangerous have manifested themselves in the youth of Oxford's University. Will it be credited, that in the "University Debating Society" a notice is registered on the books for the next night's debate,—“That the Revolution of 1688 was bad in itself and pernicious in its results?” (!) It is further announced, that the student who moves this most un-Protestant and most un-English proposition is a nephew of the Bishop of Oxford.”—*Downpatrick Protestant*.

The nephew of the Bishop of Oxford and the revolution of 1688.

HOUSE OF LORDS AND LEGALIZED MURDER.

THE Bishop of Oxford moved for a select committee to inquire into the present mode of carrying into effect capital punishment. He contended that the present system had a demoralizing tendency, and that there should be no more publicity in the execution than would be necessary to satisfy the public that the penalty had been enforced.—*Morning Advertiser*, 9th May, 1856.

The Inquisition mode of murder desired by the Bishop of Oxford!!

A SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AGAINST
BISHOPS VOTING IN MATTERS OF BLOOD.—*See*
Parliamentary Debates, 1681.

Bishops
have no
right to in-
terfere in
cases relat-
ing to
legalized
murder.

Of all things that were started to hinder the success of the last Parliament, and is like to be so great a stumbling-block in the next, that of the bishops voting in the case of blood was, and will be, the chief. Now, they that deny that the bishops have right to vote in case of blood, do labour under two great difficulties; first, because this is a new thing—at least, it is very long since the like case has come into debate—and next, because they are put to prove a negative, which is a great disadvantage. But truth will appear from under all the false glosses and umbrages that men may draw over it, and I doubt not to make it evident that the bishops have no right to vote in case of blood—at least, I hope I shall not be guilty of obstinacy if I do not alter my opinion till what I have to say be answered.

The Bishops
Diana, the
canon law,

It is strange the bishops are so jealous of their cause as not to adventure it on their great *Diana*, the canon law, by which they are expressly forbidden to meddle in case of blood. Perhaps they would do by the canon law as it is said by the idolators in the *Old Testament*, that of part of the timber they made a God and fell down and worshipped it, the rest of it they either burnt in the fire or cast to the dunghill; for they tell you the canon law was abolished at the Reformation, and that none but Papists yield obedience to it, and therefore now they are not tied up by the canon law, but may sit and vote in case of blood if they please. I should be very glad if they were as averse to popery in everything else, and particularly that they would leave ceremonies indifferent, and not contend so highly for them, whereby they make the breach wider and heighten the differences among Protestants, in the doing of which they do the pope's work most effectually. I wish they would consent to have a new book of canons; for those that are now extant are the old popish canons. I like bishops very well; but I wish that bishops were reduced to their primitive institution; for I fear whilst there is in *England* a Lord Bishop, the Church will not stand very steadily. But I will leave this (though I need say no more) and proceed to other things that are very clear, as I conceive.

The Bishops
of the
United
Kingdom
do the
Pope's work
most effec-
tually.

The Church
of England
will never
stand
steadily
while there
is a Lord
Bishop.

My Lord Coke in the *second part of his Institutes*, the first chapter, treating of *Magna Charta*, when he reckons up the

privileges of the Church, he tells us that clergymen shall not be elected or have to do in secular office; and therefore he tells us that they are discharged of such and such burdens that lay persons were subject to; and good reason it should be so, that they might with greater ease and security attend the business of their function, that is, to govern and instruct the Church. But whether they had these immunities granted them that they might study the pleas of the Crown and law cases, or else that they might apply themselves to the work of the ministry, let any man judge; for saith he, *Nemo militans Deo implicit se negotiis secularibus*: (No one fighting for God may mix himself up with worldly affairs). And if to sit and judge in case of blood be not a secular matter, I have no more to say, and I hope my lord Coke's authority will be allowed.

The observation of Lord Coke when he reckoned up the privileges of the Church.

IMPROVIDENCE OF PUBLIC SERVANTS WITH THE MONIES OF THE PEOPLE.

ITS ABUSES, RESULTS, AND ONLY EFFECTIVE CURE.

TIME out of mind, or, if not quite so far back as that, ever since "the Glorious Revolution of 1688," Britons have been accustomed to consider themselves the greatest, the most powerful, the most civilized, the most intellectual, the most enterprising, and the most industrious of all people; their country as that most favoured by heaven with all the requisites for material prosperity; and their institutions, political, civil, religious, and moral, as the very perfection of human wisdom, liberty, and virtue. All this is implied, and more, in the good old standing toast which was wont to set so many tables "in a roar" of patriotic enthusiasm, though it has fallen into comparative desuetude of late. "The British constitution—the envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world." Recent events have somewhat damped this spirit of national and individual glorification; but the feeling embodied in the toast was not merely that of festive meetings, or an idea vaguely floating in the minds of Britons, to be called into actual expression on such occasions only. Grave writers, in learned and statistical disquisitions, have seriously asserted this imaginary superiority, with all the earnestness of apparent conviction. Amongst these patriotic optimists stands or stood pre-eminent

The glorious Revolution of 1688.

The patriotic toast, "The British Constitution."

The patriot
optimist
Dr. Cham-
berlayne's
account of
England.

"Edward Chamberlayne, Doctor of Laws," who, in his "*ANGLIÆ NOTITIA : or the Present State of England*," of which a nineteenth edition, dedicated to King William III., was published in the year 1700, begins his labour of love and adulation, by describing England as "the better part of the best island in the whole world." (Part I. chap. i.) Coming to his description of the islanders, a little further on, we find them to be, in every respects, befitting such a fortunate locality. On them he descants as follows :—

Description
of the
natives of
England.

"The natives of England, by reason of the temperate climate, mild air, plenty of wholesome food, and the use of beer, rather than wine, are commonly tall and big of stature ; if compared with Southern nations. They are fair, especially the women, whose beauties are lasting, shapes fine, mien agreeable, air sweet and charming. Both sexes are here well proportioned in body, and graceful in carriage ; grave, well spoken, prudent, modest, free, sincere, pleasant, ingenious. The men are strong, courageous, warlike (*bellicosissimi*, saith Bodin, the French politician), resolute, enterprising, not knowing how to fly in battle ; liberal to prodigality ; open-hearted, hard to be provoked, yet when exasperated stomach-full till satisfaction be given, and then they are easy to be reconciled. They are sumptuous and splendid, great lovers of hospitality, magnanimous and beneficent, learned, sagacious, grateful. They are thought to be wanting in industry (excepting mechanics, wherein they are of all nations the greatest improvers ;) caution, suspicion, craft, obsequiousness, and, which is most of all to be deplored, contentedness ; but these wants are supplied by many eminent qualifications, as dexterity, sagacity, eloquence, fidelity, friendship, public-spiritedness, &c. The daringness of the soldier, the profoundness of the scholar, the magnificence of the gentry, the robustness of the labourer, are not surpassed, if equalled, by any people of the world." Firing with his theme, the worthy Doctor of Laws cites what he terms "the transcendent eulogies" of ancient and modern writers, who called England "the granary of the Western World, the seat of Ceres," &c., with valleys like Eden, hills like Lebanon, springs like Pishgah, rivers like Jordan, a "paradise of pleasure, and the garden of God ;" winding up with this rhapsodical apostrophe : "Oh happy and blessed Britain ! above all countries in the world, nature hath enriched thee with all blessings of Heaven and earth ! Nothing in thee is hurtful to man's life. Nothing

wanting in thee that is desirable, insomuch that thou seemest another world placed besides or without the great world, merely for the delight or pleasure of mankind!!" (Part I. chap. iv., page 37.)

Take the panegyrist's word for it, and this "happy and blessed" country is not less favoured in its government than in its soil and its inhabitants. "England," says he, "is such a monarchy as that, by the necessary subordinate concurrence of the Lords and Commons, in the making and repealing all statutes or acts of Parliament, it hath the main advantages of an aristocracy and of a democracy, and yet free from the disadvantages and evils of either. It is such a monarchy as by most admirable temperament affords very much to the industry, liberty and happiness of the subject, and reserves enough for the majesty and prerogative of the king that will own his people as subjects, not as slaves."

Unfortunately for the worthy Doctor's theory of British transcendentalism, his own "Eulogies," whether as regards the country, its inhabitants, or its government, will not stand the tests of examination and experience. All bear the stamp of romance, not that of reality. As to the land, this "paradise of pleasure," this "garden of God," is said to have produced nothing indigenously but a few weeds and the crab apple. As to its inhabitants, his estimate of their character is much more poetical than true. He has exaggerated their good qualities; he has minified their defects, and he has left wholly out of his catalogue of the latter that which distinguishes them most of all—their boundless gullibility—which has rendered and still renders them an easy prey to impostures of every kind, public and private, civil and religious, governmental and individual. And as to what is said of a form of government having the advantages of all others and the evils of none, let the tree be judged by its fruits, and in nothing does that especial characteristic of the British people, to which allusion has just been made, appear more prominently than in their boasting of the possession of the best possible institutions, whilst labouring under consequences which could only have been rationally expected from the very worst. A result like this can only be attributed to the neglect, disregard, or perversion of the duties and responsibilities of parliamentary government, to secure which, in place of "the right divine of kings to govern wrong," was the professed object of the revolution of 1688.

The boundless gullibility of the English people.

At the accession of the monarch to whom Dr. Chamberlayne

dedicated the book which has afforded us our text, "The King's Debts," viz., those left by his predecessor, for which the crown alone and its hereditary revenues were responsible, amounted to £664,263, and the whole public revenue was about £2,000,000.

The obligations of William III. converted into "The National Debt."

The *Royal* obligations were speedily converted into "the National Debt," and this, at the close of the reign of King William, amounted to £16,394,700. The expenditure, during the same period, about thirteen years, is calculated at £72,000,000. The obligations referred to arose principally out of the war in which England was engaged with France in support of King William's title. Upon the subject of ways and means, the eminent national writer and patriot De Foe, proposed "a general assessment of personal property," the amount to be settled by composition, under the inspection of commissioners appointed by the king. Of the efficacy of his scheme he was so well satisfied, that he offered to farm the revenue arising from it, at a rent of three millions annually, giving good security for the payment.

A Property Tax recommended by the patriot De Foe.

King William III. arbiter of Europe.

During this reign was introduced the theory of "the balance of power." The monarch aspired to be the arbiter of Europe, so that not a cannon should be fired within its boundaries unless by his permission. In pursuance of this object, and as the avowed champion of civil and religious liberty, he was almost constantly at war. Foreign nations were subsidized to fight his battles and their own. To meet the expenditure, the funding or borrowing system, the issuing of exchequer bills in anticipation of revenue, and other schemes for squandering the wealth of the nation and mortgaging its resources, were invented; Parliaments, which could not safely be browbeaten, were corrupted, and the country was robbed to enrich the aristocracy—more particularly the Dutch favourites and adherents of the king. By a continuance of the same improvident system, and for wars less justifiable, during succeeding reigns, the National Debt, at the peace of 1815, had increased to the enormous amount of upwards of £800,000,000, the annual interest of which, though the capital has since been somewhat reduced, still swallows up nearly half of the ordinary taxation of the country, and is more than thirteen times the entire revenue of 1688. For this huge debt, and for probably as much again twice told, actually squandered in warfare, the country has received no tangible equivalent.

(To be continued.)

THE ARISTOCRACY AND THE ARMY.

1ST LIFE GUARDS—PAY—CONTINGENTS.

THE three regiments called Household Cavalry—the 1st and 2nd Life Guards, and Royal Horse Guards (Oxford Blues), were formed, as at present existing, in 1788. They consist each of 32 officers and 404 men, inclusive of non-commissioned officers, staff sergeants, bandsmen, farriers, servants, and other non-effectives; being a smaller proportion of men to officers than in other regiments of the service. One regiment is quartered at Albany Barracks, Regent's Park; another at Knightsbridge Barracks, Hyde Park; and the third at Windsor. Their duty is to provide an escort to the Sovereign in state processions, and to mount a daily guard of ceremony at the offices of the Horse Guards, Whitehall. On rare occasions they have been employed to assist the civil power in London, but have not been required for such duty since the establishment of the well-organised Metropolitan police. On still rarer occasions they have been employed abroad; but it was found that the horses were inadequate to bear the weight of the men and accoutrements in active service. It is alleged, by high authorities, that in any emergency which might call them to the field, even to the coast of Sussex or Kent, should such an improbable call arise, they would be disorganised by fatigue, the men dismounted, and the horses broken down, in three days.

The Household troops are merely for Royal amusements and parade.

A commission in the Guards has the advantage of raising a young officer more rapidly to those higher ranks which gain a command in the army, or a staff appointment, than does a regimental commission in the line. It also possesses a charm and advantage to young gentlemen of high family and moderate fortune, by giving them access to the circles where the largest amount of patronage is distributed; where also they may cultivate political influence, or become amateur statesmen, with seats in the House of Commons for snug counties (or for boroughs yet more snug, not disfranchised as they should have been, on the principle of population, in 1833, but, on the contrary, widened, with extended boundaries, to embrace the family or the friendly estate), where they may enjoy "life" and the clubs, be useful to the dispensers of patronage, draw pay, and rise in army rank,

The household troops possess a charm, &c.

Price of commissions in the household regiments.

all with one effort, or rather with none. The price of a commission, though nominally higher in the Guards than in the line, is thus, by the quality of advantage gained, lower. The prices are, in the Household Cavalry:—lieutenant-colonel, £7250; major, £5350—if the major has served seven years as such, he acquires, by purchase of lieutenant-colonel, the rank of full colonel, which places him favourably, in case of a brevet, (rank gratuitously conferred,) for becoming a major-general; captain, £3500; lieutenant, £1785; cornet, £1260. The two last sums refer to the 1st and 2nd Life Guards only; in the Royal Horse Guards (Oxford Blues), the lieutenancy is £1600, and the cornetcy £1200. The price of commissions in the cavalry of the line are—lieutenant-colonel, £6175; major, £4575; captain, £3225; lieutenant, £1190; cornet, £840. The commissions of the Foot Guards are—lieutenant-colonel (which gives the rank of colonel), £9000; major, with rank of colonel, £8300; captain, with rank of lieutenant-colonel, £4800; lieutenant, with rank of captain, £2050; ensign, with rank of lieutenant, £1200. Infantry of the Line—lieutenant-colonel, £4500; major, £3200; captain, £1800; lieutenant, £700; ensign, £450.

In the Rifle Brigade the commission of ensign or lieutenant is £500.

Important services of aged pages rewarded with gratuitous commissions in household regiments.

The advancement from lowest to highest rank is more rapid in the Foot Guards than elsewhere. The Queen's pages, who are in the service of the Palace from the age of ten or eleven to fifteen or sixteen, have commissions conferred on them free of cost, in the Guards, at the rate of two pages to three years, or thereabout. The pages are four in number. King William had four, and Queen Adelaide two, who, finding their gratuitous way into the guards, have become colonels and major-generals, with staff commands or colonial governorships, or sold out at £9000 when lieutenant-colonel, or at the price affixed when in some lower rank. When an officer is transferred from the Foot Guards to the line, the rank of ensign is equal to lieutenant; of lieutenant equal to captain; and of captain equal to lieutenant-colonel. An appointment as aide-de-camp to the Queen confers the rank of colonel gratuitously, with 10s. 6d. a-day of extra pay.

(To be continued.)

IMPEACHMENT FOR HIGH TREASON AND OTHER GREAT CRIMES, &c. OF JUDGES ON THE BENCH OF ENGLAND IN 1680, COMPARED WITH THOSE OF 1856!

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST SIR WILLIAM SCROGGS, KNT., LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE KING'S BENCH, AND OTHER JUDGES, IN PARLIAMENT, NOVEMBER 13TH, 1680. 32 CAR. II.

MR. SPEAKER, in the front of *Magna Charta* it is said, *nulli negabimus, nulli differemus justitiam* (we will defer, or deny, justice to no man). To this the King is sworn, and with this the Judges are entrusted by their oaths. I admire what they can say for themselves; if they have not read this law, they are not fit to sit upon the bench: and if they have, I had almost said, they deserve to lose their heads.

MR. SPEAKER, the state of this poor nation is to be deplored, that in almost all ages, the judges who ought to be preservers of the laws have endeavoured to destroy them: and that, to please a court faction, they have by treachery attempted to break the bonds asunder of *Magna Charta*, the great treasury of our peace. It was no sooner passed, but a Chief Justice (Hubert de Burg) in that day persuades the King he was not bound by it; because he was under age when it was passed. But this sort of insolence the next Parliament resented, to the ruin of the pernicious Chief Justice. In the time of Richard II. an unthinking dissolute prince, there were judges that insinuate into the King, that the Parliament were only his creatures, and depended on his will, and not on the fundamental constitution of the land; which treacherous advice proved the ruin of the King. And for which all those evil instruments were brought to justice. In his late Majesty's time, his misfortunes were occasioned chiefly by the corruptions of the long robe; his judges, by an extra-judicial opinion, gave the King power to raise money, upon any extraordinary occasion, without Parliament; and made the King judge of such occasions. Charity prompts me to think they thought this a service to the King; but the sad consequences of it may convince all mankind that every illegal act weakens the royal interest; and to endeavour to introduce absolute dominion in these realms, is the worst of treasons. Because, whilst it bears the face of friendship to the

Sir Francis Winnington's speech against corruption.

An attempt made by judges to break the bonds of *Magna Charta*.

An insolent Lord Chief Justice.

Misfortunes of the Crown, chiefly arose by the corruptions of the long robe.

King, and designs to be for his service, it never fails of the contrary effect.

The two great pillars of England are Parliaments and juries.

The two great pillars of the Government are Parliaments and juries; it is this gives us the title of free-born *Englishmen*. For my notion of free *Englishmen* is this, that they are ruled by laws of their own making, and tried by men of the same condition with themselves. The two great and undoubted privileges of the people have been lately invaded by the judges that now sit in *Westminster-hall*; they have espoused proclamation against law; they have discountenanced and opposed several legal acts that tended to the sitting of this honourable House; they have grasped the legislative power into their own hands, as in that instance of printing; the Parliament was considering that matter, but they in the interim made their private opinion to be law, to supersede the judgment of this House. They have discharged grand juries, on purpose to quell their presentments, and shelter great criminals from justice; and when juries have presented their opinion for the sitting of this Parliament, they have in disdain thrown them at their feet, and told them they would be no messengers to carry such petitions; and yet in a few days after, have encouraged all that would spit their venom against the Government; they have served an ignorant and arbitrary faction, and been the messengers of abhorrences to the King.

Jesuitical judges in Protestant gowns on the Bench of England.

Petitioning the Crown prevented by unholy judges.

Judges by their villainies made their exit by the rope.

Mr. Speaker, what we have now to do, is to load them with shame, who bid defiance to the law; they are guilty of crimes against nature, against the King, against their knowledge, and against posterity. The whole frame of nature doth loudly and daily petition to God their Creator; and Kings, like God, may be addressed to in like manner, by petition, not command. They likewise knew it was lawful to petition. Ignorance can be no plea, and their knowledge aggravates their crimes; the children unborn are bound to curse such proceedings, for 'twas not petitioning but Parliaments they abhorred. The atheist pleads against a God, not that he disbelieves a Deity, but would have it so. *Tresilian* and *Belknap* were judges, too; their learning gave them honour, but their villainies made their exit by a rope. The end of motion therefore is, that we may address warmly to our prince against them. Let us settle a committee to inquire into their crimes, and not fail of doing justice upon them that have perverted it; let us purge the fountain, and the streams will issue pure.

Then the House agreed to the following resolutions:—

Resolved,—*That the discharging of a grand jury by any judge before the end of the term, assizes, or sessions, while matters are under their consideration, and not presented, is arbitrary, illegal, destructive to public justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and is a means to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom.*

Resolved,—*That a Committee be appointed to examine the proceedings of the judges in Westminster Hall, and report the same, with their opinion therein, to the House.*

Parliamentary enquiry into the violation by a judge of his oath.

Whereupon a Committee was appointed, and they sat several days, and then made the following report :—

A committee of the House of Commons appointed to enquire into the crimes of judges.

THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
APPOINTED TO EXAMINE THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE JUDGES,
&c., *Thursday, December 23, 1680.*

The Committee being informed, that in *Trinity Term* last, the Court of King's Bench discharged the Grand Jury that served for the hundred of *Ossulston*, in the county of *Middlesex*, in a very unusual manner, proceeded to inquire into the same, and found, by the information of Charles Umfreville, Esq., foreman of the said jury, Edward Proby, Henry Gerrard, and John Smith, gentlemen, also of the said jury, That on the 21st of June last, the constables attending the said jury were found defective, in not presenting the papists as they ought, and thereupon were ordered by the said jury to make farther presentments of them on the 26th following; on which day the jury met for that purpose, when several peers of this realm, and other persons of honour and quality, brought them a bill against *James Duke of York*, for not coming to church; but some exceptions being taken to that bill, in that it did not set forth the said Duke to be a papist, some of the jury attended the said persons of quality, to receive satisfaction therein. In the mean time, and about an hour after they had received the said bill, some of the jury attended the Court of King's Bench with a petition, which they desired the Court to present in their names unto his Majesty, for the sitting of this Parliament. Upon which the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs* raised many scruples, and on pretence that they were not all in court (though twenty of the jury had subscribed the petition), sent for them, saying he would dispatch them presently. The jury being come, and their names called over, they renewed their desire that the Court would present their petition; but the Chief Justice asked if they had any bill? they answered they had, but the clerks were drawing them into form. Upon which, the Chief Justice said, they would not make two works of one business. And the

A charge of high treason, &c., against a Lord Chief Justice brought before the House of Commons.

petition being read, he said this was no article of their charge, nor was there any act of Parliament that required the Court to deliver the Grand Juries' petitions: that there was a proclamation about them; and that it was not reasonable the Court should be obliged to run on their errands; and he thought it much, that they should come with a petition to alter the King's mind, declared in the news-book. The jury said, they did it not to impose on the Court, but (as other juries had done) with all submission they desired it; but the Court refused, bidding the crier return them their petitions. And Mr. Justice Jones told them, they had meddled with matters of state, not given them in charge, but presented no bills of matters given them, that would be ready in due time. Notwithstanding which, the said Justice *Jones* told them they were discharged from farther service. But *Philip Ward* (the clerk that attended the said jury) cried out, "No, no, they have many bills before them;" for which the Court understanding (as it seems to this committee) a secret reason, which the clerk did not, reproved him, asking if he or they were to give the rule there? The crier then told the court, they would not receive their petition; the Chief Justice bid him let it alone, so it was left there, and the jury returned to the court-house, and there found several constables with presentments of papists and other offenders, as the jury had directed them on the 21st before; but could not now receive the said presentments, being discharged. Whereby much business was obstructed, though none of the said informants ever knew the said jury discharged before the last day of the term, which was not till four days after. And it farther appeareth to the committee, by the evidence of *Samuel Astry*, *Jasper Waterhouse*, and *Philip Ward*, clerks, that have long served in the said court, that they were much surprised at the said discharging of the jury, in that it was never done in their memory before; and the rather, because the said *Waterhouse*, as secondary, constantly enters on the Grand Jury's paper, that the last day of the term is given them to return their verdict on, as the last day but one is given to the other two Grand Juries of that county; which entry is as followeth:—

TRINITY, 3 CAR. II.

Middlesex,	}	Juratores habeat diem ad veredictum suum red-
Ossulston		
Hundred.		

dendum usque diem Mercurii proxima post tres septimanas Sanctæ Trinitatis. (The Roman cen-

sors have a day for repeating their oath, even a day of Mercury, the next after three weeks of the Holy Trinity.) Being the last day of term, and so in all the other terms the last day is given; which makes it appear to this committee, that they were not in truth discharged for not having their presentments ready, since the Court had given them a longer day, but only to obstruct their further proceedings; and it appeareth by the evidence aforesaid to this committee, that the four judges of that Court were present at the discharging of the said jury, and it did not appear that any of them did different therein; upon consideration whereof, the committee came to this resolution:—

Resolved,—That it is the opinion of this committee, that the discharging of the grand jury of the hundred of Ossulston, in the county of Middlesex, by the Court of King's Bench, in Trinity term last, before the last day of term, and before they had finished their presentments, was illegal, arbitrary, and a high misdemeanor.

This committee proceeded also to enquire into a rule of the Court of King's Bench, lately made against the publishing a book called *The Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome: or The History of Popery*: and Samuel Astry, gentleman, examined thereupon, informed this committee, that the author of the said book, Henry Carr, had been informed against for the same, and had pleaded to the information; but before it was tried, a rule was made on a motion, as he supposeth, against the said book. All the judges of that court (as he remembers) being present, and none dissenting. The copy of which rule he gave into this committee, and is as followeth:

Dies Mercurii proxime post tres septimanas Sanctæ Trinitatis.
Anno. 32 Car. II. Regis.

Ordinatum est quad liber intitulat. *The Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome, or the History of Popery*, non ulterius imprimatur vel publicetur per aliquam personam quamcunque per. Car.

And this committee, admiring that Protestant judges should take offence against a book whose chief design was to expose the cheats and foppery of popery, enquired farther into it, and found by the evidence of Jane Curtis, that the said book had been licensed for several months, that her husband paid for the copy, and entered it in the hall-book of the Company. But for all this she could not prevail, by those reasons, with the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, to permit it any longer; who said 'twas a scandalous libel, and against the King's proclamation, and he would ruin her if ever she printed it any more. And soon after she was served with the said rule, as the author, and other

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printers were; and, by the author's evidence, it appears that he was taken, and brought before the said Chief Justice, by his warrant, above a year since; and upon his owning he writ part of that book, the Chief Justice called him rogue and other ill names; saying he would fill all the gaols in *England* with such rogues, and pile them up as men do faggots; and so committed him to prison, refusing sufficient bail, and saying he would gaol him, to put him to charges; and his lordship observed his word punctually therein, forcing him to his *Habeas Corpus*, and then taking the same bail he refused before. Upon which the committee came to this resolution.

Resolved,—That it is the opinion of the committee, that the rule made by the Court of King's Bench, in Trinity term last, against printing a book called *The Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome*, is illegal and arbitrary.

And the committee proceeded farther, and upon information that a very great latitude had been taken of late by the judges, in imposing fines on the persons found guilty before them, caused a transcript of all the fines imposed by the King's Bench since *Easter* term, in the 28th of his Majesty's reign, to be brought before them, from the said Court, by *Samuel Astry*, gentleman. By perusal of which it appeared to this committee, that the quality of the offence, and the ability of the person found guilty, have not been measures that have determined the quantity of many of these fines; which being so very numerous, the committee refer themselves to those records as to the general, instancing in some particulars, as follows.

Upon *Joseph Brown*, of London, gentleman, on an information for publishing a printed book called, *The Long Parliament Dissolved*, in which is set forth these words:—

“Nor let any man think it strange, that we account it treason for you to set and act contrary to our laws; for if in the first Parliament of Richard II. Grimes and Weston, for lack of courage only, were adjudged guilty of high treason for surrendering the places committed to their trust: how much more you, if you turn renegadoes to the people that intrusted you; and as much as in you lie, surrender not a little pitiful castle or two but all the legal defence the people of *England* have for their lives, liberties, and properties at once! Neither let the vain persuasion delude you, that no precedent can be found that one *English* Parliament hath hanged up another; though peradventure even that may be proved a mistake; for an unprecedented crime calls for an unprecedented punishment; and if

you shall be so wicked to do the one, or rather endeavour to do, (for now you are no longer a Parliament) what ground of confidence you can have, that none will be found worthy as to do the other, we cannot understand; and do faithfully promise, if your unworthiness provoke us to it, that we will use our honest and utmost endeavours (whenever a new Parliament shall be called) to choose such as may convince you of your mistake. The old and infallible observation, that Parliaments are the pulse of the people, shall lose its esteem; or you will find that this your presumption was over fond; however, it argues but a bad mind to sin, because it's believed it shall not be punished."

The judgment was, that he be fined 1,000 marks, be bound to the good behaviour for seven years, and his name struck off the roll of the attorneys, without any offence alleged in his said vocation. And the publishing this libel consisted only in subscribing a packet with this enclosed to the *East Indies*. Which fine he not being able to pay (living only upon his practice), he lay in prison for three years, till his Majesty graciously pardoned him, and recommended him to be restored to his place again of attorney, by his warrant dated the 15th of December, 1679. Notwithstanding which, he has not yet obtained the said restoration from the Court of King's Bench.

Upon *John Harrington* of *London*, gent., for speaking these words, laid in Latin thus:—*Quod nostra gubernatio de tribus statibus consistebat, &c., si rebellio eveniret in regno, &c., non accideret contra omnes tres status, non est rebellio*: (That if our Government consists of three states, viz., the upper, middle, and lower classes—if one state rebels, and not all three states, it is not a general rebellion :) a fine of £1,000 sureties for the good behaviour for seven years, and to recant the words in open court; which fine he was in no capacity of ever paying.

Upon *Benjamin Harris*, of *London*, stationer, on an information for printing a book called *An Appeal* from the country to the *City*, setting forth these words:—"We in the country have done our parts in choosing for the generality good members to serve in Parliament. But if (as our last two Parliaments were) they must be dissolved or prorogued whenever they come to redress the grievances of the subject, we may be pitied, not blamed, if the plot takes effect. And in all probability it will. Our Parliaments are not then to be condemned, for that their not being suffered to sit occasioned it:" judgment to pay £500 fine, stand on the pillory an hour, and give sureties for good

behaviour for three years. And the said *Benjamin Harris* informed this committee that the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs* pressed the Court then to add to this judgment his being publicly whipped; but Mr. Justice *Pemberton* holding up his hands in admiration at their severity therein, Mr. Justice *Jones* pronounced the judgment aforesaid. And he remains yet in prison, unable to pay the said fine. Notwithstanding which severity in the cases forementioned, this committee has observed the said Court has not wanted in any other cases an extraordinary compassion and mercy, though there appears no public reason judicially in the trial, as in particular.

(*To be continued.*)



